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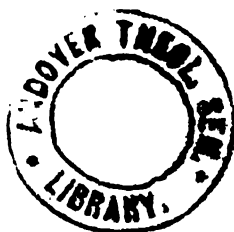
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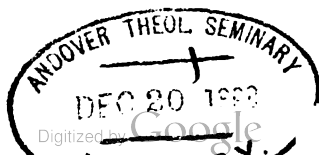
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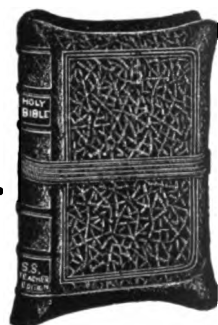
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GENESIS.

CHAPTER 1.

The creation.

1 IN the ^abeginning ^bGod created the heaven and the earth.
2 And the earth was ^{without form, waste} and void; and darkness ^{was} upon the face of the deep: ^{c And the Spirit and the spirit} of God moved upon the face of the waters.
3 ^d And God said, 'Let there be light: and there was light.
4 And God saw the light, that ^{it was} good: and God divided ^e the light from the darkness.
5 And God called the light ^f Day, and the darkness he called Night. And ^{the} there was evening and ^{the} there was morning, ^{were the first one} day.
6 ¶ And God said, 'Let there be a ^g firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.
7 And God made the firmament, ^h and divided the waters which ^{were} were under the firmament from the waters which ^{were} were above the firmament: and it was so.
8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And ^{the} there was evening and ^{the} there was morning, ^{were the second a} second day.
9 ¶ And God said, ⁱ Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry ^{land} and appear: and it was so.
10 And God called the dry ^{land} Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that ^{it was} it was good.
11 And God said, Let the earth ^j bring forth grass, ^{the} herb yielding seed, and ^k the fruit tree ^{yielding bearing} fruit after ^{his} its kind, ^{whose seed is in itself, wherein is the seed thereof,} upon the earth: and it was so.
12 And the earth brought forth grass, ^{and} herb yielding seed after ^{his} its kind, and ^{the} tree ^{yielding bearing} fruit, ^{whose seed was in itself, wherein is the seed thereof,} after ^{his} its kind: and God saw that ^{it was} it was good.
13 And ^{the} there was evening and ^{the} there was morning, ^{were the third a} third day.
14 ¶ And God said, Let there be ^l lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide 'the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and 'for seasons, and for days' and years:
15 ^{And} and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.
16 And God ^m made the two great lights; the greater light ⁿ to rule the day, and ^o the lesser light to rule the night: *he made* 'the stars also.
17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,
18 ^{And} and to 'rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that ^{it was} it was good.
19 And ^{the} there was evening and ^{the} there was morning, ^{were the fourth a} fourth day.
20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the ^p moving creature that hath 'life, and let fowl ^{that may} fly above the earth in the ^q open firmament of heaven.
21 And 'God created the great ^r whales, ^s sea-monsters, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their ^{kind,} kinds,

B. C. 4004.

a John 1. 1. 2.
b Ps. 8. 3; 23. 6; 89. 11; 12. Acts 14. 15.
c Col. 1. 16. 17.
d Ps. 23. 6.
e Ps. 33. 9.
f 1 Cor. 4. 6.
g Heb. between the light and between the darkness.
h Ps. 74. 16.
i Job 37. 18.
j Heb. expanse.
k Prov. 8. 28.
l Ps. 148. 4.

k Job 26. 10.
l Ps. 33. 7; 95. 5; 104. 9; 136. 6.

m Luke 6. 44.

n Deut. 4. 19.
o Heb. between the day and between the night.
p Ps. 74. 17; 104. 19.

q Ps. 136. 7, 8, 9; 148. 3, 5.
r Heb. for the rule of the day.
s Ps. 8. 3.
t Job 38. 7.

u Jer. 51. 35.

6 Or, creeping.
7 Heb. soul.
8 Heb. face of the expanse of Heaven.
9 Ch. 6. 20; 7. 14; 8. 19.

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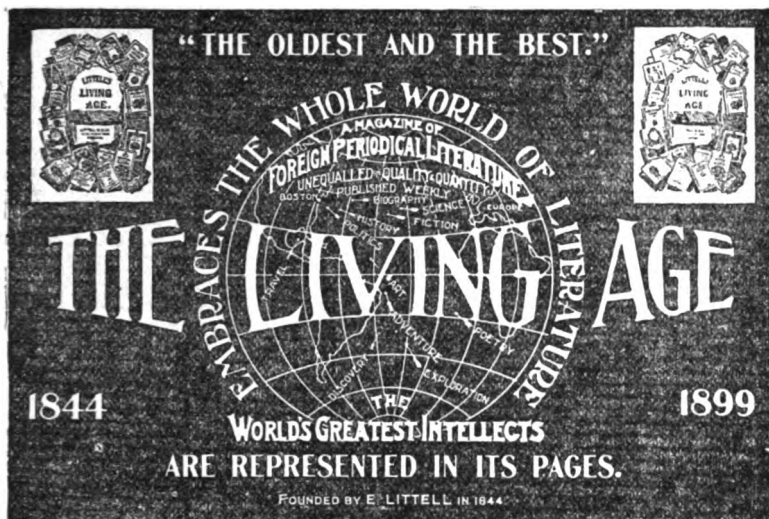
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THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

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THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE OUTLOOK IN THEOLOGY.¹

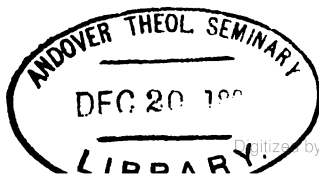
BY PROFESSOR EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS, PH.D., D.D.

THE subject of the outlook or whither in respect to the Bible and Christian doctrine is often depressing, since old notions once held quite essential to evangelical Christianity seem now to be crumbling, and the cry is sometimes heard, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." We ought, however, to have no fear for the future.

"Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of thee,
And thou, O Lord, art more than they."

A living, thinking church cannot go backward. Not all churches, however, think or have liberty of thought. Sometimes old forms of belief become incorporated into the very structure of a denomination, so that a future growth in the knowledge and wisdom of God is apparently denied to its membership. This is the condition of the Greek and Roman Catholic churches. These churches have ceased to make any real contributions to religious

¹ An address delivered before the General Association of Connecticut, 1898.



thought. This we sometimes fear will be the fate of the Presbyterian Church of this country, but never, we trust, of our own Congregational body. Liberty of thought, intellectual and spiritual progress, have always been the glory of the church whose membership has been honored by such names as Charles G. Finney of Oberlin, Nathaniel Taylor of New Haven, Horace Bushnell of Hartford, Edwards A. Park of Andover, and Henry Ward Beecher. Some of these names strike one now as those of staunch conservatives, but in their own day they represented forward movements in theology. New England Congregationalism bequeathed largely to the Presbyterian Church also its progressive elements, giving that church such men as Henry B. Smith and Roswell D. Hitchcock, whose work in setting the direction of Union Seminary has now been repudiated by the Presbyterian Church.

Growth in Christian thought, however, is measured by centuries rather than decades. The present conclusions of the Higher Criticism, in spite of numerous changes in detail, were in their essential particulars voiced by Eichhorn and DeWette and other scholars at the beginning of this century, and dominant features of the new theology may be found in the writings of Schleiermacher of eighty years ago. Horace Bushnell and Frederick W. Robertson fifty years ago were proclaiming much also that even now we call new forms of thought. The next fifty years then, without a sudden break, but with a development as gradual as the passage of a bud into a flower, will probably witness a construction in Christian doctrine along the same lines in which it has been moving during the past fifty years.

In respect to the Bible we are in the midst of a period of historical and literary study. This study or criticism has about finished its work upon the Old Testament. Its familiar conclusions respecting the date, composition,

and historical value of these Scriptures need no rehearsal at this time. In details they may be modified, and furnish questions of debate among specialists; but the general verdict of the Higher Criticism respecting the Old Testament will stand. The opposing school appears a dissolving force, since it produces no commanding literature; for the encyclopedias, Bible dictionaries, and commentaries issued by the leading publishers of scholarly religious literature present almost entirely the new views. The attacks upon special features of them from an archaeological point of view have amounted to nothing; and, indeed, in these attacks have been given reconstructions of Old Testament history and literature—fundamentally the same as those of the Higher Critics.

The outcome of this criticism has been to bring the Old Testament Scriptures somewhat to the level of other ancient writings in respect to their formal composition, historical and scientific contents, and yet to leave them incomparably removed from all other writings as a record of divine revelation and a promise of redemption. This revelation and promise, with its laws of human conduct, will be emphasized more and more, and what has happily been called a *highest* criticism will always preserve to the church the Old Testament at its full value as a word of God.

In respect to the New Testament, no such finality of critical results has been reached. Here the outlook is for a continued controversy for some years; for criticism must have as free a field in the New Testament as in the Old. Through this controversy, judging especially from the recent work of Professor McGiffert,¹ the full genuineness of some sayings attributed to Christ and the apostles will be questioned, and doubt will be cast upon the full historicity

¹ *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age.* By Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph.D., D.D., Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York. 1897.

of certain portions of the New Testament, such as the opening chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and the earlier part of Acts. Such a result is inevitable, unless there is a backward movement to the old view of an infallible historical inspiration, and this seems impossible. Along with and after this higher criticism of the New Testament, we may expect, what I have already called in respect to the Old Testament, a *highest* criticism, giving more distinctly and comprehensively the divine message of the New Testament. This work has indeed already begun. We are finding in the New Testament a gospel for society as well as for the individual. The fullness of Christ's idea of the kingdom of God also has not yet been attained.

But, in spite of these outlooks for a highest constructive religious criticism of the Bible, we must recognize that the results of biblical criticism, taken as a whole, are radical and revolutionary. They have destroyed the infallibility of both the Old and the New Testament, and at first blush this looks as though Protestant Christianity were at an end; for Protestant Christianity has been supposed to be entirely based upon an infallible Bible. The underlying Protestant idea, however, is not that Christianity is based upon the Bible, but upon a divine revelation. The adage, "The Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestantism," is true only when we make the Bible and Divine or supernatural Revelation convertible terms. This has been the usual notion. The Bible alone has been recognized as the word of God. A sharp line of distinction has been drawn between the Bible and all other sources of divine knowledge. The primary evidence for this distinction has been found in the miracle. "Miracles, as far as we can see," said the late President Hopkins in his famous "Evidences of Christianity," "are the only means by which it would be possible for God to authenticate a

communication to man.”¹ This statement, it is true, does not seem exactly in accord with the teachings of Scripture, or with the older Protestant position, which made primary the testimony of the Holy Spirit. But it has been the current view. The fundamental positions of revealed religion have usually been stated about as follows: “The evidence of divine or supernatural revelation is the miracle. The miracle *par excellence* is seen in the resurrection of Christ. This resurrection guarantees the divine personality of Jesus. Jesus authenticates the Old Testament, and by his promise to his apostles the New Testament. Canonicity corresponds to apostolicity. The Bible comes to us, then, with the seal of divine authority as an infallible book, because Christ promised the spirit of truth to the apostles and because all statements of Old Testament Scriptures are received in the New Testament as true. All the facts of Christian theology are found within the Bible. We believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the deity of Christ, the vicarious atonement, justification by faith, eternal salvation and eternal punishment, primarily because they are taught in the Scriptures. The only differences that can arise between believers are differences in the interpretation or the understanding of the Bible. Doctrinal modification can arise solely through modification in exegesis.” These are the essential positions of the older orthodoxy. *Divine revelation recorded in the Scriptures authenticated by a miracle furnishes our belief.*

This scheme or platform, however, is proving unacceptable. Historical and literary criticism showing that the Bible is not infallible assails it on one hand, and philosophical criticism rejecting the fundamental position that a divine supernatural revelation is primarily authenticated by a miracle, assails it on another hand.

¹ Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity (Boston, 1846), p. 62.

The view emphasizing the miracle as the primary evidence of divine revelation is becoming untenable for two reasons: First, it seems unacceptable, that moral and spiritual truth should rest ultimately for its verification upon the senses, that the knowledge of what is right should depend upon the knowledge of what has happened. Secondly, it seems unacceptable that the higher disclosures of God should come through a break in the uniformity of nature, rather than in the uniformity itself. Only to the savage and untutored mind will a prodigy in nature manifest God more clearly than the orderly movements of the heavenly bodies. Hence, this fundamental view that a divine supernatural revelation requires a miracle or break in the uniformity of nature for its authentication, is quietly being rejected. Professor Samuel Harris, for example, calls it a misconception of revelation "that it can be manifest among men only by abrupt interruption into the fixed course of the universe, interrupting its continuity, uniformity, and law."¹ Professor Charles Mellen Tyler of Cornell says, "Religion to retain the respect of scientific reason must concede that a disclosure of the divine mind and heart is best achieved through the uniformity of natural law and the inviolable constitution of the soul."² Professor James Denney quotes with approval the words of Robertson Smith when he says, "If I am asked why I receive Scripture as the word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with the fathers of the Protestant Church, Because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the Bible alone I find God drawing near to man in Christ Jesus, and declaring to us in him his will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of his Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God him-

¹ *God the Creator and Lord of All* (New York, 1896), Vol. i. p. 44.

² *Bases of Religious Belief* (New York, 1897), p. 237.

self is able to speak such words unto my soul.”¹ God likewise is found revealed in Jesus Christ, not because he rose from the dead, but from his unique God-revealing personality,—a personality, however, which finds its expression in his resurrection, and guarantees the full value of that resurrection; so that Easter day can never lose its meaning, and the words “he has risen” must ever remain potentially true.

From this point of view, it is evident that we have nothing to fear from historical and literary criticism as a reasonable science. Such errors as may be found within the Bible do not destroy our religion. For, beyond the great, underlying, historical facts which no one questions, the realm of faith is distinct from that of historical and literary criticism. Historical and literary facts are not verified by the Holy Spirit. They make no appeal to our moral and spiritual nature.

This position, which has given us a new apprehension of the character of divine revelation, and allows a free field for criticism, involves no denial of the miraculous. The possibility and even the probability of miracles are freely granted, revealing the absolute liberty of the Creator within his sphere of activity, just as man has similar liberty within his own sphere. “Miracles may be held to be outflashes of psychic activity from the realm of eternal reason not inharmonious with that activity which appears in the regimented phenomena of the world.” “They may be fortissimo notes in the great harmony of God’s spiritual disclosures of himself.”

This position does not set aside the Bible as the supreme authority for Christian doctrine. The Bible still retains all the authority it in fact ever exercised, i.e., the author-

¹ See Dictionary of the Bible, edited by James Hastings (Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1898), Vol. i. p. 298.

² Bases of Religious Belief, p. 238.

ity of the truth which it contains. "It gives us the knowledge of Christ without which Christian theology would not exist, and enables us to look with Christian eyes upon the experiences and problems of religion. Both formally and informally it is our constant guide in exploring the great field of religion and theology." But man and the universe are all sources of theology. "Right understanding of the facts of human nature is the foundation of right conceptions concerning God." "The phenomena of nature make a real contribution to the knowledge of God, and theology must learn from them."¹

This is the new view, and on this view will the theology of the future be constructed. To some this is an alarming outlook. The Professor of Theology at Princeton Seminary speaks of this tendency as "*de-christianizing theology*."² Practically, however, there will be no violent break with the teachings of the past, because the Scriptures contain the highest moral and religious truth, and from their contents they will always hold the supreme position of authority. The gain, on the other hand, will be very great, because thus in our theological thinking we are brought in close sympathy with all humanity, and as we sing,

"There's a wideness in God's mercy,
Like the wideness of the sea";

so we can also sing,

"There's a wideness in God's speaking,
Like the wideness of the race."

Wherever there has been an aspiration after God, wherever man has prayed, there has God in some way answered. This makes all religions akin,—and affirms God to have been the same yesterday and to-day, fulfilling unto all men the gracious promise, "Ask, and it shall be given you;

¹ An Outline of Christian Theology, by William N. Clarke (Cambridge, 1894), pp. 44, 46, 47.

² Professor B. B. Warfield in the *Homiletic Review*, March, 1898.

seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Such a view, instead of de-christianizing theology, *re-christianizes* it.

The source of Christian theology or Christian doctrine, thus, is not only widened; but divine revelation under this view must be regarded as progressive. It did not cease when the apostles died. "On the contrary," to quote again Professor Samuel Harris, "we are living on the highest plane which God's self-revelation has yet attained, under the same revelation as of old continued, and progressively amplified in adapting it to new times and conditions. Christians in every generation trusting in God may say, 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined into our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. iv. 6). The revelation in Christ known to us historically is perpetually renewed to us, being illumined by the Spirit of God shining in our hearts, and quickening us to receive and apply it. 'He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall declare it unto you' (John xvi. 14)."¹ Practically this has always been realized in the Christian Church. The Bible practically has usually been applied according to the Christian consciousness. The Divine Spirit has led the church thus, from one period to another, into a higher and better apprehension of divine truth. Even when the old formulas are preserved, the ideas and their interpretation change. "We spend our lives, consciously or unconsciously," says one, "in putting new wine into old bottles. There is not a single dogma dating from two or three centuries back which is repeated in the same meaning as in its origination. We still speak of the inspiration of the prophets and of the apostles, of the atonement and of the Trinity, of the divinity of Christ, of miracles; but, whether in a greater or less degree, we under-

¹ God Creator and Lord of All, Vol. i. p. 110.

stand them differently from our fathers. The river flows on even when the waters are stagnant at the surface.

"But the elasticity of words and formulas has a limit. There comes a time when new wine causes the old bottles to break, when it becomes necessary for the church to make new vessels to receive it. Then new words appear in languages, and new dogmas in theology. It is thus that the dogmas of justification by faith and of universal priesthood came into prominence in the sixteenth century. New dogmas, do we call them? Rather we should say, old ones rising with new energy."¹

Are we now in such a period? Are the old bottles breaking, and is the church called upon to make new vessels? This is the evident feeling of the eloquent Sabatier. Certainly we have changed already the contents of certain vessels,—those of creation, inspiration, the atonement, divine retribution, those even of the deity of Christ and the Trinity of God. We do not exactly understand these terms as our fathers did. We are stripping off the accretions of past ages. It is true, also, that we are hesitating exactly what to put in their places. No one perhaps can definitely state what the new definitions or doctrines will be. Perhaps they will never be drawn very rigidly. We are becoming empiricists even in our theological reasoning. Religious truth, we are beginning to find, cannot be wholly expressed by intellectual formulas, for religion appeals to something else than the pure intellect; it grasps the soul by something else than a syllogism. Our conceptions, however, will be positive: there will be a real creation, a real inspiration, a real atonement, a real retribution, a real deity of our Lord, and a real triune Godhead; for, while the intellectual and spiritual horizon of man may widen, the seed thoughts of revelation are permanent. The needs of the human heart also ever remain the same, and there

¹ *The Vitality of Christian Dogmas*, by A. Sabatier (London, 1898), p. 44 f.

is something in evangelical religion which meets those needs. That something will always be retained. Our test of finding it will be our Christian experience or consciousness,—an experience or consciousness covering every faculty of man, his reason as well as his moral nature. We learn where nutrition lies in the products of the soil by observing scientifically what nature craves and what nature assimilates; so, likewise, shall we learn where the bread of life will be found by observing the craving for, and the application of, doctrine. The hunger of the soul both intellectual and spiritual must be satisfied. The divine life must be imparted or quickened. All doctrine is subordinate to this end and God, we may be sure, will grant this doctrine. The truth for the day in its day. “What man is there of you, who, if his son ask bread, will give him a stone; or if he ask a fish, will give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to them that ask him?”

ARTICLE II.

THE PLACE OF A MIRACLE.

BY THE REV. S. LEROY BLAKE, D.D.

THE place which a miracle occupies in the sacred narrative raises two questions: 1. What does a miracle prove? 2. What is its need?

1. *First*, then, let us ask what a miracle proves. Inasmuch as it is wrought by the intervention of divine power, it must prove the divinity of the system in whose interests it was wrought. It is a finger-mark of God which he left on the gospel when he passed it to us in Christ. It proves, also, that the power which works it is superior to all the laws of nature, and that these laws are obliged to bow to the will thus expressed.

A miracle also proves that the object for which it was wrought was good and worthy. Thus, before a wonder can be accepted as a miracle, the doctrine thus confirmed must commend itself to the conscience as good. Then the miracle seals the truth as divine. Thus miracles are the credentials of the bearer of the good word; signs that he has a special mission from God; proofs that he stands nearer to God than others, and that he is to be heard as himself the truth, or as a messenger standing in direct connection with him who is the truth (John xi. 42). So that all the miracles in the world could not compel assent of conscience to that which is not good. Miracles, so called, then become lies. And Paul tells us, that, even if an angel from heaven should bring another gospel, we are not to believe it (Gal. i. 8). It was right for Pharaoh to de-

mand of Moses a sign, for he came claiming to bring a message from God. It was the duty of Moses to make his claim good. On the other hand, Ahaz was charged with unbelief, because he would not ask for a miracle (Isa. vii. 10-13). For, that he cared nothing for the seal set to the words of Isaiah was sure evidence that he cared nothing for the promise which a miracle would have sealed.

The difference between mere tricks and real miracles may easily be seen. A miracle stands related to the highest moral ends; is always ethical. Mere tricks present no worthy end. Miracles are never wrought, in mere wantonness, for the sake of working them, but for some purpose which must commend itself to a good conscience; while the same cannot be said of mere thaumaturgic tricks. So that those who claim that the miracles of the Gospels are such tricks, of necessity cheapen the character, and weaken the force, of the narratives. A miracle cannot be in itself a merely futile act, issuing in nothing which is worthy.

Origen when he was plied with the alleged miracles of heathen sages, insisted upon this difference in character between them and the miracles of the Holy Scriptures. Thus he says, in reply to Celsus: "Let the Greeks show to us, among those who have been enumerated, any one whose deeds have been marked by a utility and splendor extending to after generations, and which have been so great as to produce a belief in the fables which represented them as of divine origin. . . . The whole habitable world contains evidence of the works of Jesus, in the existence of those churches of God which have been founded through him by those who have been converted from the practice of innumerable sins."¹ Again, speaking of a comparison of the miracles of Jesus with works of magic, he says: "There would indeed be a resemblance between them, if

¹ Against Celsus, Bk. i. chap. 67.

Jesus, like the dealers in magical arts, had performed his works only for show; but now there is not a single juggler who, by means of his proceedings, invites his spectators to reform their manners, or trains those to the fear of God who are amazed at what they see, nor who tries to persuade them so to live as men who are to be justified by God."¹ But Christ, by his miracles, did seek this very end. So that they are lifted, in character, far above magic arts, which are wrought for no end higher than themselves. The miracles of Moses issued in the Jewish polity; the tricks of the Egyptian jugglers issued in nothing. The miracles of Christ issued in the Christian church, and whole nations have been knit together through their help. But what have magic arts to show?

Thus the miracles in the gospel prove its ethical and worthy character. Being a fruit of Christ's power, they incorporate the word of salvation in an act of salvation. They are glimpses of the great redemptive work which he came to accomplish. They are his credentials that he came for a worthy end, with the sanction of God. They were pledges of a power which could with authority forgive sin. Thus when he was charged with blasphemy, because he said to the sick of the palsy (Matt. ix. 2), "Thy sins be forgiven thee," he replied, 'that you may know that I have power to forgive sins, I will work a miracle, and command the sick of the palsy to arise.' That is, he said, I will prove my power to do the greater act, which is less obvious to you, by doing the lesser act, which appeals to your senses, and is therefore more convincing (Matt. ix. 1-6). Thus the miracles of the New Testament stand forth, not only as proofs of the unrivaled power of Jesus, but also of his unapproachable gentleness and love; since his works of superhuman power were such as not to crush men with a sense of the presence of omnip-

¹ Against Celsus, Bk. i. chap. 68.

otence, but were such as to impress them with a sense of his boundless sympathy and compassion. Constant drafts were made upon his heart. The deepest and tenderest emotions of his nature were constantly called into play. The absence of these works of power and of love from the Gospel narratives would be a most serious loss in precisely this direction. We believe more profoundly that God so loved the world, because that Son whom he sent to die for it proved that love by so many wonderful exhibitions of his power and compassion.

Of course a miracle is not possible without a personal God, and a created universe within whose laws the wonder may be wrought. Therefore miracles are proofs that there is a personal God, immanent in and ruling over the universe. Dr. Behrends is right when he says, "God is immanent in the life of the world. Theism granted, and miracles are possible." I should add, and inevitable to a finite mind, "while the resurrection of Jesus Christ blocks the path of every man who ventures upon their universal rejection." If there be such a personal God, he can operate whenever and however he pleases, upon the universe which he has created. Nor would it be possible for any one to deny a miracle on the ground that it violates a constant experience. For a constant experience proves nothing, except what we are accustomed to; proves nothing as to the fact of God's will in some exceptional case; proves nothing as to what natural phenomena may appear. For no man's experience can lay claim to be universal, nor to be so conversant with the will of God as to define exactly what it is to be in a given case. Nor can any man's experience be conclusive against a fact established by the experience of multitudes of eye-witnesses. Nor can the experience of one age be urged to decide what the experience of the next age must be. Up to the time of Watt and Morse, millions could have testified that the universal ex-

perience of men was that trains were not drawn by steam, nor messages sent by electricity. But the experience of men since is quite the contrary. So the experience and observation of men testified to the miracles of Christ, nor can their testimony be impeached, except by proving that they did not tell the truth, or that they were practiced upon by the arts of a magician, or of a juggler. But this cannot be done. For the works of Jesus all go to prove that he practiced no such deception. They all bore testimony to his unwearied efforts to do men good. About the close of the second century, Origen wrote, "The name of Jesus can still remove distractions from the minds of men, and expel demons, and also take away diseases; and produce a marvelous meekness of spirit and complete change of the character."¹ Then we have one set of experiences testifying to the train of cars drawn by steam, and the message sent by electricity, and another set of earlier experiences testifying against them. Will those who assert the infallible argument of experience risk their argument by laying their necks on the rail just in front of the fast express which is thundering along at the top of its speed? Why, then, must the experience of Hume, and Huxley, and Spencer, and a host, be urged as decisive against the testimony both of eye-witnesses, and the works themselves, every one of which was for the sole end of the good of men! "In their anxiety to get rid of the Divine and Superhuman element of the gospel," rationalists "are driven into conjectures and hypotheses more improbable than the miracles which they deny."² The miracles are in the Gospel narratives. They are uniformly associated with acts of sympathy and compassion for the sorrowing, the suffering, the penitent, the needy. Thus the majestic miracles, together with that character which commands the admiration of the ages, to-

¹ Against Celsus, Bk. i. chap. 67.

² *Ecce Deus-Homo* (Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1868), p. 20.

gether with that teaching which was so startling, so awful, so tender, together with that death agony encircled with such a halo of moral glory, together with that empty tomb, and the unrivaled splendor of the risen one, point to the eternal power of our Lord himself, and declare, in words of an almost audible voice, this is the incarnate love of God, who was more than man, and was in the beginning with God, and was God.¹

Before passing to the second question, we cannot forbear enforcing this argument from miracles with another consideration. The extreme school of the so-called "higher criticism" has eliminated from the Gospels everything which bears in the least upon the supernatural; thus following the lead of Strauss and Renan. What is left after they are through with the Gospels retains little to arouse interest. And yet the question will force itself to the lips, 'how is it that this hero of a baseless legend, this impotent and fallible Christ of the "higher criticism," could become the founder of the Christian church, which has survived the assaults of its enemies, and more deadly internal dissensions and noxious impurities, for nearly nineteen hundred years?' The difficulty of accounting for the phenomena presented by the Christian church on the suppositions of the extreme school of the "higher criticism" is far graver than to accept the Gospel teachings as to the supernatural. Indeed, the difficulty is so grave that Renan was obliged to ascribe some faint semblance of divinity to our Lord, and admit that he at least believed that he wrought miracles.² It is much more satisfactory to accept the miracles as proof that God's hand was concerned in producing the Gospels, and that the plan there unfolded was devised in the divine mind and heart. Thus miracles may be accepted as emphasizing the declaration that "God so loved the world, that he gave

¹ Liddon's Bampton Lectures, p. 146.

² Bampton Lectures, p. 147.

his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

2. Our second question is, What is the need of miracles? John Foster said that "a miracle is the ringing of the great bell of the universe, in order to summon men to listen to the sermon." If the miracle accomplished no more, it arrested men's attention and turned it to the truth. And since a miracle is wrought only by God, and as a seal to that which is good, it must have the effect to confirm an unprejudiced mind in belief of the truth. It may be said that Christ was himself sufficient justification of his claims, and that we need no miracles to lead us to believe in the historic Christ. But on the event of his baptism, at the threshold of his ministry, God added the testimony of his audible voice, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." So some may say that the gospel is its own proof. But not to every mind. Men still say, as did Pharaoh to Moses, "Show a miracle for you." Only recently Mr. Huxley has demanded miracles in proof of the claims of Christianity. Certainly they must have been a necessity to an age which expected religious revelations to be supported by miraculous proofs. This expectation that a divine system will be attended by miraculous phenomena seems to point out that the miracles of the New Testament were suitable to the truth, and were a natural accompaniment of its introduction. They point the gospel out as different and apart from all other truth. Says Dr. Dick, "But the miracles of Christianity must have awakened all the attention of mankind, because they decided, if true, the most important question upon which the human mind can fix its anxiety."¹ Again, Dr. Dick says, "Miracles may be said to have been the great proofs of revelation to the first ages, who saw them performed."² To say that they were not a necessity to the

¹ Theology, Vol. i. p. 74. ² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

system which God was revealing to men, is to question his wisdom, or doubt the revelation, inasmuch as they attended upon its being given to men. Only an atheist could doubt the possibility of miracles. To an enlightened believer in God, the laws of the universe must appear to be nothing but the exertion of his power. Surely the mode of the operation of his power he could change for an end worthy of his wisdom, and do no damage to the universe. In order to demonstrate to men that a revelation is from God and authoritative, it might be necessary to some minds that he should attend the giving of it with such visible proof of the supremacy of his will over natural law, as a miracle would be. Christ seems to me to have pointed to this necessity, and recognized it when he healed the paralytic as a demonstration of his power and right to forgive sins. This view is held by Dr. Dick, who says, "that a case may be conceived in which there would be a reason for the working of miracles, and that is the case in which they are alleged to have been actually wrought." "Now if God should be pleased to make a revelation for the instruction and happiness of his creatures, miracles were evidently necessary, because it was only by them that it could be attested. . . . Here, then, is a case in which miracles were called for to confirm the testimony of the ministers of heaven, to convince others that they spoke by higher authority than their own. . . . They [revelation and miracles] are inseparably connected, the one could not be without the other."¹

Miracles, since they are the interference of divine power with the usual working of the laws of the created universe, causing results in nature which otherwise would not take place, are visible proof that the power and will of God are present in the created universe through these laws in their ordinary working. For only the power which created

¹Theology, Vol. i. p. 73.

these laws, and works through them, could so interfere as in a miracle. And the power which does so interfere, must be the power whose governing will these laws express in their ordinary working. So "miracles were signs of the presence of God [that this was the view of Nicodemus, see John iii. 2] with those who exhibited these seals, as they have been called, by which their commission to communicate his will was attested. . . . Those who witnessed the supernatural works by which the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ were confirmed, were furnished with the means of being as fully assured that the revelations proceeded from God, as if they had heard him pronounce them with an audible voice; and we, to whom their testimony to the works has been faithfully transmitted, may have equal confidence in the divinity of these revelations."¹ This view is confirmed by the fact, already pointed out, that Christ rested his claim to be believed upon his miracles: "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, or else believe me for the very works' sake" (John xiv. 11); "The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me" (John v. 36). Can anything be plainer, than that Christ here brought forward his miracles to testify to his divine authority? Can it then, in the face of these words of Jesus, be claimed that miracles were not necessary in the biographies of our Lord? Not without invalidating the whole record.

It must also be borne in mind that the miracles of the Bible were chiefly performed in the presence of bitter enemies, who would not admit their reality unless compelled to do so. The magicians of Egypt, it will be remembered, were forced to confess that the wonders which Moses wrought were of God, and utterly beyond them (Ex. viii.

¹ *Theology*, Vol. i. pp. 75, 76.

19). So the chief priests and rulers were obliged to confess that a notable miracle had been wrought by Peter and John (Acts iv. 16). They accepted it as a sign of the divine authority of the preaching of these disciples, and thought to prevent the spread of the gospel, thus divinely attested, by silencing the preachers. So, in the words of Dr. Pond, "the great end of miracles, obviously, was to attest the divine mission of those who performed them, and the divine authority of the revelations which they were instructed to deliver."¹ The object of the miracles wrought by the apostles was for the same end: "They went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following" (Mark xvi. 20). After Peter and John had been commanded to speak no more in the name of Jesus (Acts iv. 18), they went to the company of disciples, and they all prayed, "Grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus" (Acts iv. 29, 30). The record states that this prayer was answered. When the apostleship of Paul was called in question, he vindicated it by appealing to his miracles. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you, in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds" (2 Cor. xii. 12). The miracle of Elijah in raising the widow's son drew from her this confession, "By this I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the Lord in thy mouth is truth" (1 Kings xvii. 24).

We do not misinterpret the Scriptures, then, when we say that miracles were designed to attest the divine mission of those who wrought them, and the divine authority of their communications, and thus to establish the faith of those who heard, and of those who should become acquainted with their words and works. That this result

¹ Christian Theology, p. 87.

followed from the miracles cannot be denied. Their presence in the narrative, accomplishing this result, affords strong presumption that they were necessary to this end. Even Trench, who cannot be accused of unduly pressing the argument from miracles, says that "the miracles are to be the credentials for the bearer of that good word, signs that he has a special mission for the realization of the purposes of God in regard to humanity."¹

The miracles of Jesus would seem to be historical facts which admit of no doubt. There were too many eye-witnesses who would have detected and exposed a fraud. But the question forces itself upon the mind, why he devoted so much time to activities of this kind, which might have been given to teaching, if they occupied no important place in his mission? "For it is evident from the report of our Gospels, that, as Ewald has it, the working of miracles was almost to the end of his life, 'his every-day task.'"² It is no assumption to say that they were not simply a spontaneous effect of his sympathy with human misery, but were necessarily attendant upon his office as Saviour. "His miracles belong to his office as Saviour. Otherwise he would not have cured some blind people and some lepers, raised three persons from the dead, etc.; he would have destroyed all blindness, all leprosy, death itself, forever."³ For only so could spontaneous sympathy have satisfied itself. "For what purpose, then, were the miracles wrought? Jesus calls them signs; and so they were,—eternal manifestations, destined to make the weaker spirits understand the moral work he had come to accomplish in the race. As his teaching was a miracle in words, so his miracles were a teaching in acts. . . . Thus miracles serve not to produce faith in carnal hearts, but to make manifest to souls disposed to believe, or already believing,

¹ *Miracles*, p. 28. ² Godet in *Schaff-Herzog*, Vol. ii. p. 1523.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1524.

the riches of the treasures which have been offered them in the person of Jesus."¹

The religion of Jesus Christ involves a mystery, as Paul frequently declares.² Our Lord himself told his disciples that the kingdom which he had come to set up, was a kingdom of mysteries (Mark iv. 11). Then we say, as Professor Park remarks, that miracles were appropriate to a religious system, which was itself a miracle. They were appropriate to the truth which Jesus came to announce. They were needed as signs and seals of the message and the messenger of God. The world had a right to demand of one professing to come to them from God, that he show his credentials, before being believed. Therefore Dr. Channing was not wrong when he said that miracles are a primary and essential attribute of the religion of Christ. "For Christianity is not only confirmed by miracles, but is in itself, in its very essence, a miraculous religion."³ No human mind could have gathered it, in the ordinary use of its powers, from the ordinary course of nature. It was wholly extraordinary both in its character and in its manifestations to men. It was entirely different from anything which had gone before it, or which came after it. Its doctrines claim for it the distinction of being a supernatural provision for the recovery of the race. It no more, therefore, could have come without miracles, than the ascending sun could shine without shedding light and warmth around. They were a necessity to the gospel, because they were an essential attribute of its character; belonged to it, as one mystery may belong to another.

Again, to quote Dr. Channing once more,⁴ "the great purpose of God . . . in establishing the order of nature

¹ Godet in Schaff-Herzog, Vol. ii. p. 1524.

² See Rom. xi. 25; xvi. 25; Eph. i. 3-12; vi. 19; Col. i. 26, 27; ii. 2; iv. 3; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

³ Works (Boston and New York, 1848), Vol. iii. p. 106. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

is, to form and advance the mind; and if the case should occur, in which the interests of the mind could be best advanced by departing from this order, or by miraculous agency, then the great purpose of creation, the great end of its laws and regularity, would demand such departure; and miracles, instead of warring against, would concur with nature." He goes on to say that the coming of Jesus Christ into the world, to give men light on subjects of deepest concern to them—the doctrines of God, of life, and of immortality—was just such a case. Miracles were needed to arrest men's attention to these great fundamental truths and to show them (1) that God had deeper regard for them, than for the regular routine of his material laws, (2) and that his care extended even to individuals.

Without stopping here to discuss Renan's theory of miracles, we may note that he admits their necessity. They were expected of Christ. "It was the received opinion that the Messiah would perform many. . . . Jesus had therefore to choose between two alternatives, either to renounce his mission, or to become a wonder-worker."¹ It is not saying too much, that if he had offered to men a system without a miracle, he not only would not have been believed in his own day, but also would have been rejected by the very critics who now cast aside the Gospels because they contain supernatural narrations. It is true, then, that Jesus had to choose between two alternatives; either to work miracles, or assure the defeat of his mission from the start. "In a general sense, it is therefore true to say that Jesus was a miracle-worker, and an exorcist only in spite of himself. . . . The miracles of Jesus were a violence done him by his time, a concession which the *necessity* of the hour wrung from him."² The only point at which I am at all in harmony with these views is, that miracles were a necessity to the system which Jesus came to establish. The

¹ *Life of Jesus*, p. 230.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

need of them lay in the unique character of the gospel message. "They were demanded by the state of the world which preceded them, and they have left deep traces on all subsequent ages." They belonged to the introduction of the gospel-message, as oxygen belongs to the air to give it life-giving properties. The gospel without miracles would be like the air without oxygen. With Trench, we say, "We should greatly miss them if they did not appear in sacred history, if we could not point to them there; for they belong to the very idea of a Redeemer, which would remain most incomplete without them." They confirm the sum total of the impression which the divine revelation was intended to make on us.

ARTICLE III.

WARP AND WOOF.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK A. NOBLE, D.D.

MEN and women who were born in northern New England, as also in many other of the more rural sections of our land, a half-century ago, can hardly fail to carry in memory very vivid pictures of the old spinning-wheel and loom. The spinning-wheel was more common than the loom; but in every well-to-do and well-furnished farmhouse the loom was an essential part of the family belongings. It requires only small play of the imagination for the ear still to catch echoes of the whir of the busy wheel as the soft rolls were spun into yarn, and the thump of the loom as the nicely adjusted threads of prepared material were changed into cloth. Many a wife and mother put some of the most effective services of her life into these forms of wearying activity. Many a lad, full of the promise and potency of high achievement, grew from infancy to manhood with few suits, if indeed any, save those which were constructed out of these home-made fabrics.

It is a wonder more poets have not sung the song of the loom. Even our beloved Whittier, whose heart was so full of genuine sympathy with all forms of toil, and who transfigured cobblers and huskers and lumbermen and drovers and ship-builders and fishermen with the magic touch of his genius and invested their simple lives with an abiding glory, left the picturesque form of the dear, old domestic weaver, who for two centuries and more was such an important factor in the life of the home and of the nation, to

fade out and pass away like the rude machine whose loaded shuttle with deft hand she drove back and forth till her web and her work on earth were alike complete.

But, sung or unsung, the story of the loom has wrought its way into the sweet recollections of multitudes of old-time, country-bred folk.

Aside, however, from the high uses it was made to subserve, there was a lesson in that weaving, as there is in all weaving, on which it is worth while to lay stress. That old loom back there in the valleys and on the hillsides of New England in its aims and processes was typical of higher and more significant movements which are all the time going on under providence and in the unfoldings of history. That devoted woman, sitting there on her hard seat from morning till night and patiently struggling with her task, was doing in her small, human way just what God is all the time doing in his larger and diviner way.

Two constituents entered into the finished product of the loom—warp and woof. But observe how these constituents were arranged in order to secure the result of a woven web. The warp was the mass of threads which extended lengthwise and ran straight through from end to end of the whole. The threads with which the shuttles were laden, and which were sent from side to side across the strands of the warp, were the woof. The warp, once in, became the fixed element and gave permanence and continuity to the web; while to the woof there was a freer play, and the substance and form and color of it might be changed at will. The warp was the background and body of the work; and what it was at the beginning it was at the end. The woof afforded margin for experimenting, for indulging the whims and fancies of the hour, and gratifying the conceit of originality.

Strikingly analogous to this is the way in which the kingdom of God is carried forward in the earth. It is

largely after the fashion of the web in the loom. In working out the high and beneficent scheme of filling the world with light, and advancing humanity into the possession and habit of righteousness, there is the warp and the woof,—or the abiding and the changeable; the elements which are permanent and necessary and which condition progress, and the elements which grow out of current moods and suit themselves more readily in hue and structure to the temper of the hour or the age. In other words, there are certain truths which may be called warp truths, for the reason that they are large and vital and fundamental, and in the substance of them hold their own, and must hold their own, from the inception to the completing of God's redeeming purpose; while there are certain other truths, or rather it may be certain other forms of statement given to these same large and vital and fundamental truths, which are only the woof, and so are subject to any chance loading of the shuttle with the trend of feeling, or ruling exegesis, or the theological thought of the time.

This admits of simple illustration.

In the creed of any evangelical church which pretends to have any creed at all, there would be at least these articles: There would be an article concerning the Divine Being,—his existence and character and attributes; an article concerning man as a dependent and sinful and yet responsible and immortal creature; an article concerning the possibility and the method of communication between God and his earthly child; and an article on Christ,—his true nature and his mission to humanity.

It is easy to see how indispensable these truths must be, not only to a coherent theory of religious faith and life, but to the practical development of religious faith and life, and the setting up of a kingdom whose head is to be God, and whose law is to be righteousness, and whose end is to be the blessedness of all its subjects.

There must be an Infinite Personality behind all,—intelligent, self-directing, the Creator of the ends of the earth, the Sovereign of the Universe, the Father of all who bear his image, and the Moral Ruler of all rational creatures. There is no beginning, no headway, no end in view; no guiding thought, no eternal standard of right, no propelling motive, no source of inspiration,—nothing but guesswork and blind stumbling, if there be no God from whom and towards whom are all great movements. The fact of God is warp, and not woof.

There must be the fact of man just as he is,—man with his soul athrob with immortality, with his rare capacities and measureless possibilities, unspeakably precious in the estimation of heaven; but in a moral condition of alienation from the Father, and altogether incapable by any devices of his own—any self-will or self-denial or self-culture or virtuous behavior—of throwing off sin and the guilt and defilement and bondage of sin, and thus restoring the broken relations of peace with God which were destroyed in the transgressions of the law, or the whole idea of redemption counts for nothing and falls to pieces. If man is only a creature of a day,—a mere animal and nothing more,—or if he is not a guilty being and under condemnation, it is but the make-belief of children or the incoherent babblings of lunacy, to talk about a scheme of salvation for the lost and the regeneration of humanity through the interposition of divine energy and influence.

This view of man runs straight through from beginning to end of all that we know of divine interposition in behalf of the race. It is either asserted or implied in all efforts which are made by the loving Father to lift human souls out of corruption into purity, out of guilt into secure standing in righteousness, and out of alienation into a glad fellowship with all that is highest and best on earth and in heaven.

There are other views of man,—other views concerning his origin, character, condition, and destiny. There are other schemes than those which are conceived and operated on the basis of the gospel for meeting the needs of man and advancing him in knowledge and self-respect and happiness. But from the standpoint of the teaching of Christ, the fact of man just as he is, with his vast powers and incalculable worth, lost in sin and helpless without God, is warp, and not woof.

There must be the possibility of the communication of the divine thought to the human mind. Unless God can speak to men and make them know that he is speaking to them; and unless men can rise up into moods in which they can hold intercourse with God and God can catch the articulation of their wants, it is only a fine bit of deception practiced on ourselves when we make our declaration about knowing God and coming into conformity to his will. On the supposition of a God with whom no communication can be held there could be no such thing as knowledge of God and conformity to his will; and it would be time worse than wasted to stop to discuss the question of revelation and inspiration. Without this possibility of communication between the soul and God we are utterly at sea in all our speculations and trusts and hopes; and to entertain the notion that we can ever hear his voice or penetrate his ear with our speech is to become the dupes of our own fancy. All confidence that we can come into the mind of God whether as Father or Son or Holy Spirit rests on the assumption that there can be intelligible and genuine interchange of thought between the divine and the human. This is presupposition. This is bedrock.

It was in this faith and on this assumption that Abraham and Moses and Isaiah and Paul all acted. Without this deep and abiding conviction, or rather without this fact to be source of this conviction, the world would have

had no Abraham and Moses and Isaiah and Paul. Hence, again, the possibility of communication between the soul and God, or receiving knowledge from God in any of the various forms in which he may make his way and will clear to men, is not a cross-thread, but an invariable and continuous strand. It is warp, and not woof.

The same is true of Christ. Christ the manifestation of God in the flesh; Christ the Son of God; Christ the Atoning Sacrifice; Christ the Light of the World and the Hope of Glory,—Christ in all these vital aspects and relations is fundamental and unchangeable. From first hint to latest record, and on to what promises to be the final consummation of all things in him and through him in God, there is this sameness in the Christ. From beginning to end and all through, he must be what he is for substance, and the same for substance, or the whole plan of redemption as it is brought to light in the Scriptures and unfolded in the movements of history, comes to naught.

There are systems of religion in which Christ has no place. There are systems of religion in which he has a place only as a teacher and example—an eminent and worthy martyr, and not as a Crucified Saviour. Men may be atheists, or agnostics, or materialists, or pantheists, or deists; or they may be adherents of those organizations in which Jesus in his twofold claim of Son of man and Son of God has only feeble recognition; but they cannot be Christians, in the sense of embracing the system of Christian truth as it lies spread out on the face of the New Testament, without accepting Christ in his real divine sonship and in his vicarious and atoning sacrifice on the Cross, as a vital and central and continuous factor of the whole. Christ as God manifest in the flesh; Christ as given of God, that, whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have eternal life; Christ who loved us and gave himself for us; Christ as the way and the truth and the life, is

now and evermore what the Apostle saw him to be—not a woof-fact, but a warp-fact.

These specifications might be multiplied; but enough are here brought forward to show what is meant, and the importance of what is meant, when speaking of warp-truths. They are the underlying and essential truths of the Christian system. They are lengthwise truths. They run from end to end. Wherever the system appears in its integrity, whether as a theory or a working force, these truths and others of a kindred significance will be found present and filling their place. Not one of them can be given up without in effect giving up the whole. Not one of them can be displaced by any other truth or half-truth without overturning and really destroying the whole conception of the religion of which it is a vital part. God is fundamental. Man in his needs through sin and in his possibilities through redemption is fundamental. Communication between the divine and the human is fundamental. Christ crucified, a vicarious and atoning Saviour, is fundamental. There are other truths which fall into the same category, like the truths of the Holy Spirit and his work, the free agency of man, the kingdom of God, and rewards and punishments according to deserts.

But when we turn from truths to definitions, from truths to statements of truth, we are on a different plane, and have in hand an altogether different task. We are no longer dealing with warp, but with woof. We have passed from the sphere of what is necessary and unchangeable to the sphere of that which has afforded freest play for learning and logic and ingenuity and fancy, or for all of these in one. It is one thing to assert and acknowledge God; especially God as he is conceived in the relations of the Trinity; it is quite another thing to define God in a way wholly to satisfy the mind. It is one thing to accept the inspiration of the Scriptures and to recognize the illu-

minating presence and guiding hand of the Spirit in the pages of the Old and New Testaments; it is something so unlike this to tell exactly what it is, that no generally accepted theory of inspiration has ever yet been formed. This is to-day the most unsettled of all the unsettled questions in the realm of theological discussion. It is one thing to know and freely admit that man is lost—is out of the way, alienated from God, under sin and the defilement and bondage and condemnation of sin, and that he can help himself and be helped only through the divine method of salvation; but to state the case of man's lost condition in a manner to meet the approval even of those who are most forward to acknowledge the fact, or at any rate the approval of a large number of these, has been found to be out of the question. Too many modifications and limitations are required. It is one thing to believe that Christ is the Redeemer of lost souls, the way to the Father, and that no man cometh unto the Father but by him: it is a widely different and more difficult thing to put all the Hows and Whys and Wherefores of the proceeding into satisfactory terms.

Thus it is in the sphere of statement and definition that the chief trouble arises, and controversies come to their sharpest edge. It is not the great, main fact; but the philosophy of the fact. Or it is not the great, main fact; but the form and import of the words in which the fact shall be set forth to the world. It is not the thought, but the phrasing of the thought, which engenders heat and stirs up strife. Or to throw it into the form of our figure once more, it is not over the warp, but the woof, that the loudest noise is made, and the passions of controversialists are most inflamed.

The late Dr. Schaff published three ponderous volumes on "The Creeds of Christendom." It is an invaluable contribution to the literature of the Christian church.

But one has only to glance through these pages to see how the chief contention of scholars and parties in Councils and Convocations and Assemblies, with rare exceptions, like that, for instance, in the fierce struggle over the nature of Christ, and through which the true divinity of Christ was established as a fundamental doctrine of Christendom for all time, has been concerning not the truths to be accepted, but the phraseology in which they should be announced. The questions up have been as to what the Scriptures teach, and what ought to be believed by disciples of our Lord; but the disagreements and splits have come largely over phrases too hotly insisted on by partisans who could not be made to see eye to eye.

It does not follow from this that clear views of religious truths and accurate definitions are of no consequence—far from it. Clear views and accurate definitions are of consequence everywhere. The multiplication table is a clear statement of the simple relations of numbers; and both its attractiveness and its value lie in its absolute accuracy. Unless correctly apprehended, it is of no service. Scientists are all the time seeking facts; and when the facts are found they go a step further and seek to find words which will exactly cover and express the facts. Everybody commends them for so doing. There are laws of chemistry, and laws of astronomy, and laws of electricity. The more thoroughly these laws can be mastered, and the more correctly and lucidly stated, the better. There are moral laws, and the more severely precise the formularies in which these laws can be announced to men the more favorable will be their chance of recognition. There are statute laws, and deeds and wills, and instruments of purchase and sale, and contracts of various sorts; and it is a matter both of common knowledge and universal experience how much accuracy and clearness in all these enactments and forms contribute to the mutual good

understanding of individuals and to the peace and harmony of society. Truth never has all the advantage which belongs to truth, and is never in condition to exert its full influence on thought and life, save when it is truly stated. It is bad to know anything in half when it can be known in whole. It is bad to have a confused idea of anything when it is possible to have a well-articulated and connected idea. To ascertain facts, and sift them and adjust them until they stand for exactly what they are in themselves, and hold their true place in the world's system of life and order, is in the highest degree commendable. Why be content to grope in the dark, if it is possible to get out into the sunlight? Why rest satisfied with a thing done awkwardly or only half done, when it can be done neatly and completely? To belittle clear notions and clear statements of notions, if such statements can be made, is to scout common sense and do vast mischief. Councils and Convocations have wrangled over forms of doctrines; and churches have divided and subdivided until we have sect upon sect even inside the same general fellowship; nevertheless some things are clearer to the common thought than they would have been without these efforts to define truth more accurately. Whatever may have been the losses in the struggle, this is certainly a gain.

It is sometimes claimed that the statements and definitions to be found in our creeds, especially in our more elaborate creeds, are so colored by the eccentricities of the periods in which they were evolved, and so biased by hot, partisan prejudices, that no confidence can be placed in them, as full and well-rounded utterances of the great truths of the Word of God.

This is true in part; but only in part. It is here as it is in other spheres of thought and activity. Progress everywhere has been secured by fierce conflicts, and all the great land-marks of the ages are battle-scarred.

Through the contentions of philosophers, light, not otherwise likely to have dawned, has broken in on questions of philosophy. It is by sharp assault and defense—chiefly among themselves—that the advocates of Evolution have scored such advances as they have made.

Not only the attainment, but the apprehension, of civil rights, has been the outcome of struggle upon struggle. *Magna Charta*, like the purer air which follows a deluging cloud-burst, was the child of storms; but its assertions of rights and privileges abide still in force, and are accepted by all liberty-loving people. Since the troubled days of William and Mary it has been one of the high and acknowledged prerogatives of the English Parliament to determine the succession to the throne; but no such conclusion would have been reached had it not been for the hand-to-hand and long-continued contest which the people were forced to wage against the blind wilfulness and grinding oppression of the Stuarts. Our American Independence is not the less precious and glorious—not the less a priceless inheritance—because it came to us through the smoke of battle and at the cost of patriot blood. The statements and definitions to be found in the Constitution under which we live, lose none of their measureless value from having been hammered out on the anvil of diverse opinions.

In some respects statements and definitions are likely to be better when wrought into shape in the white heat of jealous and contending factions. Men then are in dead earnest, and watchful, and sure to go to the bottom of things if they can. It took the great Arian Controversy to advance the Christ into his true place in his own church, and fitly magnify him to the world. It took the fermentation and fierce outbreak of the great Reformation suitably to reëmphazize the doctrine of salvation through faith in the Son of God, and to restore even a section of the com-

munion of believers to its right position, and to organize and set Protestantism on the way to the mighty conquests over opinions and movements which it has been able to achieve in these modern centuries.

It is to be admitted—admitted because it is a fact, and allows no denial—that statements of truth are sometimes issued and insisted on in a temper not altogether ingenuous and with ends in view which are open to grave suspicions. Men often deny the truth out and out. The merit of this position is that we know where the men are. There is no concealment and no deception. Men also—particularly men of an original cast of mind—state the truth in their own language because nobody else has ever done so in a fashion to win their assent. This is a universal right and must be recognized. Then again men in delicate positions, or in positions where their good standing with their associates or supporters, or their comfort and emoluments are at stake, make statements which are purposely equivocal. Their statements mean one thing to themselves and another thing to other people.

As is well known, the Presbyterian Church of England, which was brought to the front and made the Established Church, so far as possible, in the stormy times of Cromwell, drifted so far away that, while it was still Presbyterian in form and name, it was Unitarian in doctrine and spirit. But it is not so well known as it ought to be, that this movement went on in the face of protests, by some who were helping it forward, that they were still sound in the faith. The great historic and famous institution of learning which was founded in America at Cambridge, and which has made the name of Harvard forever memorable, was taken out of the fellowship of the descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans whose gifts and toils and prayers had laid its corner-stone and reared its resplendent walls, and turned over to the direction of another body, while

representative members of board and faculty were trying to make all interested parties believe that the new formularies of doctrine, and the new turn and accent given to the presentations of truth, meant substantially what the old meant. These are marked and painful instances of departure from a conception of Christ which is central and fundamental to the Christian system under the guise of putting the old faith in a new light.

It would be possible to add to these instances; but two such conspicuous ones are enough. The utmost stretch of charity does not require that intelligent people shall permit themselves to be duped and hoodwinked. Neither statements of doctrine nor subscriptions to doctrine are always sincere. There are men with an ethical sense so keen that they can do nothing by indirection or in an underhanded way: they are always out in the open. There are other men whose motives will hardly bear the light, and whose movements it is always well to watch.

But, for all this, the wide distinction between truth and the statement or definition of truth exists, and is never to be dropped out of mind.

It is not the same thing for a man to say that he rejects God as it is for him to say that he rejects what this one or that one has to affirm of God,—his mode of being, his attributes, his nature and character, his method of coming into disclosure to rational beings, and his purposes. The two things are different. The fact of human sinfulness is evident to many minds and is freely confessed, as is also the fact that if a man is ever helped out of sin it must be by the divine hand; while the terms commonly used to define sin, and set forth its origin and nature and extent and consequences, may not be wholly satisfactory to them. Such cases are not uncommon. A man may hold tenaciously to the real inspiration of the Scriptures, and be as sure as he is of his own existence that somehow, in some

very positive way, God was behind the record of events and the revelations of truth which we find in the Bible, and yet not be satisfied with any explanation of the fact,—any theory of the manner and kind and degree of the influence exerted to bring about the fact,—which he can formulate in his own mind or that others can formulate for him. The two ideas or propositions again are entirely unlike. In deepest sincerity a man may trust his all to Christ for salvation, and look for salvation through no other way than the way of the Cross of Calvary, and at the same time and in the same sincerity be forced to confess his inability to accept any of the ordinary views of the atonement which are held and taught. The fact is one thing and the philosophy of the fact is another thing, and the two are by no means identical.

So it is with reference to all the fundamental truths of religion. The truths themselves, the truths in the substance of them, are to be held with all the tenacity of the law of gravitation; but the forms in which the truths are held, afford wide margin for charity and toleration, and men are to bear and forbear with each other in their statements and definitions. The one is the trunk; the other is the summer foliage of the tree.

This is a matter of grave, practical moment. We are living in a period when there is a great deal of smoke and fog in the atmosphere of the religious world. Searching questions are flying back and forth. Scholars on fire with enthusiasm are pushing their fresh investigations along all the lines of the past of the church of God. They are looking with keen eyes into the origin and composition of the Old Testament and the New, into the nature and extent of prophecy, into the successive stages in the development of the divine plan in history, into the relation of the Apostles to Christ and the authority of their writings, into the Gospels and what they do really say and mean, into

the way man has come into existence and his place and destiny in the universe, and into the whole conception and scope and outlook of the Kingdom of God. In view of the aim and results of these investigations, we have extreme radicals and extreme conservatives, with more or less of mutual crimination and bitterness.

So, as already suggested, the need is very great to distinguish very sharply between what is vital and essential and what lies on the surface and is only of incidental consequence. There are dissents and departures which go to the heart of things, and work wide and permanent mischief. These justify serious alarm and firm resistance. There are dissents and defections which have their ground in unsatisfactory presentations of truth. These, no matter how far the divergence may seem to go, call for the exercise of largest patience.

The questions to be determined, therefore, in each instance in which we may be called upon to sit in judgment on a man's attitude towards theology, or the moral condition of men, or the Scriptures, or last things, is whether it is the truth which has been surrendered, or merely some statement of truth against which protest has been uttered.

When a man who has believed in the personality and fatherhood of God gives up his belief, and falls back into a cold materialism, or a vague pantheism, or even agnosticism in most of its types, his defection involves everything, and dries up the fountains of spirituality. But when a man still holds to all that is essential in God, and looks to him for help, and clings to his great and precious promises, and maintains his fellowship with him, though on mature reflection he feels constrained to abandon some views of God which the majority of devout people hold, his change of front is in no wise vital, and people are not to rush into newspapers, and mount platforms, and exploit

pulpits with the charge that he is an atheist, and perhaps something worse.

When a man openly denies the sinfulness of the human soul, and maintains that what people who are evangelical in their faith and views call sin, and mourn over because it is a grievous offense to God, is after all only a mistake—a natural and easily excusable shortcoming, a blunder fallen into in the process of development, it is evident he is striking at a fact which is central, and one on which the whole scheme of redemption through the incarnation and crucifixion of Christ is pivoted. The Son of God was here to seek and to save that which was lost; and had men not been lost in sin, Christ would not have been here in the form and for the purpose set forth in the New Testament. If for substance, however, men accept this view of human nature as alienated from God and under condemnation, and yet do not care to employ language which seems to set this fact forth in hues unnecessarily dark, or language which does not seem to be altogether true, like that old and unfortunate phrase—"total depravity"—they are not to be denounced, nor mistrusted, nor to have their liberty of opinion abridged.

The same formula will cover the proper attitude to be assumed with regard to the Scriptures. Just now, as may be said again, there is endless confusion and discord in the mind of the religious public over the subject of inspiration. The question is how far, in the new light which Higher Criticism is alleged to have thrown upon the authorship of the various books of the Bible and the method in which they were constructed, it is possible to hold to the old-time and conventional opinions of the Spirit's agency in directing the movements of the minds of individuals in the productions of the Sacred Writings. Some appear to think that if a later date than the previously accepted one be given to Genesis, or a dual authorship ascribed to Isaiah,

or if Job be considered in the aspect of a drama, everything trustworthy and sacred about the books must be surrendered, and the whole remanded to the category of mere history and literature. But this does not follow. Unquestionably Job is a drama. What the ultimate conclusions may be with reference to the composition and time of the composition of the historical books of the Old Testament, or the structure and import of the prophets, major and minor, is not so clear now as it will be a number of years hence. Whatever the conclusion, however, the present discussion has to do with forms and methods, and not with the substance of things. If a man still finds the divine presence and feels the divine quickening in the Pentateuch; if he is still touched in his religious emotions and stirred through and through in his religious purposes by the book of Isaiah; if the Psalms are still wings on which his soul rises to the gates of heaven, why be over-anxious about the minor considerations of dates and scribes? God is behind the Book still, and he is in the Book still; and it bears testimony to him.

In certain forms and ways of apprehending Christ men differ. They differ, and differ widely, in their notions of the ground of the efficacy of his salvation. If a person who has once taken Christ to be his Saviour, and has held him forth to men as the sole foundation on which to build the hope of a blessed future, turns from him, and no longer trusts him, nor tries to persuade others to trust him, for redemption, but drops him down in the scale of being, and classes him with Confucius and Buddha and Socrates and Mohammed, and other eminent instructors and leaders, it is clear that he has no further right to be called a Christian. He has repudiated Christ in his most distinctive characteristic and function; and it is neither uncharitable nor intolerant to put him into the class in which he belongs. If, on the other hand, a person believes in Christ

with all his soul, and loves him with an enthusiastic devotion, and is seeking to serve him to the uttermost by winning unbelievers into belief and building up disciples in knowledge and holy character, and gaining every possible point he can for the kingdom, even though he may have fallen into doubt whether his old ideas of the nature of the atonement are quite correct, or quite adequate to the solution of the problem, he is yet within safe limits, and is justified in asking, not so much for the toleration of his attitude as for the recognition of his perfect right under the law of Christian liberty to take and hold this attitude. It is not through any theory of Christ, no matter how correct, but through faith in Christ himself, that we are saved. Men may avail themselves of the North Star to navigate the sea without much knowledge of astronomy. When they do, they must be accorded rank with sailors. Men who have faith in Christ, and who illustrate the spirit of Christ, and who, deriving their life from him, bring forth fruits which are to the glory of God and the good of men, must be allowed wide margin in the sphere of opinions and theories.

Having made this circuit of thought, we come around to our starting-point. In our apprehension of the truth, and in our judgment of our fellow-believers in the views they hold, we are to distinguish sharply between the vital and the incidental, the essential and the non-essential. There are warp strands which run through the entire web; and these are not to be changed or tampered with. But there are woof threads, and these may be varied according to circumstances. For it is, as Lowell has represented in words which he makes Cromwell say to Hampden:

“Truth is eternal, but her effluence
With endless change is fitted to the hour.”

ARTICLE IV.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL DISINTEGRATION
OF ISLAM.¹

BY THE REV. HENRY WOODWARD HULBERT.

TAKEN together, the first five centuries of the Christian church present a splendid spectacle of the power of the new faith to win its way against all obstacles. External to the Christian organization, Judaism, the Græco-Roman pagan systems, the Stoic, Cynic, and Epicurean philosophies, the revived mystery cults, Neo-Pythagoreanism, Neo-Platonism, and a final syncretism of all the pagan elements, went down in succession before the all-conquering faith in the Crucified One—Judaism alone remaining to-day to tell the story of disaster.

Within the church waged a still fiercer contest. In the guise of Christian heresies, the Jewish and Pagan elements

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crept into the early church. Ebionitism, Gnosticism, Sabellianism, Manichæism, Arianism, Pelagianism, Monophysitism, Monothelitism, each in turn, and at times several in combination, stormed at the citadel of faith—all in vain as far as affecting any organic lodgment or even holding any outstanding tower or battlement.

We may justly account these continued victories without and within as proof of the fundamental basis in truth of that faith. Doubtless these hostile forces were useful in the disciplinary work which we cannot but think was necessary in the progress to be made. By them, every joint in the Christian armor was tested, every weapon in which the church was trusting was put to trial, and in the great creeds of the ecumenical councils the fundamentals of faith were formulated for all ages.

It is now our purpose to contrast at some length the first five centuries of Islam with these first five triumphant centuries of Christianity.

It was a sad day for Christendom when the Imperial church in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries undertook to extirpate paganism within the Empire by persecution. It is true that Neo-Platonism in its later development was taking on a quasi-trinitarian cast, and that some prominent Christians were yielding to the vague pantheistic ideas of Emanation taught by the philosophers; but, could the weakened and vanishing remains of the pagan cults, especially pagan philosophy (mainly in the form of Neo-Platonism), have remained within the bounds of Christendom, there can be little doubt but that they would have died out as effectually as did the great heresies. The safest place in which to keep wrong opinions is in the full blaze of the best intellectual and spiritual life of an age.

Hence, when the church of the Byzantine Empire forcibly drove the scattered remains of paganism across its borders, and into sections essentially non-Christian, and so

many of them soon to become Mohammedan, she gave a new lease of life to those very elements of speculative opposition, and was sowing broadcast those dragon's teeth whose harvesting would bring back to Christendom not only the tramp of armed men, but the whole array of the old Greek paganism, new panoplied with Damascus steel, and at a time when Christendom was, to all human view, poorly prepared to meet the onslaught.

But, however threatening a revival of pagan philosophy was to prove to Christianity at a later development, it was to demonstrate itself in the meanwhile almost the total destruction of Islam, which had far less resistant force. With this in view, let us glance for a moment at the nature and surrounding conditions of the early faith of Muhammad.

Who could have predicted the rise of so mighty a power as Islam from the hitherto silent Arabian peninsula? The "times of ignorance," as the prophet designated what went before him in Arabia, gave little promise of being the prelude of the unprecedented upheaval to the Pacific and Atlantic ushered in by the missionary armies of Islam. Sexual dualism, the most brutalizing of all idolatrous ideas, seems to have been the fundamental religious notion of the Arabs. Drunkenness, gambling, theft, personal vengeance, gross love-intrigues, the loosest possible family-ties, the degradation of woman to a merely animal existence, would not seem to be traits of a people preparing to enter upon so large a stage of activities. There was, however, a considerable stir of literary life, and renowned poets contested for the preëminence at the annual fairs, while the successful poems were displayed on the walls of the Kaaba. The best indication was that a wide-spread indifference made it evident that such a low state of religious and social life was doomed. Serious minds turned in every direction for help. There arose an ascetic fraternity who called them-

selves Ḥanifs ("penitents"). They sought to go back to the simple faith of Abraham, whom they styled the first Ḥanif. They proclaimed themselves as seekers after truth, and adopted for the most part a hermit life. They anticipated the central idea contained in the word "Islam" ("submission" or "resignation"), and their conception of God was summed up in the word "Judgment."

Into this twilight of faith came the earnest-minded Muḥammad. Sick at heart over the conditions of morals about him, he turned to a life of contemplation, haunting the cavernous hills about Mecca, and receiving the spiritual consolations of his faithful Khadija. Deeply impressed with vague information received about the Christian religion, more thoroughly inducted into the rabbinical travesties on the Old Testament narrative, the mind of Muḥammad gradually crystallized ideas which made up the body of the faith he championed at Mecca, and then at Medina, and at length, through his emissaries, throughout Arabia, dying with a world-vision of a theocratic religio-political kingdom.

The secret of the strength as well as the weakness of Islam—the most formidable organized foe of Christianity—may be extracted from the letter Muḥammad sent from Medina, in the year 627 A.D., to Heraclius, the emperor, at Constantinople. It reads as follows:

"In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. Muḥammad, who is the servant of God and is His apostle, to Heragl the Qaiser of Rum; peace be on whoever has gone on the straight road. After this I say, Verily I call you to Islam ('submission'). Embrace Islam and God will reward you twofold. If you turn away from the offer of Islam, then on you be the sins of your people. O people of the Book (Christians) come toward a creed which is fit both for us and for you. It is this—to worship none but God and not to call others God. Therefore, O ye peo-

ple of the Book, if ye refuse, beware! But we are Muslims and our religion is Islam.

[Seal]

“Muhammad the Apostle of God.”

With this spirit the armies of Islam threw themselves upon the territories nearest at hand. When we examine the weakened condition of the peoples attacked by these fanatical hordes, we need not be surprised at their victories in the field. What distresses us is the ease with which they won their spiritual victories, and swept vast numbers of pagans and nominal Christians into their ranks. It is to be remarked that most of the Christians thus won over were so-called heretical Christians—Nestorians in Persia, Monothelites in Syria, Monophysites in Egypt, and Arians in North Africa and to a certain extent in Spain. Here again orthodoxy at Constantinople utilized the persecuting spirit to its own hurt. Heresy, kept within the Empire and generously handled, might soon have eaten out its own heart, and disappeared; but, across the border and in distant corners, it fattened on the opposition, and learned to hate the imperial formula more than it did the enemies of the faith. And thus the stern discipline of the Koran spread itself with ease over the old centers of what had now become a corrupt Christianity.

It was the great infelicity of Islam, however, that it developed in a corner. Sir William Muir well says:

“In fine, viewed thus in a religious aspect, the surface of Arabia had been now and then gently rippled by the feeble efforts of Christianity; the sterner influences of Judaism had been occasionally visible in a deeper and more troubled current, but the tide of indigenous idolatry and Ishmaelite superstition, setting from every quarter with an unbroken and unebbing surge toward the Kaaba, gave ample evidence that the faith and worship of Mecca held the Arab mind in a thralldom rigorous and undisputed. Yet, even amongst a people thus enthralled there existed ele-

ments which a master mind, seeking the regeneration of Arabia, might work upon. . . . The material for a great change was here. But it required to be wrought; and Mahomet was the workman."

The whole scheme of Islam crystallized in the hermitage of the Arabian deserts. Christianity was born and nurtured in the full blaze of the best intellectual and spiritual light the world had. Mohammedanism came forth from its seclusion, its veins throbbing with a fervor of suppressed energy of feeling, blinking even in the twilight of a demoralized Christianity, and rushed fanatically to a world-conquest. The first century was spent in an unparalleled geographical expansion which left little or no time for calm comparison. The Ommeyad Kaliphs from Damascus from A.D. 661 directed the vast scheme of conquest with a statesmanship which compels our admiration. By 711 A.D. the Koran had sway from the Indus to the Atlantic, and its votaries surged up against the walls of Constantinople and over the Pyrenees. But here the work of conquest was checked. The forward impulse died out, and Islam settled down at Damascus, and then at Baghdad, to count over the treasures she had amassed. Now for the first time she came out into what remained of the intellectual and spiritual noonday of ancient civilization. This is the critical point in her history. A few centuries now will make evident her strength or her inherent weakness.

Let us turn at this point for a moment and notice what occurred in the meanwhile in the Byzantine Empire. In the year 529 A.D., Justinian had closed the pagan schools of philosophy, and Neo-Platonism, as we have seen, went forth from classic Athens to seek a new home and a more favorable environment. Zoroastrian Persia gave the first harborage to the exiles. The heretical Christian centers of Edessa and later Nisibis became fulcrums on which the revived spirit of pagan philosophy might get its purchase

on the creed of the fanatical innocents from the Arabian deserts. The Koran forbade all free investigation of religious opinions, but through the agency of Syrian Christians the way was opened. Aristotle and Plato and the works of the Neo-Platonists were translated into Syriac, and then into Arabic. The subtle pagan mysticism of Persia and of India, closely allied with various phases of Neo-Platonism, coöperated with the Greek exiles.

A century later than the banishment of the Neo-Platonists, there arose in the Empire at its extreme eastern limit the heretical sect who styled themselves "Paulicians." They were the spiritual successors of the Marcionite type of Gnosticism, dualists, who repudiated the Old Testament as the work of the evil Demiurge. They rejected the human birth of Jesus, and received the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist as symbolic acts not to be repeated. They also set themselves against the whole hierarchical system, as well as against various abuses that had crept into the church. The imperial arm was, however, soon raised against this body of schismatics. Symeon, the Byzantine officer sent to persecute them to the death, was converted by the simplicity and heroism of the martyrs. Becoming their leader, he himself suffered martyrdom. Persecution seems to have given vigor to the sect, and, when at last its votaries were banished in the ninth century, they established themselves in Saracen territory just beyond the limits of the Empire, and kept up thereafter a constant guerilla warfare upon their former persecutors.

When, therefore, the Abbasside Kaliphate established itself on the Persian border, and the city of Baghdad became the new Athens of science and philosophy and art, a combination of forces hostile to orthodox Christianity took place of singular power—the legalistic and materialistic spirit of classic Greek philosophy, the wild mysticism of Persia and Hindu orientalism, the servile accommodation

of heretical Christianity, and the stern willfulness of fatalistic Islam. In the brilliant and luxuriant court of Haroun er Rasheed and Al Ma'mun, and for a time Al Mu'tasim, all of these variant forces were given free sway. The result was overwhelmingly in favor of the elements which had longest been bearing the brunt of a world-struggle of ideas. Islam had no chance, and could hold its footing in intellectual circles only by surrendering its identity and by allegorizing the fundamental precepts of the Koran. Already the Mohammedan world had been rent in twain by the schism of Shi'ite *vs.* Sunnite over the question of spiritual and temporal succession. The Shi'ites were mainly Persians, and thus had Aryan blood in their veins. The basal notion in the Aryan word "man" is "thinker," and the race has always remained true to its intellectual birthright. Christian heresies, Greek philosophy, and oriental Aryan mysticism made short work with the Shi'ite division, and, although the Persians have furnished Islam with only ten million votaries at its most flourishing period, hardly more than one-twentieth in all; yet it has had from the earliest times more antagonizing and heretical sects than all the rest of the world of Islam put together. Mohammedan rationalism has always found its home in Persia. Keen minds like Isaak el Kindi, Al Farabi, Avicenna, and el Gazel marked out the road which the world of Mohammedan learning could not help following out east and west. The Shi'ite sects in particular, even the more conservative of them, were receptacles of all the former religious ideas of Persia.

As we have seen, in the early days of Islam its primitive fanaticism excluded any theological discussion, any going behind the veil of revelation. The Koran must be accepted *in toto*, without reservation, and the troubled heart must await the day of judgment for the solution of all its metaphysical and other difficulties. And here it is

to be remarked that this position is the only practicable one for Islam. The inconsistencies—historical, ethical, and religious—of the Koran are so apparent that any attempted analysis or systematization must lead to irretrievable doubt or to the abandonment of the whole scheme. The first five centuries of Islam make this quite evident. All seemed lost, from the intellectual standpoint, when the Ottoman appeared and the stern hand of repression put down the thinking element in Islam, and she has managed thus to work along to this latter decade of the nineteenth century. But once put aside this repressive policy, and bring the whole theory of the Koran or any of its variants into the blaze of (not now Greek philosophy, but) modern science and of the historical method, and it must vanish quickly, except where sheer fanaticism shall allow it a lingering death. This condition of things is the fundamental explanation of the method of the Ottoman with the Armenian to-day. Islam cannot bear light and discussion. But the century of geographical expansion was not over when, at Bosrah, on the Persian gulf, arose a theological innovator, named Haṣan, who introduced into the Mohammedan world the critical study of dogma. His disciple, Waṣil ibn 'Ata, systematized the doctrine of the school thus formed into the creed adopted by the Mo'tazilite sect. In this body of dogma it was denied that attributes could be ascribed to God. He was considered too far away, too unapproachable (as in Neo-Platonism), for the familiarity thus implied. This sect rejected the doctrine of fatalistic predestination, so clearly taught in the Koran, and added to paradise and gehenna an intermediate station not unlike purgatory. The Jabarites, although agreeing with the Mo'tazilites that attributes could not be predicated of God, took an extreme view in favor of fatalism. In contradistinction to both of these sects, the Safatites held to the grossest anthropomorphism. The Ismailians, a power-

ful Shi'ite sect, believed in a God above the Allah of the Koran. He was unapproachable by human reason. His will created the "Universal Reason." This produced the "universal soul," and thence came matter and space and time—making together the five causes of the universe. Man emanated from these, and ever had a tendency back to a union with the universal reason. Of himself he was powerless to accomplish this aim. Hence the universal reason and the universal soul became incarnate in the prophets of all ages, and especially in Ali and the Imams.

About 875 A.D. a certain Abdallah ibn Mainun al Kad-dah attempted to use the doctrine of this sect to destroy Islam. He called together a congress of religions (one of the earliest on record) which was to bring into comparison all faiths, with the aim of constructing a final religion which would contain the good qualities of them all. Mohammed ibn Ismail was proclaimed the true Messiah or Mahdi, and missionaries were sent to the four quarters of the globe. The Ismailian sect was a sort of free-masonry, and its members were to rise from arcanum to arcanum by slow gradations, in each rise sworn to the most dread secrecy. The Fatimite dynasty of Egypt grew out of this movement. The Druses of Mt. Lebanon and that strange sect of the Assassins were lineal descendants of the Ismailian heresy.

The ascetic heresy of Sufism arose in the East, and was thoroughly pantheistic. "Every man is God," said one of their leaders.

It is not possible here and now to go into the subject-matter of the almost innumerable heresies in the Mohammedan world. Over one hundred and fifty of them have been carefully tabulated and described, and that by no means exhausts the list. It is probable that the sects in Islam far outnumber those of Christianity. As the unity of the Mohammedan world fell apart with the rise of the

Abbassid dynasty and the flight of the Ommeyyads to Cordova, and as later almost innumerable political divisions shattered the uniformity in statecraft; so the spiritual feudalism brought unending internecine strife, and the theocratic ideal of the Koran fell forever. The spirit of the various sects is fairly represented by an utterance ascribed to Muhammad when he said: "Verily, it will happen to my people even as it did to the children of Israel. The children of Israel were divided into seventy-two sects, and my people will be divided into seventy-three. Every one of the sects will go to gehenna except one."

It is probably correct to ascribe this almost immediate and universal falling apart of the Mohammedan world in theological matters to the rationalizing influences of Greek philosophy and the closely allied oriental schemes of thought. Doubtless other forces were at work in both the political and doctrinal world to assist in the process of disintegration, but that the philosophical element was the predominant factor may be proved beyond a doubt by a brief study of the rise and development of Arabian philosophy as seen in the East in Al Kindi, Al Farabi, Avicenna, and Al Gazel; and in the West by Avempace, Abubacer, and Averroes. We shall quickly find justification for the assertion that "the whole philosophy of the Arabians was only a form of Aristotelianism tempered more or less with Neo-Platonic conceptions."

The encyclopedic mind of Al Kindi left scarcely a topic of thought untouched. Born at Bosrah, on the Persian gulf, about 900 A.D., he had produced before his death, seventy years later, over two hundred and sixty-three treatises, of which thirty-two were on philosophy. He set himself to reconcile faith and philosophy, perceiving that the Islamic faith seemed at variance with the Aristotelian system, which, by his time, was widely accepted among the Arabs. A Platonizing spirit influenced his

Aristotelianism. He found the bond of union of all things to be a universal soul of the world with its partial or fragmentary souls. In theology the reason must as a last resort settle all matters.

Al Farabi, a contemporary, began his study and teaching at Baghdad, and continued them at Aleppo and Damascus. While presenting in his metaphysical speculations much that was found useful to the Christian theologians of a later date, Al Farabi was essentially a Neo-Platonist, and the doctrine of emanation is the key to his system. Somewhat inconsistently he affirmed that the First Being, of which he predicates Intelligence (as over against the Nous of Plotinus, which could not have attributes), created first of all the Intellect. From this by emanation came forth the Cosmical Soul. By combinations of these are formed matter and all terrestrial bodies. "Evil is a necessary condition of good in a finite world," he affirmed. Yet "all things are under divine guidance and are good, since all was created by God." Knowledge of the First Being is the end of philosophy, and with the Neo-Platonists he defines the practical duty of man as consisting in rising as far as human force permits it into likeness with God.¹

Avicenna (978-1036 A.D., Bokhara-Ispahan) rejected many of the Neo-Platonizing ideas of Al Farabi, and with Aristotle held to the eternity of matter. As Erdmann points out, Avicenna answers the questions raised by the Neo-Platonist Porphyry by saying, that all genera had a real existence in the Divine understanding; they have a real existence in the individuals and also a real existence in our concepts; thus settling in the Orient the contest which waged long after in the West between realism, nominalism, and conceptualism.

Al Gazel, a skeptic in philosophy, closes the succession

¹ Ueberweg, Vol. i. p. 363.

of philosophers in the East. He became a Sufi—a mystic, and gave over the attempt to think out his faith. An unphilosophical orthodoxy now received the backing of the Mongol Ottoman, and after the cataclysm of the Crusades speculative questioning was suppressed in the Orient.

In the West, in the brilliant court of the Kaliphate of Cordova, conditions had been most favorable to the development of philosophical speculations. Great schools had arisen; Jews and Christians were given freedom of thought and activity and Islam opened itself out to free-thinking in close proximity to Europe now drugged into spiritual and intellectual slumbers. Avempace and Abubacer were thorough rationalists. Man without revelation is in a position to know God, they said. The former was repeatedly styled an enemy of religion. But it was in Averroes that philosophical speculation reached its paradise. Aristotle became his supreme master. While not hostile to religion, he looked upon all religions "as containing philosophical truth under the veil of figurative representation; by allegorical interpretation one might advance to purer knowledge, while the masses held to the literal sense. The highest grade of intelligence was philosophical knowledge."¹

Thus it was that the whole world of Islam was honeycombed by religious doubt. Having ventured out into the "open" of the world's thought, it soon found itself, in strong contrast to the Christian victories of the first five centuries of the Christian era, a victim to pagan metaphysical speculation, which, having run its swift course, left no resource but to acknowledge the inability of the Koranic faith to be harmonized with philosophy. This outcome threw all the bolder, freer minds in the world of Islam into utter skepticism. A denial of the fundamentals of revealed religion, a thoroughly materialistic conception of

¹ Ueberweg, Vol. i. p. 417.

life and destiny, a pathetic and yet half-mocking appeal to thoughtful men to eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we and whatever is precious to us must go out of existence, as the flame that is blown out, are all that is left. The masses might be humored by the fantasies of so-called religion; but the thinking man must be above all this, and must calm all agitations of mind or conscience in the stoical acceptance of fate.

The typical mind of this outcome of the contact of Islam with pagan philosophy and mysticism was the Persian astronomer-poet Omar Khayyam. In closing our theme, let us glance at his life and writings with the view of understanding the situation of things at that critical period when the rude warriors of Europe, at the command of a Christian Kaliph, and in the form of a Christian Jihad ("Holy War"), struck a blow at the Kaffir ("infidel") who held the most revered relic in the world, the tomb of the Christ.¹

¹ Let me emphasize here what I believe to have been the prime cause of the Crusades. Christendom was by the year 1050 hemmed round by a huge crescent of Islam from the Pyrenees to the Volga. Europe was sunk to its lowest state of ignorance and superstition. The pornocracy at Rome and like iniquity almost everywhere else in the high places of the church had created a restlessness on the part of the people. As Sabatier has so vigorously pointed out, the many-titled heresy of the Cathari was eating out the heart of Southern Christendom. The best part of Europe, Southern France, was almost to a man in revolt against the church. Italy was going fast along the same way. Distrust and doubt were everywhere. Some of the brightest minds came into contact with speculative doubt in Spain. Sicily was looked upon as a nest of heretics who had come into contact with skeptical Muslims. The spirit of doubt everywhere rampant in Islam was pouring over into Europe. The great heart of Christian Europe, distrusting its leaders, chafing under widespread spiritual defections, looked blindly about to seek the cause of all this, rose as one man at the call to battle against a foe whose *spiritual* invasions promised more terrors for Christendom than all the martial victories of the previous centuries. Says Erdmann (p. 358): "All that Christianity had ever opposed reappears now united in Islam in a rejuvenated form. Heathenism, Judaism, and Christian heresy were the teachers of Mohammed. What they gave their pupil was fused by him,

Omar Khayyam was born at Naishapur in Khorasan, Persia, about the middle of the eleventh century (c. 1050 A.D.). As far back as the reign of Haroun er Rasheed, the Kaliphate had utilized, as a bodyguard, Mongol slaves captured in the distant wars in Central Asia. The story of how these Seljuk proselytes to the faith gradually gathered power at Baghdad and, finally, aided by soldiers of fortune from the Turkish hordes, took possession of *political* affairs as "mayors of the palace" to the *spiritual* Kaliph, is well known. In 1058 Togrul Beg, as Emir al Omra, assumed control of military affairs in the dying Kaliphate. His son, Alp Arslan, and Malik Shah, who followed, gathered matters into their own hands more and more, and their devastating armies moved east and west through the Mohammedan world. A general indifference to religion made the court of these barbarians at Ispahan the hotbed of Mohammedan free-thinking, in greatest contrast to the Ottoman court at Brusa, a few centuries later. The Visier, Nizam ul Mulk, has left us a quaint story of his school-boy days, when, at Naishapur, he studied under Abd es Samad, together with our poet Omar and Hasan Ben Sabbah, afterwards the originator of that strange division of the Ismailians called the "Assassins." The three boys made a mutual vow, that, if any one reached a position of power, he would share with the others. They parted, and years after Nizam ul Mulk became the vizier of Alp Arslan at Ispahan. Whereupon his two friends appealed to the school-boy promise. Hasan Ben Sabbah was given a lucrative position, with prospects of advance. He became involved, however, in a court intrigue, fled, and established himself at the head of the sect

in the spirit of a world-conqueror, into one doctrine which is entirely of this world, so that all the various traits which the Apostolic age had ascribed to Anti-Christ are united in Islam, the true Anti-Christianity. An encounter with the Anti-Christ was the general desire."

of the Assassins in the impregnable castle of Alamut, south of the Caspian Sea. One of the victims of that terror-bringing order was the old school-friend Nizam ul Mulk.

Omar, to the contrary, refused a position of political trust, and said: "The greatest boon you can confer on me is to let me live in a corner under the shadow of your fortune, to spread wide the advantages of science, and pray for your long life and prosperity." Whereupon he was given a pension, and carried out to the full his wishes. He became great in mathematics, in astronomy, but particularly as a free-thinking poet. Under the lead of Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, the "breviary of a radical free-thinker," the *Voltaire of Islam*, has been made of late the subject of enthusiastic study.

It is not necessary to quote the quatrains of Omar Khayyam at length for our present purpose, but only to call attention to them as the logical outcome in the philosophical disintegration of Islam. In vain, to my thinking, do romanticists attempt to allegorize away the sad pessimism and revolting materialism which make up the warp and woof of these strange, fascinating lines:—

" Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend
Before we too into the dust descend:
Dust unto dust and under dust to lie
Sans wine, sans song, sans singer, sans end.

" Alike for those who for to-day prepare,
And those that after some to-morrow stare,
A muezzin from the tower of darkness cries,
' Fools, your reward is neither here nor there.'

" A moment's halt—a momentary taste
Of being from the well amid the waste,
And lo! the phantom caravan has reached
The Nothing it set out from—oh make haste!

" O threats of hell and hopes of paradise,
One thing at least is certain—this life flies.
One thing is certain and the rest is lies,
The flower that once has blown forever dies.

"Yet—ah, that spring should vanish with the rose;
That youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close;
The nightingale that in the branches sang,
Ah, whence and whither flown again—who knows!

"Waste not your hour nor in the vain pursuit
Of this and that endeavor and dispute;
Better be jocund with the fruitful grape
Than sadden after none or better fruit.

"Into this universe, and why not knowing;
Nor whence like water willy-nilly flowing;
And out of it, as wind along the waste
I know not whither, willy-nilly blowing.

"Earth could not answer, nor the seas that mourn
In flowing purple of their Lord forlorn,
Nor rolling heaven with all his signs revealed
And hidden by the sleeve of night and morn."

Contrast this despairing wail of a disintegrated Islam with the faith-cry of the Christian poet of mediævalism who, too, walked "this dark wood where the straight path was confused"! Listen to the description of the meeting of Dante with Beatrice, the emblem of divine truth:—

"'Turn, Beatrice, O turn thy holy eyes,'
Such was their song—'unto thy faithful one,
Who has to see thee ta'en so many steps.
In grace do us the grace that thou unveil
Thy face to him, so that he may discern
The second beauty which thou dost conceal!'
O splendor of the living light eternal!
Who underneath the shadow of Parnassus
Hath grown so pale, or drunk so at its cistern,
He would not seem to have his mind encumbered
Striving to paint thee as thou didst appear,
Where the harmonious heaven o'ershadowed thee,
When in the open air thou didst unveil thyself!'"

ARTICLE V.

CHRISTIANITY AND IDEALISM.

BY THE REV. JAMES LINDSAY, M.A., B.D., B.SC.

IT has always been to us one of the crowning glories of Christianity that it not merely has close affinities with, but is itself such a living spring, of true idealism. It is itself, however, never mere idealism. It sees too much reality at the core of the universe for that. But such reality is spiritual, and provides the real-ideal, which is the true ideal. Any other idealism is simply inane. We believe a true Idealism to be the true philosophy: we hold the Ideal to be the Real, and Reality to be the test of the Ideal; but we do not take every Ideal to be the true and full Real. It may very well be doubted whether more subtle and subversive influences for Christianity have ever gone forth from any philosophy than have issued from some modern forms of Idealism. The adjective "Absolute" prefixed to an "Idealism" nowise perfects its view of the Real, which it makes equivalent to the Ideal, while the Ideal has been neither seen nor summed by it. Both Jowett and Caird have told us that the Christ whom we know is "necessarily ideal": so he is—our conscious and Highest Ideal; but it is another thing to imply that this Ideal which we have of the Christ is something wrenched from the actual, attained indeed by our own improvings upon the Christ historic and actual. If Christ be not the Ideal because he, as actual, *is* always more than our own highest Ideal of him, then he should soon cease to inspire us with strenuous effort to realize the ideal that he brings.

But he is the Ideal realized. He is God manifest in the flesh, in whom the Ideal is made everlastingly real. He is the Ideal for mankind to-day, just because these things are so, and because he is Actuality, not mere offspring of our idealizings. It is thus evident that the Ideal is for us the basal reality just because the Ideal is for us more than something merely subjective. The fundamentally real of the Universe is for us just that archetypal ideal which had its home in the mind of God. The physically real is but the manifestation of the spiritually ideal. The eternal principles and laws of reason whereby the ideal so passes into the real are all grounded in God, so that it is in his "light we see light." The Ideal is seen to be as rational as its realization is seen to be progressive. Just because the realization is progressive, the ideal is realized in the real, imperfect though the realization be. Incompleteness may be part of the case, but the incompleteness is itself an inspiration, calling forth our free agency and effort towards fuller approximation of the ideal.

Still, rational as our conceptions of the Ideal may be, they may yet be no more than subjective and illusive, if so be they are not theistically grounded in God as the Absolute Reason. May we not say that such realism as this implies is a realism that is, in fact, ideal? We do well to remember that even the world of real things is not a world of mere things, but of things that are to us an expression of the Ideal Mind. But that does not mean an Hegelian mode of treating the world as, in Schopenhauer's phrase, a "crystallized syllogism," as though Logic were originative of nature, not merely interpretative of it. The "Absolute Idea" of Hegel is powerless to create the world of actuality, for, "without matter," as Kant said, "categories are empty." And the "Absolute Idea" in its self-evolution is of all things most inane, because it figures as thought—"the impersonal life of thought"—without a

Thinker. It is a philosophic feat to find things to subsist without substance and originate without cause. The search of Neo-Hegelianism for a principle of unity, and its sympathy with evolutionary conception, have made this form of idealism very potent and attractive in the hands of great teachers like Green and Caird. Professor John Watson, of Canada, has lately furnished, in his book on "Christianity and Idealism," further illustration of what we are to understand by, and expect from, idealistic Christianity. Professor Watson is so bent on basing morality on religion, that he falls into the mistake of confounding their actual or historic relations with their necessary or logical connection. His treatment of their relation is not conspicuous for clearness, if so be he means not to commit the mistake of making morality unjustifiably *dependent* upon religion. "There can be no morality without the belief in a life higher than sense and passion." Again he says, "This belief must draw its support from faith in a divine principle which insures victory to the higher life." Now it is an untenable position to assume that there can be "no" morality—that a man can give "no" response to the demands made upon conscience—without such "belief" in higher "life" and such "faith" in "Divine principle." Man is surely sufficiently an end, and this present existence surely sufficiently valuable, to make a right will a possible (in the moral sense) and an important thing. It is surely unfair to assume that there can be "no" moral or virtuous conduct without the explicit "faith" he imposes. Have they who so speak understood how thoroughly woven ethical law is with the whole tissue of our being? As if morality could not be practiced without such "faith" in the grounds of it! Is not the Professor's idealistic content to run back into an ultimate category of moral obligation? Do we not in such obligation come into sight of the ideal? Is not man's own ideal yet one with the pur-

pose of God for man? For us it is enough, even in the theistic interest, to hold to such obligation, since the ideal therein perceived and sought binds itself upon us as being of God in its origin, and as being identical with the Divine purpose for us. We can postulate a deeper basis for morality than religious dogmas, without in the least accepting the views as to religion of writers like Leslie Stephen and some who stand for the independence of morality. It is possible for the religious mind to be here too religious! So hard is it to rise above traditionalism.

The same tendency is found in Professor Watson's treatment of the Greek ideal. He gives an excellent account of Greek religion, and then says, "To this religious ideal corresponds the ethical ideal." But there are those who have made a not less deep study of the subject than there is any reason to suppose Professor Watson has done, who yet find that the Greek held to the sufficiency of natural morality, and was irreligious in characteristic—realized, in fact, to be so by his own most thoughtful representatives. The truth is that, in describing the Greek religion as he idealistically does, Professor Watson is whetting an argument against himself. For it amounts to a testimony to the strength of the moralization of the human consciousness, that the moral consciousness went before with such idealizing and purifying effect for the religion, as it must have done when the gods were "humanized." Professor Watson wisely refrains from telling us whether skepticism would have had the power it did have in the hands of the Sophists but for the way in which the moral sense was critically brought to bear on the traditional beliefs of Greece.

When the Professor deals with the Jewish ideal in relation to that which is Christian, his shortcoming is very manifest. He actually misplaces the stress which should have been laid on prophetism, so that it rests rather on the

law. An idealistic philosopher should not be slow to enter into the ideal world of the prophets, and as much of modern theology should be absorbed by any one who presumes to lead thought on such matters as to prevent emphasis doing duty for insight. The significance of prophetism—its incomparable greatness and its unique character—Professor Watson has not realized.

A strange treatment, too, of the Christian ideal is that which is conducted without regard to the Incarnation, in which, for many of us who are also idealists but after another fashion, the ideal became real. Here, in the Infinite Moral Person, is actualized all that prophetic ideal had seemed to portend. An impact is thus given to the argument for the genetic relation of the Jewish and Christian ideals such as is completely wanting to the work of Professor Watson. But what are we to think of a Christianity in which that which is most characteristic—the Incarnation—is ignored, and in which a mere circle of ideas takes the place of a Divine Person?

We have, of course, been already made familiar by idealistic writers with the retention of spiritual idea in the case of Christ's Resurrection and the dismissal of historic fact. Professor Watson supplies a similar projection of ideas without any basework in the historic fact of the Incarnation. Or, is the Incarnation to be reckoned among the "foreign and outworn integuments," and not as the "vital substance" of that "historical theology," a "large part" of whose "essence," we have been blandly informed, "will fall away" under the *rapprochement* between Christianity and Idealism? But even when Christ became incarnated in one of his apostles who said, "Christ liveth in me," does any one imagine that it was as anything "foreign" to the human life of that follower that the Divine life of Jesus was so present in it? What we have here is that "outworn" Hegelian type of thought in which is no tossing

betwixt idea and history, for all history *is* idea for its mediating thought. But what guarantee is there for the continuance of spiritual idea or essence when it is no longer wedded to actual or historic fact?

Is not this procedure but one move to those already numerous forms of abstractness and unreality from which philosophy has been seeking deliverance or recovery? Does this divorce place the idea on any surer basis in causing it to lead a sundered life? Does it not reduce it at length to a state of impotence? When we witness this substitution of ideas for the concrete actualities of the Christian faith, we recall the deeper wisdom of even a modern novelist whose insight pointed out how often "ideas" are "poor ghosts," so insufficient are they to prove a vitalizing motive and force for mankind. If orthodox theology may be blamed for its too frequent methods of accretion, does it not seem that idealistic Christianity is no less blameworthy for its methods of abstraction?

Professor Watson blames Mr. Balfour for retaining a "matter" of sense after rejecting the Kantian "thing in itself." This matter is to fill up the categories which else were formal and empty, in Mr. Balfour's view. Professor Watson subjects Kant's positions on the opposition of subject and object to criticism, and recalls the *real* object as existing, for Kant, apart from the subject, but the *known* object not so existent. Kant, of course, held the spatial and temporal forms to be due to the subject, while the "matter" so related he held to be due to the object. In this contrast of matter and form, an independent existence of subject and object was assumed. But then, Professor Watson contends, we have no right to assume this "independent existence of subject and object, unless we can show that an independent subject and object can be known." We must be sure that the separation of subject and object is "admissible" before we ask what is contrib-

uted by the one and what by the other. We must see whether this separation will explain knowledge for us. For we already have knowledge when we try to explain knowledge.

So far as knowledge goes, the object exists but for a conscious subject—its necessary correlate, while the subject, on the other hand, is “absorbed” in the object. So at least Professor Watson puts it, although it may be said, in passing, that some other idealistic philosophers have lately done better, discriminating the unattained ideal of knowledge, in virtue of which, knowledge can manifestly never be the full expression of reality. But what becomes of the independent existence of subject and object when each, in knowledge, depends so completely on the other? Professor Watson insists on the untenableness of Kant’s position, and shows that space and time relations have no right to be retained for the subject alone, but only in so far as there has arisen for it the “consciousness of an object determinable under those relations.” The object may be more or less determinate, but is always a known object, never a “thing in itself.” The object always exists for a subject, any other object being fictional and abstract. So Professor Watson concludes that there is no opposition between a “matter” which comes from the object and a “form” contributed by the subject. The world exists solely for a combining, self-active subject.

Now, Professor Watson presumably, like a good idealistic philosopher, wishes us to understand the futility of inquiry into the epistemological process, and we have been well accustomed to this mode of insistence from other idealistic philosophers. Subject and object, form and matter, exist only in such dependence on each other, that we are left by idealistic philosophers to suppose inquiry into their coming together to be useless and vain. So identified are thought and reality in their view, that they would

have all men become metaphysicians, none epistemologists. But surely modern researches into the nature and possibility of real knowledge, with the confusions and uncritical assumptions of knowledge, make this idealistic insistence a belated one. It is, of course, inevitable that this epistemological inquiry, like every other, must be made by mind itself. It is a strange and unmeaning prejudice which objects to theoretic scrutiny of the cognitive faculty, because therein—as in all science—we are using this faculty itself. It is simply irrational to reject the science because we cannot have it on other terms. Shall we, then, accept the Hegelian identity of thought and existence? That we cannot do, for this identification has been, since the days of Trendelenburg, too utterly discredited. But neither are we concerned to contend for Mr. Balfour's "matter," for which it has been claimed that Professor Watson has conclusively disposed of it along with the Kantian "thing in itself."

We are, however, prepared to go so far in Mr. Balfour's direction as to be quite unconvinced by Professor Watson's idealism that *extra*-mental reality is not guaranteed in knowledge. That *extra*-mental reality is so guaranteed is what is of interest to us here; *what* that reality is may be left aside at present. With what Professor Watson says of the self-activity of the subject we entirely agree, but this activity nowise impairs the fact that the object, when given, wakes a conviction of *extra*-mental reality. Our knowledge implicates existence or reality beyond knowledge itself as a process. The cognitive subject cannot fail to recognize that that of which he has knowledge exists without him, and cannot possibly be one with his own mental state. It is the transcendent Real which is thus implicate in his knowledge. And it may very well be that there are, what Mr. Balfour terms "irreducible" elements in such objective cognition. If Mr. Balfour be held not to

have satisfactorily disposed of these for us, his critic, Professor Watson, has, in his smooth process, still less done so, for he has not even felt troubled by their existence. The truth is, Professor Watson has erected for himself an idealistic watch-tower, with the stout determination that, beyond the circle of its mind-swept horizon, no reality shall exist, any such reality being by him practically treated as "fiction."

As to the other point, Professor Watson claims to speak for those whose affirmation is "that the world exists only for thought." Does it therefore exist only *in* thought? Does not knowledge or thought guarantee to us reality which is *extra-mental*? Is not this of the essence of cognition? Is not thought so completed beyond thought? Professor Watson admits that there may be "real elements which thought cannot reduce to unity," and says "it is not maintained that there is no reality which is not thought by us," but why then inveigh against Mr. Balfour for having spoken of the "fiction (?) of an irreducible" or "refractory" element? Of course, all is smooth within thought itself, but it does not seem to us a deeper philosophical procedure for thought to advance on its easy and untroubled way than to ponder, as does Mr. Balfour, the problem of reality so unreduced. Professor Watson dogmatically calls such reality "pure abstraction" and "metaphysical abstraction," and affirms without warrant that it has "no content." How does he know? He affirms it to be *out* of his thought, and how can he *know* it so as to posit for it "no content"?

Again, we, for our part, are often enough in deep and radical disagreement with Dr. Bradley's philosophy, but we confess to be here in cordial agreement with much that Dr. Bradley urges, and Professor Watson ineffectively criticizes. Professor Watson admits "that, if we suppose the real to be something which exists apart from thought," we

must separate or divide the "what" from the "that." But what Dr. Bradley rightly supposes, as to reality being existent beyond thought, shall be seen in his own words: "I do not deny that reality *is* an object of thought; I deny that it is barely and *merely* so" (p. 169). And "there is an erroneous idea that, if reality is more than thought, thought itself is, at least, quite unable to say so. To assert the existence of anything in any sense beyond thought suggests, to some minds, the doctrine of the thing-in-itself" (p. 167). Yet again, Dr. Bradley says that to conclude from any single aspect—such as thinking, in which "we can imagine" that "we find all reality"—that "in the universe there is nothing beyond this single aspect, seems quite irrational" (p. 175). Once more, he tells us that the universe never can be known "in such a sense that knowledge would be the same as experience or reality" (p. 545). Reality which "cannot be thought" may be reality to which Professor Watson is unable "to attach any meaning," as having "no community with thought reality," but we have seen that the "that" of such reality is clearly to be maintained. And this "that" is so far from being "merely the abstraction of reality" that it is real enough to upset the lop-sided idealism which Professor Watson has sought to establish.

Again, the reality which is thought is the absolute, according to Professor Watson, and to seek the absolute "beyond the thought reality" is to "seek the living among the dead"; for "if the absolute is not revealed to us in the reality that we know, it is for us nothing." Now, the Absolute is certainly not something unrelated, else it could not be known, and there is no way of reaching reality save as implicated in knowledge. But, because the Absolute is revealed to us in the "reality that we know," shall we therefore postulate no more Absolute than that which is known or thought by us? Is such further Absolute for

us "nothing"? If so, verily an impoverished and uninspiring Absolute is ours. But the Absolute is never so comprehended by our thought as Professor Watson represents: there is, in our knowledge of reality, always such a periphery of indefiniteness as leaves an infinite progress possible to us. Positive and real is our knowledge of the Absolute Being, but to treat all existence of the Absolute, beyond what has been "thought" by us, as non-existent, is simply absurd.

Professor Watson claims for his idealistic representations that they are in "essential" harmony "with the Christian ideal of life," however differing from popular theology. A more adequate statement of them would show how far this claim is correct. The "only purely Christian idea" contended for by the Professor in redemptive matters is "that it is the very nature of God to communicate himself to finite beings; that, loving his creatures with an infinite love, he can realize his own blessedness only in them." Yes; but it ought not to be forgotten that the egoistic perfection of Deity is quite capable of realizing love's infinite ideal in itself, and should not be so placed in dependence on finite objects. This tendency to an excessive ethical necessitation in God is only too prevalent, so that the eternally independent and all-sufficing existence of Deity becomes unwarrantably obscured. We have no right thus to ground the communicative or creative acts of Deity in his nature rather than in his self-conscious volition. For the Absolute Personality we postulate a Being for Self that is quite independent of anything that might be for it a not-self, and the need for keeping this in mind we shall presently see.

In dealing with the Absolute, Professor Watson rightly opposes the tendency to make the Absolute something higher than personality or a self-conscious subject, as being needlessly resorted to in order to avoid limitation,

while "the subject comprehends all reality." But the Professor's treatment of the Absolute as Personality is marked by the defects of the idealistic school, and his representations seem to us here less happy or philosophically correct than usual. There is the usual emphasis on the "main idea" of the Absolute as self-conscious, and the usual absence of qualities of volitional or ethical character in favor of the reflective element. The self-activity which personality emphasizes is the property of spirit, and the self-consciousness, on which the idealists lay stress, is only part of a self-determination which includes thought, self-consciousness, and moral self-determination. The manifestations of Deity are so grounded in self-determination or freedom as to presuppose the personality of God, whose self-consciousness is but condition and presupposition of the moral self-determination of which we have spoken.

"Evil," says Professor Watson, "is not an accident; it is inseparable from the process by which man transcends his immediate life." He informs us that "sin is not crime," is "not a violation of rights," and "God is not a Judge." In the course of the Professor's idealizations, we are informed that "sin requires no external punishment to bring it home to the sinner: it brings its own punishment with it in the destruction of the higher life." Man is "saved from sin only as he realizes in his own life the self-communicating Spirit of God." Concerning which utterances it is to be said that this mode of treating sin does not seem very deep or thorough. It is so fearful of anything external that it never gets clear of the meshes of subjectivity in which it is idealistically involved. It is marked by a manifest lack of grasp on the fact that man, though a self-active being, is a responsible agent. No consciousness is more deeply implanted within him than the knowledge that he is so. Professor Watson's bugbear of externality would vanish, were it only remembered that the commu-

nications of God's mind and will are made *in*, and not merely *to*, the rational and religious consciousness of man. But are we to suppose that, because God so reveals himself *in* us, we are no more responsible *to* him, and he is no more Judge *over* us? However we may claim for human souls a kinship with the Divine, we surely need more careful handling, ere we seem to dispense with the "Oversoul," and to obliterate those relations which, wherever the sense of sin, guilt, and moral responsibility is realized, assume this character of what we may call *overness*.

Again, we roundly deny the legitimacy of identifying moral evil with that necessary development wherein man progresses from the natural and mechanical towards the spiritual, free, and rational. Sin, as transgression of the known law of God, is positive or willful aberration from this norm. Is such positive aberration the necessity which Professor Watson makes of sin? Nothing but a defective hold on Personality—alike on its Divine and human sides—could make us content with these idealistic representations of sin, whereby it appears lacking in those elements of revolt, disobedience, or rebellion, which have justly been regarded as belonging to its "essential" character as wrought under the government of God. No doubt, Professor Watson allows himself to speak of sin as "a desecration of the ideal nature of the sinner," as a "willing of himself as in his essence he is not." But, for aught he says, he is quite innocent of the real havoc wrought of sin—an idealistic haze prevents his seeing the cleft or chasm it has made betwixt man and God. In fact, this latter and more positive view of sin is quite different from the theory of imperfection already put forward, and betrays a manifest lack of self-consistency, this view not being in keeping with his own system.

Here, then, in things theological, as too often in things philosophical, the idealistic mode of solution is too easy to

be satisfactory. It strangely ignores the pre-conditions of the inner or ideal development it so much desiderates. Should it not be easy to see how the consciousness of guilt springs up within us in our willful estrangement, and will continue to spring up amid our failures to the end, and how, therefore, some deep and thorough way must be found of purging this guilt? But that thoroughness is precisely what idealistic representations have never shown. Not enough is it that sin be branded as a coming short of the ideal, or of blessedness, or as a mistake from man's own side: it is, so long as God is God—so long as we do not attenuate the Divine Personality so that it becomes but the pale semblance of that which we claim for ourselves—so long must we refuse to think only of the inner and subjective conditions of sin, and not also of its outer and objective relations to the God with whom we have to do. Religion "entirely fails of its end," says Professor Watson, "unless it transforms and spiritualizes" man. Granted; but man, Professor Watson himself being witness, "transcends his immediate life," and, in so doing, is brought into relations that must be viewed as external to him. Why should it be so hard for idealistic writers to see that, without speaking of change in his character or nature, we may yet very properly think and speak of change in God's relation or attitude to our sin, as we relate ourselves to Jesus Christ?

This postulation by idealistic writers of a mere change of mind in ourselves (*Verhalten*), without due regard to a change of relation (*Verhältniss*), comes of the metaphysical presupposition—surely not a very enlightened one—that change in the attitude or relation of Deity to man is a thing not to be thought of. If Professor Watson had been as good a theologian as he is a philosopher, he would have known that theology has no falsier idea than just this presupposition of the impassibility of God. Man can be

“saved from sin,” he tells us, “only as he realizes in his own life the self-communicating Spirit of God,” but the pre-conditioning elements of this realization are strangely unreal to his apprehension. Does he not know that the unequivocal testimony alike of our own conscience and of Jesus Christ is that the Divine displeasure in respect of sin can be dismissed as a figure of speech only by our casting aside the Personality of God? It is sheer illogicality to deny any Godward purpose to the sacrifice of Christ. The saving from sin for which idealists contend may be real, though springing from subjective process; but it wears an unhappy resemblance to forgiving our own sins. In the Christianity of the historic Christ, God still testifies to the sinner, in the forgiving act, that the consequences of his sin have been abolished, and that the relation of personal communion with God is one which now stands free and open. And while it may be true that “the spiritual life cannot be imparted from without,” yet that life depends far too implicitly, for its quickening and developing influences, on that which is “without” for the idealistic representation to be adequate.

“The church,” says Professor Watson, “has tended to limit Christianity to the direct promotion of the moral ideal” to the exclusion of intellectual, social, scientific, and artistic elements pertaining to the perfect development of humanity. This is too true. But is it possible to take the claim of idealistic Christianity to remedy this defect with becoming gravity? Is our Christianity of to-day in such hopeless case? But it will be completed by this idealistic Christianity which appears before us *without* that Incarnation whereby we had expected the proposed re-consecration of the sinning universe to be effected, and wherein we had been wont to expect all the needs of human life and culture to be fully satisfied. Idealism creates its theological world without a sun, and denies to nature its

crown. We have now seen some of its *ánoplaí*—its straits or awkwardnesses. It would be a harsh judgment to say that Professor Watson's service has consisted in setting before us Idealism naked—philosophically and theologically—without being ashamed, but it is both fair and true to say that no draperies with which his philosophical skill has invested it, have been able to make it a thing of beauty and a joy forever, either to the heart or to the intellect of man.

But a true idealism abides, despite all that has been said, even an idealistic philosophy, that founds the life of man, not upon a material order of things, but upon the Infinite Spirit. Of that idealism the final forms are not yet, and will when they appear make of idealism another than the rhapsodical thing it has so often been made. Our ideas are a veil that hides the universe from us so truly that our deepest life must be lived by faith, and not by sight. There is a mystery of existence unto whose ultimate explanation thought may not come. The idealism of Berkeley, that promised so much and wore such a theistic guise, has failed to take us beyond ourselves, and land us in the realm of external existence. For, in idealizing matter, and making ideas real, Berkeley did not make severely manifest the need to go beyond the principle of causality as a subjective principle—a principle of reason—and no subjective principle can furnish us with objective fact or reality. The absolute idealism of Hegel, too, has failed to give the exposition of God in his eternal essence which it promised, and has cast us upon a God with no existence better than that of a shadowy universal.

From such idealisms we come back feeling only that the spirit of speculation has no more sought and found rest than had the unquiet spirit that we read of in the Gospels. The dream, or mystery, of the universe is still with us—is with us in the precise form in which it is, and no otherwise—and no idealizings whatsoever can make it dream,

or mystery, of chaotic and hazy sort. So, then, for the character and existence of the world-process as it really is we still need a cause, and the nature and working of God, as the only such cause possible, need not be hid from view and knowledge, but for our blindness and turpitude. There can be nothing more philosophic than to seek such knowledge. In seeking it, we shall have no need to be under such a scare of "miraculism in every form" that the only Incarnation for us will be the life of Jesus as an Incarnation of his teaching—good enough, no doubt, so far as it goes. The *rapprochement* between Christianity and Idealism—on the religious rather than the philosophical side—is that which comes of faith's subjection of the actual to the ideal. The very meaning of the faith which Christianity has come to create in us is just this, that we have become touched with a new and ever-enlarging consciousness of the Infinite Ideal and of the ideal universe, in actualizing of which ideals the supreme good will for us be realized. A true idealism, we say, for thus the Divine significance of human life is reached as a persistent and inextinguishable conviction. Real Christianity never finds a basis steadfast and unmovable, till it so rests on the ideal, and the ideal must be made more vivid, and consequently more stimulating, to our spiritual imaginings and aspirations.

ARTICLE VI.

THE NATURE OF THE DIVINE INDWELLING.

BY THE REV. CALVIN B. HULBERT, D.D.

ANDREW MURRAY gives us a book entitled, "The Master's Indwelling"; John MacNeil is the author of another, "The Spirit-Filled Life"; A. J. Gordon leaves us, "The Ministry of the Spirit"; and R. A. Torrey adds a fourth, "The Indwelling God." Other books we have, not a few, with similar titles. As to the phraseology here used, we notice, *first*, that there is abundant biblical authority for it. Passages abound in the Scriptures in which God is said to be in believers; many in which Christ is said to be; and more numerous still are the passages in which the same is said of the Holy Spirit. We object not to the titles of the books above-named as unbiblical, but as indiscriminate and unmodulated. God as well as Christ dwells in believers, and the Holy Spirit as really as either. We cannot say that the believer is any more "Spirit-filled" than he is God-filled and Christ-filled.

So much as to the fact of the Divine Indwelling. The believer has in him the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. The statement is startling, but it is well to have it before us in all its magnitude. A *second* remark is fitted to meliorate somewhat such language, and forbid our putting an irreverent construction upon it. It is to this effect, that over against the above-named passages which teach that the Persons of the Trinity are in believers, we have counter passages, equally abundant, which teach that believers are in the Father and in the Son and in the Spirit.

A *third* remark is now required, to the effect that these passages, affirming the indwelling of the Persons of the Trinity in the believer, and the believer in these Persons, teach no more, no less, and no other, than do other passages which affirm the *fact of union* between God and the believer. St. Paul has given us the origin and ground of this union: "Now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; that he might create in himself of the twain one new man, so making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross, having slain the enmity thereby." Here is the reconciliation expressed in our Anglo-Saxon term, atonement (*at-one-ment*), the effect giving to the instrument its name. In this work Christ is the mediator between God and man, the daysman who lays his hands upon the offended and the offending party, and brings them into harmony. This reconciliation involves regeneration, which is the ingeneration of a new life, bringing the renewed man into union with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, into whose name he is baptized. This union is vital. Our Lord likens it to the relation of branch and vine; and the apostle, to the connection between the head and the body. Indwelling and union, then, are one and the same thing.

Our *fourth* remark is an inquiry into the *nature* of this union or indwelling. How can an Infinite Person be united to, and dwell in, a finite person without absorbing the personality of the latter; or, conversely, how can a finite person be united to, or dwell in, an Infinite Being without loss of selfhood? May there not be a prevailing obscurity resting upon this relationship as hurtful as it is confusing? And is not this obscurity inexcusable, since

the Bible takes such pains to make the nature of this union both intelligible and reasonable? To us it seems clear that the initiative explanation of the mystery, veiling this union, is found in the Scriptures' frequent reference to the union of believers with one another. St. Paul emphasizes this union as being of the first importance. "Be of the same mind one towards another"; "that ye may with one mind glorify God"; "Be ye joined together in the same mind"; "Beloved, be ye of one mind"; "that I may hear that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one soul"; "Fulfill ye my joy that ye be of the same mind, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind"; and St. Peter adds, "Be ye all of one mind"; "Arm yourselves likewise with the same mind."

In these appeals is set forth a union, which, without violence, may be denominated an indwelling of believers in one another. This indwelling is no absorption; so far from impinging upon, it augments, the personality of each believer; for, in the biblical theory of the believer, he is as many times a man as there are men like-minded, to whom he is conjoined: every believer is a host.

This, then, is our first stage of advance: two finite believers can be united and dwell in each other by having the same mind, or by intercommunion of minds. Our next stage is, Can two beings, one an Infinite and the other a finite, dwell in each other after the same manner, first, by intercommunication, and then, agreeing, by intercommunion? To this question the Scriptures bring us an instant reply: "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus"; "we have the mind of Christ"; "if any man hath not the spirit of Christ." Since Christ is one with the Father, it follows that to have the mind that is in Christ is to have at the same time the mind that is in the Father; and to have the mind of the Father and Son is to have the mind of the Spirit.

It was for this union that our Lord prayed: "Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be in us"; "one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one."

Such, now, is the nature of this union; it is not constitutional; there is no loss of identity on either side; no surrender nor obscuration of personality. When it was the good pleasure of God to reveal his Son in St. Paul, the apostle's identity was all the more clean cut, and his personality all the greater. Inspiration was always an augmentation of the soul inspired. When a finite human intellect thinks, according to its measure, as God's intellect thinks; when a human will chooses as God's will chooses; when a human heart loves as God's heart loves,—the human intellect, will, and heart take to themselves a magnitude, nobility, and wealth as inconceivable as otherwise impossible. But this indwelling, union, fellowship, is not only with the Father, but with his Son and with the Holy Ghost. Enoch walked with God; here was union, a mutual indwelling; but the two companions were very different beings. John was the disciple whom Jesus loved; here again is union, a mutual indwelling; but the two lovers were, as persons, absolutely distinct. "The Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." Of Barnabas it had been said, that "he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost." The union between this apostle and the Holy Ghost was a mutual indwelling, and yet, in these very Scriptures, in one instance, the apostle is said to be "full of the Holy Ghost," and in the other, the Holy Ghost is represented as standing over against him, and as distinct from him as was Abraham from Jehovah in the plain of Mamre, or Mary from her risen Lord at the sepulcher.

We now approach more definitely our theme. There is little, if any, confusion in maintaining this spiritual union, yet personal distinction, between the believer and the Father, and the believer and the Son. In the order of biblical thought the Father and the Son reveal themselves objectively and visibly—the Father in the Old Covenant, often anthropomorphically, and Christ in the New, in human nature. This fact forbids any danger of our identifying the believer with the Father and the Son. On the other hand, the Holy Spirit, never disclosing himself to us thus objectively, is more easily misapprehended as dwelling in us personally. Our contention is that the non-investiture of the Spirit in an objective form renders him no more able to enter and dwell in the believer than it is for the Father or the Son to do it. The Holy Spirit, never appearing in human form, is more easily conceived of as impersonal than is the Father or the Son, and therefore, thus divested, is more naturally thought of as dwelling in the believer. In our predisposition to apply to the Spirit the diminutive impersonal pronoun *it*, is there not expressed the hidden belief that, before that august Being, whom we adore as one of the Triune Powers of Eternity, occupies us, he must lay aside somewhat of his glory, as did our Lord when he became incarnate; and contract himself to the dimensions of our littleness? But let us hope that we are not as irreverent as the indignity of our “it” implies. While we rebuke ourselves for the ease with which we fall into error here, do we not feel, after all, that we are exposed to it by the forms of speech employed in the Bible; as when believers are said to be “filled with the Spirit”? You say that the Scriptures never speak of believers as filled with the Father, or as filled with the Son. But, on this account, have you the authority to say that believers are more filled with the Spirit than they are with the Father, and with the Son? May it not be that in what we

call his dispensation, the Spirit employs a *medium* of union with us which neither the Father nor the Son requires to the same extent? And may not this justify the variation of phrase which we have noticed? Ought not we who live "in these last days"—days of the dispensation of the Spirit—to be so taught by the Spirit himself as quickly to discriminate between his distinct objective Personality and the conscious indwelling of the spiritual life which he engenders? This we unhesitatingly affirm, and claim that the Scriptures give us no right to suppose that the Holy Spirit dwells in believers in any other way or more abundantly than do the other Persons of the Trinity.

But our inquiry ends not here. If the union of the believer with the Spirit is not an indwelling of the person of the Spirit in him (which would approximate to an incarnation), the question is, What is this union, and how is it effected? Our conviction is that we can obtain a clear apprehension of this union only as we take note of the function which *Divine Truth* fills in the work of salvation. That truth is the medium, and sole medium, through which the Spirit regenerates and sanctifies. While he may be a sovereign over it and in it and through it, yet it is the privilege of the believer to receive the Spirit as incarnate in it. There is an advance in the type of revealed religion, and let us reach our point through preceding stages. In the preliminary dispensation, God put himself in communication with his people in phenomenal appearances; after the building of the tabernacle, he was recognized as resident in the Holy of Holies; later, after the national temple was built, Jehovah established in its sanctuary his permanent seat. After the inauguration of formal worship in the wilderness, the Israelites knew where Jehovah was to be found. They did not question his omnipresence; they knew that he was everywhere; yet his peculiar seat, the appointed place of communication, was in the Holy of

Holies. In the succeeding dispensation, the *Logos* was made flesh and tabernacled among us. The people among whom he mingled always knew where to find him; in Nazareth, at Capernaum, by Jacob's well, at Bethany, or in Jerusalem. There was always a place where, a structure in which, first the Jehovah, and afterwards the Christ, was to be found.

On reaching the final dispensation, wherein the Holy Spirit is the special Agent, we find a marked change in the economy of redemption. When the Paraclete came to take the place of the ascended Lord, he did not come, laying aside his glory, made of a woman, to dwell with us in the flesh, to be visibly here and there as our Lord had been. "As a *dove*," descending and lighting upon Christ at his baptism; and as "*tongues* parting asunder, like as of fire" at the Pentecost,—these are the sum total of all the phenomenal appearances which the Third Person in the Trinity has vouchsafed to mankind. But in this advance of type into a purely spiritual economy, wherein the Holy Spirit never addresses the senses, does he further embarrass us—we tremulously ask—by having no localization? Moses and David knew where they could find Jehovah, and Peter and John where they could find his Son; but in these last days, these best days, is there no place where the Comforter holds his seat? True, he was not made flesh, but does this forbid his pitching his tent among us? Does not every force in nature, known to science, insist upon not being unclothed, but clothed upon, lest it be found naked? And does not the Spirit, in analogy with this law, demand an investiture, and thus by a residential presence make known to men where he can be found? We answer in the affirmative; and add further that a hurtful misconception abounds in a failure to give to the Spirit a definite local habitation. Think a moment: it must have involved the disciples in painful embarrassment, in spite of all amelior-

ations, to have their Lord, during the interval between his resurrection and ascension, suddenly burst in upon them, when and where they never could imagine. This experience of not knowing what to expect, may have been for a limited time a wholesome discipline, but no one could conceive of this flitting relationship as an established order of things to continue through all time. Except now as the Holy Spirit is connected with some place where, some instrument whereby, some Holy of Holies, some Urim and Thummim, where or by which he may be found and approached, an embarrassment such as the disciples felt during the forty days must be the embarrassment of believers in respect to the Spirit—his times and modes—through all time. We claim for the Spirit, then, a definite localization; or, if it is preferred, an association with some authorized Divine Symbol, which shall steady our aim to get at him, and that will give us law and method in this purely spiritual economy.

That the *influence* of the Spirit may be as untraceable as the path of the wind, does not forbid the Spirit himself from being always in a place of accessibility. The Father is a Spirit and accessible, and he has told us where we can find him. Our risen Lord is a Spirit, and is accessible, and we can find him, where the Proto-martyr placed him, at the right hand of the Father. In the same way we need to know where the Holy Spirit holds his residence in the earth. To conceive of him as nowhere, except in the sense that he is everywhere, makes him little less than an attenuated diffusion in space. We take the ground that the Holy Spirit, after the example of our Lord, who, to reach us, pitched his tent in human nature, has erected for his occupancy in the earth a tabernacle: it is *the Inspired Volume*; or, if you prefer, *Religious Truth supernaturally authenticated*. The volume of revealed truth is his place of residence; like the burning bush, it is the signal

of his presence; and he has it as the symbol of his manifestation by a threefold right: he created it, he preserved it, and he possesses it as his investiture. If there is anything in the universe that is his by his sole creatorship and ownership, it is the Bible. Holy men wrote it as he inspired them to. There is not a word in its mouth or on its tongue that is not there by his authorship. His creation of it endears it to him as very precious. Along the disordered centuries, he has been its guardian and insured it against damage and loss. We do not say that he is in it by enclosure; but he is in it as his Urim and Thummim—the light of the world and the perfection of beauty; he is in it as his pillar of cloud and fire; he is in it as the magazine of his forces.

We are speaking of the nature of the union between the Spirit and the believer. This union is real and vital; but we insist that it is effected solely by the Spirit through truth which he vitalizes. Except through such truth, the Spirit never deals with adult minds. It is in point, therefore, to show here that biblical language is represented as fraught with a meaning distinct from that of lexical definition. It has vitality and power not merely in the agency that uses it, but in the agent that is in it. "Is not my word like as a fire? And like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces"; "He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword"; "The word of the Lord is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart"; "Our sufficiency is of God, who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant; not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life"; "I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation"; "As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, . . . so shall my word be that go-

eth forth out of my mouth ; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and prosper in the thing whereto I sent it ” ; “ Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way, while he opened to us the Scriptures ? ”

To borrow a figure from Dr. Samuel Harris: we are told that the sun, in order to affect favorably the earth, must have its light and heat taken and held in the atmosphere of the earth, and thence reflected from its surface—that to go above its atmosphere is to lose the effect of the sun and be in utter darkness. What the earth's atmosphere, in this case, is to the sun, its medium in communicating its light and warmth, such divine truth is as the medium wherewith the Holy Spirit reaches and influences human minds. To get above or outside of such truth, were it possible, would be to get where the Spirit cannot reach us. Our position here is confirmed by the fact that two agents are identified in the Scriptures as performing in the believer one and the same act. In passages already cited, the Holy Spirit is said to abide in him ; but observe in the following texts, that, with equal positiveness, the word is said to abide in him : “ If ye abide in me and my words abide in you ; ” “ ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you. ” Why were the Jews rejected ? “ Because my word hath no place in you. ” But again these two agents, identified as one, abiding simultaneously in the believer, work there the same results ; namely, regeneration and sanctification.

1. The Holy Spirit regenerates. “ Except ye be born of the Spirit ” ; “ that which is born of the Spirit is spirit ” ; “ washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost. ” So again, the word accomplishes the same act : “ born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God ” ; “ for in Christ Jesus I begat you through the gospel ” ; “ Of his own will begat he us by the word of

truth"; "I beseech thee for my child (Onesimus) whom I have begotten in my bonds."

2. The Holy Spirit sanctifies. "Being sanctified by the Holy Ghost"; "hath chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth"; "in sanctification of the spirit unto obedience." In like manner the word sanctifies. "Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you"; "cleansed by the washing of water by the word"; "seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit."

In all these passages we see the same effects wrought by two agents; hence we identify them as co-actors; these agents are (1) the Holy Spirit; (2) the Word vitalized by the Spirit. Here we have the same dual agency, as in the case of faith and its *Object*. We are not saved by faith, justified by faith, apart from the object of faith. Without its object, faith is nothing; including its object, it is everything. The object without faith, cannot save; including faith, it saves instantly. As faith and Christ can do nothing apart, so the Spirit and the word must act together. This law is not impaired by the exceptions that may be conceded.

All are agreed that the words of the Bible, as words, have no sanctity beyond that possessed by them when elsewhere used. The sanctity is in the truth which they convey; it is the truth which we identify with the Spirit. It is important to note here carefully that the truth, inspired or identified with the Spirit, cannot be considered as confined within the Book we revere as the Bible. It is revealed *in* the Bible for the sake of getting *out*, revealed in human souls. It never thus goes out to stay except into hearts whose spirits it has vivified and made homogeneous with its own spirit.

"The Bible," says Dean Stanley, "propagates itself by other means than the mere multiplication of its printed or

written copies. Sacred pictures, as is often said, are the Bible of the unlettered. Good men are living Bibles. Creeds are Bibles in miniature. Its truths are capable of expansion and progression, far beyond the mere letter of their statement. The lives and deeds, and, above all, the One Life, and the One Work which it records, spread their influence almost irrespectively of the written words in which they were originally recorded. It is not in the close limitation of the stream to its parent spring, but in the wide overflow of its waters, that the true fountain of biblical inspiration proves its divine abundance and vitality.

“ ‘ Mohammed’s truth lay in a holy book,
Christ’s in a Sacred Life.

“ ‘ So while the world rolls on from change to change,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man’s hand.

“ ‘ While, as the life-blood fills the glowing form,
The Spirit Christ has shed,
Flows through the ripening ages, fresh and warm,
More felt than heard or read.’ ”¹

“If the meaning of the Bible is the Bible, the Bible itself,” says Dr. Samuel Harris, “comes down through the ages like a river of life, purifying, deepening, and broadening its waters as it flows.” “The true doctrine of the Spirit is distinguished from the fanatical by the facts, that the work of the Spirit is the continuance and world-wide extension of God’s work of redemption; that it avails itself of the moral power accumulated by God’s antecedent redemptive action and the revelation he has made of himself in the same; that, as the progress and extension of that same redemptive action, it may be in harmony with all the work of redemption which has preceded, and with the revelation of the same in the word of God. So Christ explicitly teaches: ‘He shall glorify me; for he shall re-

¹ *Eastern Church* (Chas. Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1884), pp. 261–262.

ceive of mine and shall show it unto you.'"¹ The Bible goes where its truth goes, and is co-expansive with all who are vitalized by it; and hence has become a Book incommensurable. This expansion the Bible claims for itself. In the preaching of the apostles, when biblical truth was taking possession of the people, bringing them into homogeneity with it, it is said that "the word of God grew and multiplied"; "so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed." The word of God expanding is symbolized by the woman's leaven hid in the meal, and working in the dough, layer after layer, till the whole mass was transmuted into its own fermented state. Biblical truth is the leaven, but it would not be, except the Spirit in it gives it vitality, makes it his sword in subduing men into harmony with it. Truth thus vitalized is "the seed which remaineth in him" who is born of God, forbidding his return to an unregenerate state. If believers were filled with the truth thus vitalized, and thus with all the fullness of the Spirit's influence, we might say without abatement, that the inspiration of the Bible had so expanded as to take them all in, and that they together had an authority difficult to be discriminated from its own. While we cannot affirm this in the present meager knowledge and acceptance of the truth, we may yet be bold to repeat, that biblical truth and the Lord's people are co-expansive. Wherever you find the latter you find the former. It is by this absorption of biblical truth in the hearts of God's people that they are filled with devotion. "Are there not," inquires Professor Phelps, "certain portions of the Scriptures, not devotional in form, which are so in their profoundest impression upon us? We find them to be devotional helps. Their themes are so lofty, their range of thought is so elevated yet so simple, their emotive fervor is so concentrated yet so tranquil, that in the reading of

¹ The Kingdom of Christ on Earth, p. 83.

them the mind rises Godward intuitively. Portions of the Epistles are of this character. Preëminently such are the discourses of our Lord. The line that separates them from prayer is scarcely felt by one whose mind is lifted into full sympathy with them. The reader may naturally reverse them, and utter them in devout address to their author."

Holding this relation, the devout believer and inspired truth are complementary to each other. In a state of reciprocity, the docile listener is a participator in all inspired utterances. He engages in silent colloquy with the hidden speaker. Thought responds to thought; feeling to feeling. Prayer in some form is the natural vent to emotions awakened by the Divine Voice. To be reticent in such a Presence would stifle colloquial response, and reduce the Bible to a monologue.

It is on this theory of the vitality of the word of God that we can interpret our Lord's parable: "So is the Kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed upon the earth; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up and grow, he knoweth not how; for the earth beareth fruit of herself." In the shoot the seed extends itself in a way unknown to the sower; so in the hearts of men, the inspired word extends itself in a way unknown to the teacher. The sower and the teacher alike dismiss supervision and care when they have sown the seed and taught the word. Held to no further service, their responsibility here ends. This similitude suggests another thought of yet deeper interest. The sower, without further intervention, rests; leaving the germination and growth *to the earth's own power*; so the teacher, having taught the word, rests; leaving it to produce its effects *to the moral self-activity of the human mind and heart*. Were there no immanent power in the earth acting on the seed, it would not germinate in it; so if there were no moral self-activity in the human soul, responding recep-

tively to the word, the word taught would remain inoperative. This teaches that the Spirit, immanent in the word in applying it to the hearer, utilizes forces in him which he evokes.

Recall the steps taken. 1. The Scriptures teach the indwelling of God in believers; they also teach the corresponding truth that believers dwell in God. 2. These Scriptures, logically absurd when the figure is pressed unduly, are never to be construed to mean more, or other, than this; that there is a vital union between God and his people. 3. The nature of this union is the same in kind with that which conjoins men in the same fraternity. Men are one, and dwell in each other, when they harmonize in thought, feeling, and purpose. 4. That this is the kind of union which is to exist between God and the believer is made clear by injunctions like these: "Be ye of the same mind, the same soul"; "let this mind be in you which is in Christ Jesus." 5. Owing to the fact that Jehovah appeared to men in human form, and Christ in the flesh, there is no difficulty in conceiving of this union of the believer with the Father and the Son without personal identification. On the other hand, the Comforter, being a pure Spirit, not standing over against us in visible oppositeness, is liable, in our conception of him, to lose his personality in an absorption of him in the believer. Ask the first Christian brother you meet, where the Holy Spirit holds his personal residence on earth, and he will say, In his people, individually and collectively. 6. To this reply we do not object, provided the speaker will concede that the Spirit's primary and personal residence in the earth is in the tabernacle which he has pitched, the Bible; and that in proportion as biblical truth has free course in the believer and possesses him, he may be said to embody the Spirit's power. According as the believer is filled with inspired truth, and is inspired by it, he may be said to be

filled with the Spirit's inspiration. This comes as near saying that he is filled with the Spirit himself as we need to go, or the Bible will justify. A soul filled with the truth fertilized by the Spirit's indwelling, may be said, without violence in the figure, to have a body consecrated as his temple. Why was a large Christian assembly recently shocked when an ardent young man said, in the enthusiasm of the moment, "We all ought to be little Christs"? Why did the audience recoil from such an utterance as an approach to blasphemy? Would the pain have been less acute if he had said, "We all ought to be little Holy Ghosts"? These questions show how biblical truth, inversely as it is precious, becomes painfully revolting by perversion.

Two things then we have on earth that are unalterably conjoined; neither exists without the other,—Divine Truth and the Holy Spirit. Where one is, the other is; where one is not, the other is not; destroy the first and the second withdraws. This is true, since the exceptions prove it. Inspired Truth is the Spirit's Other Self, his bride: had they never existed in bridal union, the Second Adam would have continued "alone."

We claim for this view of the Nature of the Divine Indwelling that it is not only free from absurdity, but deeply impressive. It presents not a mystical, but an intelligible, relationship between the believer and the Persons of the Trinity. It relieves the mind of a conception of the Spirit as diffused in space; it gives him localization and accessibility. The Tabernacle which he has pitched for his residence is not so much the Book as the content of it which overflows its limits, and is co-extensive with humanity, made homogeneous in spirit with it. This gives it a remarkable expansion—the capacity and practicability of embracing the human race entire. This view of the Bible, too, makes it a live Book; touch it, and it stirs; lay your

hand on it, and you feel it pulsate; put your ear down to it, and you hear it breathe; speak to it, and it responds; kiss it, and it returns the loving salutation. It is a companionable Book. As you read some books, you feel held at a distance, the reserve is cold and forbidding; when you read this and yield to its embrace, it hugs you to its bosom. There is something in it that cannot be of it as a visibility; it is a Book with a Soul in it.

Do you say that it is the hope of the Christian that many pagans are saved through the truths of natural religion? But has this hope a biblical warrant apart from what the Spirit may do by giving to such truths a quickening power? Do you inquire: If the Spirit could thus save, why did he not do it without a written revelation and the facts and truths contained therein? But do not the Scriptures teach that, without that revelation and its truths, the dispensation of the Spirit would have been impossible? It is because of the Spirit's investiture in truth supernaturally revealed that he has accorded to him the prerogative to extend, if he please, the inspiration of that truth to the truths of natural religion, and make them effective—"live wires"—often, to the salvation of souls in pagan lands. True, "there is no speech nor language; their voice is not heard; (but) their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." The truths of natural religion are forms of divine truth revealed; all the voices of Nature and all divine providences are express revelations of God. In dealing with men, the Spirit may employ these revelations as homogeneous with truths revealed in the Scriptures, and make them savingly effective.

If our position is correct, we see the impropriety of praying for the coming of the Spirit, as though his place of residence were not with us. Did our Lord promise the Spirit? Did he come? Is he to abide with us forever?

And is he "the Spirit of truth," that conjoins him with revealed truth as his abode, the magazine of his power and the base of his operations? If the Spirit then is on earth in the word, taking the place of the absent Lord; if he is here in all the plenitude of his power, in the worship of the sanctuary, in the sacraments, in the prayer circle and in the tents of Jacob, does it not betoken a sad loitering in Christian intelligence, and a strange perversion of the divine order, for a Christian people, assembled for worship, to be so spiritually blind as not to recognize the Spirit as present? What could you think of Aaron in the Holy of Holies asking for the presence of Jehovah? Our Lord said, when with us, of the world, that it could not receive the Spirit "for it beholdeth him not, neither knoweth him"; can this be our trouble?

Is it objected to the position here taken that it is out of harmony with the phraseology of Scripture? Does the objector say that in many passages the Holy Spirit comes and goes, acts and is acted upon, in his naked personality—as uninvested in the truth? We respond that many passages abound of which the following are samples: "He shall baptize with the Holy Ghost"; "When the Holy Ghost is come upon you"; "And they were filled with the Holy Ghost"; "And the Holy Ghost fell on them"; let these passages suffice as representative of a large class that might be cited. It is enough to say that these passages, and such like, are to be received and explained as elsewhere found with significant variations. In some instances, as above, we have absolute and unqualified statement. In other instances there is such a marked modification in the phraseology as to show variation and limitation in the thought expressed. For instances: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" is greatly modified in the promise, "Ye shall receive the *gift* of the Holy Ghost." And this last expression is itself varied in the words, "On the Gentiles also

was *poured out* the gift of the Holy Ghost." It is said of Stephen that he "was *filled* with the Holy Ghost"; previously it had been said of him that "he wrought great and wondrous signs, *being full of grace and power.*" "How much more shall your Heavenly Father give *the Holy Spirit*"; here is fulfilled the prophecy: "I will *pour out of my Spirit.*" We claim that these variations of expression justify us in saying that the absolute and unqualified statements are evangelical idioms to be interpreted as we find the identical idea expressed elsewhere in other language. "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" Does this question imply that the Holy Ghost is to be received in person? If you say, "Yes," we ask you to stand corrected by St. Paul's startling interrogatory addressed to the churches of Galatia: "This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?" "St. Paul here intimates," says Professor Warfield, "with entire distinctness, that it is in connection with the truth of God offered to faith that the Holy Ghost is given." He continues: "Although the gospel is nought except as it is attended with the demonstration of the Spirit, yet this very gospel itself and its preaching is called the power of God unto salvation." But how can preaching be thus powerful except as the Holy Ghost is in the gospel preached? When it is said, "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost," a baptism of fire is included; and such baptism is one and the same thing with being "*clothed with power from on high.*" How was the baptism of fire administered to the two disciples on their way to Emmaus? By such biblical exposition of truth by their Lord as caused them to exclaim, "Did not our hearts burn within us as he talked with us by the way and opened to us the Scriptures?" The same "unction of the Holy One" came to Timothy, when, obeying the mandate of St. Paul, he *stirred into a*

flame the gift of God that was in him by the laying on of the apostle's hands. In three distinct instances the Holy Ghost is said to have *fallen* upon persons. Obviously this could not be said of the person of the Spirit. May not these descents have been symbolized (1) in our Lord's baptism, when "the Spirit of God descended as a dove and lighted *upon* him"; (2) in our Lord's breathing *upon* the disciples, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost"; and (3) in the Pentecost, when the Spirit's "tongues like as of fire sat *upon* each of them"? We claim that in all true teaching or preaching of the word of Truth there is such an identification of Truth and the Spirit that a cordial reception of the former involves the baptism of the latter.

If we are correct in the general direction which this discussion has taken, it follows that we find abundant reason for modifying certain views that have been disappointing and hurtful to many believers. In a failure to associate the Spirit with revealed truth and to understand the mode of his operations through the truth, they have expected—we will not say too much, but—what has come to them in a form not anticipated, and in supplies less abundant. It is all-important for the agriculturist to make his labors play in with established laws of nature; it is equally important that every believer, to grow in grace, should understand and heed the conditions whereby that growth is to be effected. "The *law* of the spirit of life" is just as imperative as a law in nature. A failure to see that the Spirit does his work in the hearts of men, not by contravening or overriding law, but in exact adherence to it, has occasioned disappointments and discouragements without end in the Christian life, and been at the foundation of no small part of the fanaticism that has disfigured the experience of the Christian church. Illuminati have arisen at intervals all along the ages who have claimed remarkable discernments and endowments. Various religious sects

have asserted the claim to extraordinary supernatural gifts. In modern church life, persons often arise who assert in their behalf, and in behalf of others, a special indwelling of the Spirit; and who are importunate, not to say impatient, to have others enter into the higher life, and partake of their rest and joy.

While not pronouncing upon these claims, and acceding that great allowance must be accorded to persons of varying natural temperament, and of different types and grades of Christian experience, yet we may assert, with some degree of boldness, that, since the age of miracles and the close of the Scripture Canon, all Christian experience must square itself to the grade of the non-miraculous, and to the spiritually natural. We believe in that which comes to us from above the natural in Christian experience, and we accord to Christian consciousness, for the individual, the duty to enter into special intimacy with God, for it is required of every believer that his fellowship be with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ; but this does not militate against another belief; it is that these forms of experience come within the compass of the order and method established in the gift of life, and the process by which that life is to be developed by growth. Everything in nature that grows, has provisions made for that growth. The Christian life is to grow, and has provisions made to secure it—spiritual milk of the word for infantile believers, and strong meat of the word for the full-grown. Apart from the use of this diet, we know not that the Spirit ever acts upon the believing mind. Believers live and grow by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God—that word vitalized and made effective by the indwelling energies of the Holy Ghost. Can the believer be filled with the Spirit? He can be; but only and in proportion as he is filled with inspired truth and gets the good of it. “The sanctification of the Spirit” tallies “with the belief of the

truth." "Sanctify them in the truth: thy word is truth";
"And I saw the heaven opened; and behold, a white horse,
and he that sat thereon, called Faithful and True: and in
righteousness he doth judge and make war. And his eyes
are a flame of fire, and upon his head are many diadems;
and he hath a name written, which no one knoweth but
he himself. And he is arrayed in a garment sprinkled
with blood; and his name is called *The Word of God.*"

ARTICLE VII.

SENTIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY.

BY THE REV. GEORGE LUTHER CADY.

SOCIOLOGY may be called the modern fad. The student a thousand years hence who reviews the literature of the last quarter of this century will find that word the key to its thought and life. Novels are based on it, newspapers are filled with it, and the pulpit teems with it. We would not lay one straw in its progress nor become a detractor from its glory—rather we hail it as a harbinger of a renaissance of Christianity. The modern pulpit has heard the same voice that called to Zaccheus, “Come down,” and, coming down, has found the Christ, not so much among theological quibbles as sociological problems. The theological seminary has done nothing more in sympathy with the spirit of Jesus, or more fraught with hope for the future, than when by the side of systematic theology it has placed systematic sociology. It is high time that every pulpit became a “Chair of Applied Christianity.” Let no man accuse me of being an enemy of sociology; for I doubt if any follow it with keener interest or more intense sympathy. Because I love it and am wrapped up in its triumphs, I am quick to perceive its danger. The damage that may be done by a machine when diverted from its purpose is in proportion to its power; and the dangers that attend sociology are in direct ratio to its possibilities; hence, when we point out its danger, we also magnify its power and possibilities.

The danger into which the modern sociology has run,

is the denial of the freedom of man's will. Everywhere there is a tendency to explain the actions of men by other causes than volitions. Man is a machine, a puppet, a mere automaton; and modern sociology has discovered that the strings that work this helpless being are heredity and environment. It has become the *ignis fatuus* of the scientist. Professor Tyndall tells us, that we live in a realm of "physical and moral necessity." Professor Huxley says, that even murderers do what they cannot help doing, and are no more worthy of punishment than those who do what are called virtuous acts. And the unscientific Ingersoll, their foster son, only apes them when, in his Chicago speech, he declares, "Men should not be sent to the penitentiary as a punishment, because we must remember that men do as they must," and Dr. Maudsley says, "There is a destiny made for a man by his ancestors, and no one can elude, were he able to attempt it, the tyranny of his organization." J. Colter Munson, in the "Service of Man," says, "A man with a criminal nature and education, under given circumstances of temptation, can no more help committing crime than he could help having a headache under certain conditions of brain and stomach." Henry Beauchamp says, in the *Fortnightly Review*, "Free-will is a myth invented by man to satisfy his emotions, not his reason. But the law of heredity conclusively demonstrates that free-will and freedom of action stand in the category of lively imaginings. Therefore, crime, as the law understands it, is non-existent, since no imputability can be recognized when a man is not responsible for his actions. Therefore the law is not justified in inflicting punishment."

These men can take a tape, and tell to a fraction how much of a criminal a man will be, and how much responsibility a man should bear. Given, that a man has certain kinds of molecules floating about in his system; that his

face is lopsided, his skull cursed with certain protuberances and depressions, or, like Holmes, he has a marked deficiency of one side of the nose and of one ear, a difference of one and a half inch in the length of his arms and an equal shortening of one leg from knee to heel, etc., that man becomes a criminal, whether he will or no, and hence cannot be held responsible for his crime. Such a criminal should not be punished, but should be sent to Saratoga Springs to recuperate from his disease. The law should not punish him any more than the wagon should be blamed for the runaway; but it should dig up his grandfather's bones, and "hang him by the neck until he be dead." Instead of trying him by a jury, he should be subjected to an "X Ray," in order to find out what molecule, inherited from his fathers, has caused all this trouble; and, while the molecule is sent to prison, the poor victim of its machination should be sent to the hospital at the state's expense. What an injustice has been heaped upon the poor Indian who has for generation after generation inherited a love for scalps! What a pity that men should have killed cannibals who from time immemorial had inherited the æsthetic taste for human flesh! Punishment was entirely out of place, because they were following their natural bent. "By this process the moral responsibility of the criminal is absolutely removed by the denial of free-will, and what a man does, he does inevitable, according to the composition and the resolution of the various influences acting on him at a given moment," says Mr. Lea in the *Forum*. Then we may conclude that Holmes and Hayward might have been Washingtons and Lincolns, had they had different grandfathers. Judas would have been as much loved as he is now hated, if he had not been suffering from a fit of inherited indigestion. And, in order to be charitable, we must conclude, with Joseph Parker, that "Adam's fall was due to the bad drainage and bad air

of that slum called Eden." Their sin was not caused by heredity; hence must have been caused by environment. Life thus becomes a Punch and Judy show, with heredity and environment behind the scenes pulling the strings.

Now let us make all possible allowance for both these influences. We are the children of a thousand ancestors, and in us runs the intermingled blood of a thousand streams of life. At first our life-blood may have flowed purely; but to it has been added a rivulet of passion, of vice, of envy, of anger, of a thousand microbes bred of the devil, until within us there may seem at times a combination that predestinated us to perdition. Account for Byron by a passionate mother, for Napoleon as the son of Letizia Ramoline, and his weak son as the offspring of Marie Louise. Lay all the stress possible on Dugdale's study of the Jukes family, and on the other hand of the Adams and Darwins. Yet the phenomenon remaining to be accounted for is, that virtue is not as hereditary as vice. The most that can be claimed for *good* heredity is, that one may be born with a minimum tendency to evil and with a maximum freedom to choose the good. Whereas the children of criminals are almost certain to be criminals, it does not appear nearly so certain that the children of ministers will become ministers. The question remains, why one tendency is not as strong as the other. Following this out, one seems to be driven back to the doctrine of original sin and "In Adam's fall, we sinnéd all." But the strength of heredity and the old adage "Blood will tell" is impaired when we remember that, when the children of virtuous and vicious parents are interchanged, the blood of each is transformed by environment. That heredity can be overcome, is the corner-stone of modern sociological movements, and is the mainspring of social settlements. And, on the other hand, the great fact remains, that men have defied the tendencies of blood as full of devilish microbes

as the Chicago River, and have turned back the stream that bore them swiftly and surely to moral wreckage. Shall we not find another agency at work more powerful than heredity?

The sentimentalist says, that environment will do this. Let us make all possible allowance for environment. None of us can tell how much we owe to the fact that we were brought up on the old farm, breathing into our bodies, with the fresh ozone, the fragrance of apple and peach blow. God only knows what we might have been, had we been born into the world in a little dark garret or cellar in some slum. The child that comes damned into the world is almost certain to go damned out of the world. Morning, noon, and night should we praise God, that, instead of amid oaths and vulgarity, and alcoholic fumes, we began and ended the day about the family altar. It is easy enough for one, born, reared, and still living in a country life, to speak lightly of the loadstone about a child's neck which environment becomes; and, if from it he gets a little respite at day, he returns at night only to feel it tugging and dragging him downward. We all know the words of John Bunyan as he looked on a criminal, "But for the grace of God there goes John Bunyan," and those manly words of Governor Seymour, "I have passed upon some thousands of pardon cases, and I recollect not one in which I might not have been in the place of the guilty party, with his heredity, his temptation, and his environment."

But there is still a phenomenon here which must be explained. A single rotten apple put into a barrel of sound ones will not be made whole, but it will rot the whole barrel. A single sound apple put in a barrel of rotten ones will not rejuvenate the rotten, but the rotten will deteriorate the sound. A vicious child turned loose among virtuous children will teach them more vice than he will learn virtue. A sound man put into a pest-house will be diseased, but a

man taken from the pest-house, and put into a house of health, will not contract their health. A child of a slum will be a street Arab or a tramp almost inevitably, but a child of virtuous surroundings is not so sure to be a saint. Many a virtuous father and mother have combined a noble heredity with a pure environment, and have died broken-hearted over a prodigal son who never returned. It is said that a young lawyer spent a vacation in visiting the birthplace of Webster, and, standing there, exclaimed: "The iron of the hills was in his blood! the granite mountains lent weight to his massive mind." The old farmer replied: "These mountains are the same as they always were, and the climate hasn't changed, I am sure; but no Daniel Webster has been seen in these parts these fifty years. If the climate made Webster, I wish 'twould make another one." Behind environment even there must be another factor, and that factor is the human will. *Heredity and environment may furnish a tendency toward vice or virtue, but never a necessity for vice or virtue.*

No man born into the world is without a certain tendency toward sin. Warden Brush of Sing Sing said, that "the chief cause of crime is the want of family discipline." But family discipline does not pretend to improve the environment or purify the blood, but to educate the powers of self-control and the sense of moral responsibility. What is needed, is the emphasis of the supremacy of the human will and individual responsibility. Shakespeare says, "Our bodies are our gardens; to the which our wills are gardeners; so that if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce; . . . supply it with one gender of herbs, or distract it with many; either to have it sterile with idleness, or fertile with industry; why, the power and corrigible authority of it lies in our wills." Men must be taught that neither heredity nor environment is a complete apology for evil, but that individually man is responsible for not overcoming

them. They can be resisted. The world has been made better only by those who have made themselves better than their ancestors, and have waged a relentless and victorious war against inherited tendencies. No man ever stands with his hand upon the latch-string of vice, but that his other hand may grasp the door-knob of virtue. No man lives who could not have been better had he so desired. Harriet Beecher Stowe said of Frederick Douglass, "He had as far to climb to be where the poorest white boy is as the poorest white boy has to be President." Their credit should be equal; and many a man has as far to climb, and as much to overcome, to stand on a moral equality with the country son of virtuous parents as that country lad has to be an angel. But he can climb. John Bunyan was the son of vicious parents, and breathed a vicious atmosphere; but he defied both. Jerry McAuley was steeped in crime from his youth, but, even late in life, expelled the inherited molecules of vice, burst the bonds of his environment, and became a purifier of his environment instead of its slave. Marcus Aurelius rose like a pure, white water-lily, though the roots of his life rested in ancestral muck, and passed through the environment of Roman slime.

William Rounds, Secretary of the National Prison Association, says: "I wish to put myself on record, after a study of the criminals, and contrary to my previous utterances, as going back to the doctrine of free-will as laid down by our fathers, and I wish to be understood distinctly and squarely to hold the doctrine of moral responsibility as applying to every individual; at the same time making all allowance for such physical conditions as may weaken the will, and in some cases destroy it. I do not believe for one moment that crime is a disease, or by necessity the result of disease; though I do believe it may be the result of disease in some cases. Of the seven hundred criminals I have examined, I have found that more than five hun-

dred had a clear motive and a sane motive, though a perfectly understood dishonest one and a criminal one; that in the conducting of their affairs they showed intelligence, and in pursuit of their avocations a determined and controllable will. I do not believe that one-fifth were ever in a condition where they could not have turned around, had they determined to do so, and led virtuous and upright lives." Sallust, were he living, would handle this degeneracy theory roughly; and he lived at a time, when, if we are to believe Horace, the study of a Max Nordau or a Lombroso would have been glutted with models of degeneracy taken from the streets of Rome. In the opening pages of the Catilinarian conspiracy, he says, "All men who desire to set themselves above the other animals, must strive with the utmost labor, lest they pass their lives in silence, like the beast whom nature has fixed prone, and obedient to the dictates of the belly." And he gave Catiline to the eternal scorn of men, because he did not "strive with the utmost labor," but, morally indolent, obeyed the dictates of his passion, and drifted down the stream of a degenerate life. Man strives. The brute drifts, and seeks to enjoy. Men are not evil because they are degenerate, but because they make no effort to avoid being brutish. No man need long be the slave of his dead grandfather. No man need long submit to the galling fetters of environment; for the difference between him and the beast is, that there is a soul within, that asserts, "I am free to be and do." Once a swine, always a swine. Once a serpent, always a serpent. But never, once a criminal, always a criminal. No one but a false prophet of a creed of despair would ever go to men, weighed down by a consciousness of their sins, and say, "You are the son of your father; hence you can never be better than you are." And no one but an enemy of society or an invertebrate sentimentalist would say to society's enemies, "Because you are

the son of your father, you are not morally responsible," and begin to damn dead ancestors, or inanimate conditions above which it was possible to have arisen. Give society no such opiate to conscience; for, while conscience sleeps, the enemy soweth the tares of social chaos.

Dr. Bradford well says: "Freedom is real, and men must be continually confronted with it and its attendant responsibility. Until men are born again, if men think they are not accountable, they will follow their selfish inclinations; and if society teaches that they are driven by forces over which they have no control, they will, by and by, turn those forces on society to its ruin. There is no hope for the man who has no faith in his possibilities and his responsibilities. If the inner testimony to freedom is discredited, the last bulwark against chaos is broken down. All forms of philosophical thought which teach that man is but a fatuitous grouping of atoms, or which allow that even heredity can fetter the will without damaging the mind, so far as they prevail, sap the foundations of improvement. Neither heredity nor environment destroy responsibility."

Is it not a most glorious fact that we are made heirs and ministers of a better gospel? The clarion note of the gospel of this age should be, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." Man is free. The will of man is supreme. By it he can defy heredity and circumstances, heaven or hell, God or the devil. The destiny of man rests in his own hands. He is not mortgaged by any spendthrift of an ancestor. The key to the present and the future of every man lies in that citadel, never yet taken by any force, except under surrender. By it he may bolt and bar every approach of virtue, and by it he may say to the swelling tides of passion, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

Was this not what Christ recognized in Israel? He said, "The truth shall make you free"; and they replied, "We be Abraham's seed, and have not been in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free"? He replied, "I know that ye are Abraham's seed; yet ye seek to kill me, because my word hath not free course in you. . . . Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is *your will* to do." The will here had transformed them from being the legitimate children of Abraham, to being the children of the devil. And again he seems to recognize heredity (Matt. xxiii. 30-33) when he called them to witness that they were in actions the children of those who slew the prophets, and told them to go on in their hereditary course, and fill up the measure of their fathers; but this did not excuse them in his mind, for he added, "How can ye escape the damnation of hell?" He stood and wept over Jerusalem, because they "would not," not because they "could not." The unwillingness of men should solicit more tears than their inability, because, in the one case, responsibility cannot be shifted. This appears again, when, admitting that "that which is born of the flesh is flesh," Christ yet opened the door wide for escape by allowing a man "to be born again," if only he shall cry out, "God be merciful to me a sinner—the heir of a thousand sinners!" And did he not recognize the validity and supremacy of the human will, when he approved the will of the thief on the cross who rebuked his environment and chose Paradise? The will was crowned king then and there by Jesus. The will has always been granted the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of God. There is no other way to account for certain phenomena indubitable—scientifically inexplicable. Because of this, Saul, when on his face in the dust going to Damascus, threw away all his proud heritage of Abraham, and his environment so strong that it marked the

race like a name blown in the bottle, and said to the despised Nazarene, "What wilt thou have me to do?" Bill Sunday the blasphemous ball-player stood listening to a song service in the street; and, in the twinkling of an eye, put his foot on environment, and became William Sunday the evangelist. What place have such phenomena in the theology of an evolutionist? Evolution must have time; but this was in the twinkling of an eye. It demonstrates that the will is left yet intact, capable of achieving any triumph, or supinely submitting to any serfdom. It is in the will, rather than in the intellect, that moral qualities lie. If men are put into this world a rigid casting from an ancestral mold, and, standing like an æolian harp, must answer to every wind that blows, what shame is there in vice, or merit in virtue? No; rather let us preach to men the gospel of liberty, and tell them, in the words of Dr. Hillis: "We are not waifs and strays with which the winds and elements sport; we are ocean steamers, with power to defy the winds and waves; to hold our helm whithersoever we will, to mark our course, to determine for ourselves the distant harbor. Invincibility is not in circumstance, but in man. No fetter has ever been invented that may not be broken. Liberty and peace may still be yours through the delivering Christ." Professor Denney, in his fourth lecture, says: "The Bible assumes that man is not merely *in* nature, but over it; that he is, so to speak, not only its crown but its sovereign. In virtue of that relation to God, that kinship to him, which is of his very essence, man is destined to have dominion over creation; he is to assert his freedom, and to put all things under his feet. The sins of the fathers are only ruinous when sons make them their own. What we inherit may be said to fix our trial, but not our fate. Every man is to be put to the proof somehow, and to a certain extent his natural ancestry determines the mode of it; it depends on

them, so to speak, whether his temptation is to be anger, intemperance, lust, greed, duplicity, or whatever else. But it does not depend on them what the issue of this trial is to be. It depends on man himself, and, above all, on his faith in God."

There is no question that we have many social problems to face, and God bless the men who face them; but they will never be solved by sentimental sociology whose backbone is determinism. What is needed to make sociology effective is to send society to school in the education of the human will, and emphasis of individual responsibility. While the need of the time is religion, and not dogma, yet the times demand a theological sociology rather than a sociological theology. If sociology is to be effective, it must be Christian, and not Darwinian. Darwinism says, that man is cast in the mold of his ancestors; but Christianity, admitting that hypothesis, affirms that every man may be born again into the ancestry of our Father in heaven, and defy either ancestry or conditions through "him who is able to save to the uttermost."

The rapid increase of crime is contemporaneous with the inroads of the liberal theology in the pulpits. Future rewards and punishments, heaven and hell, the necessity of atonement, the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," together with the freedom of human choice and individual responsibility, have either been relegated to a silence that is not golden, or are openly sneered at. In their places has been put a God of love and complacency, and a future that is probationary, and sin not a fruit of choice, but of blood and conditions. On such a theology, sin gorges itself fat. The fear of the Lord has become a back number; the terrors of the law have gone to the place of the "bogy-man"; while "a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation" means no more than a warning against goblins. It must be admitted that theological opinions have

undergone most desirable and delightful changes in regard to the harsher aspects of the gospel. But the theory that men are to be won from vice by preaching only one phase of love, is a beautiful one if it were not so disappointing. I question if an aroused will is not as much a product of fear as of love. Men can neither be coddled nor cudgelled into virtue; but there is a manly medium which accomplishes most, because it rows with both oars of the boat. Fear is a proper motive for governing men. Dr. Bradford is correct in saying, that, "if drunkards were treated as criminals, there would be a surprising manifestation of power to resist temptation." It may fairly be questioned how expedient is the preaching of such sermons as that by the Rabbi, when for two hours he preached on "vessels of wrath" till the lamps died out, and Elspeth Macfayden cried, "God have mercy upon us," and the Rabbi himself said, "I wish I had never been born." We pity men possessed by such a theology; but America may well envy Scotland the possession of such a manhood. Remove that theology, and there is no accounting for the characters that Scotland produced. That iron warrior Cromwell was characterized by a Calvinistic harshness. There is much in his character neither to commend nor copy. We could have loved him more had he possessed more of the gentleness of Jesus. And yet history records that his is the only army on record which did not swear, rob, and outrage women, but punished their violaters with public whippings.

If sociology would attain the zenith of power, it must remember that there is a warning as well as a winsome side to truth. Society needs a sociology, that, while it stands before the Felixes and Drusillas, "reasoning of righteousness and temperance," does not forget to add "judgment to come"; while it holds out God to be one of love and compassion, yet reminds men that his is a holy love, which, trampled on, displays its reverse side, which

is stern justice; that, while it paints in all its glowing colors the compassion for the woman taken in sin, and the thief on the cross, does not forget to add, "The soul that sinneth it shall die"; that while it weeps over the slums, prisons, and saloons, because "ye would not," does not fear to proclaim, "Your house is left unto you desolate," and holds out before men the inexorable decree, "We shall all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according that he hath done good and bad." Under such a schooling, the will of man will be stimulated, and society helped to bring forth those fruits of the Spirit which shall be the chief features of that Utopia, promised alike by theology and sociology,—love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance—against such there is no law.

ARTICLE VIII.

A SIDE-LIGHT ON LUTHER.

BY PROFESSOR R. CLYDE FORD.

ONE of the most interesting of the many contemporaneous accounts of Luther is the one contained in the "Sab-bata" of Johann Jakob Kessler, a chronicler of the period between 1523 and 1539.

Kessler was born (1502) of poor parents at St. Gall, Switzerland. He attended the monastery school in his native town,—a school not so famous now as in the days of Notker and Ekkehard, when St. Gall was the home of learning north of the Alps,—and afterwards studied theology in Basel. About this time rumors of what was doing at the university of Wittenberg reached him, and, anxious to know of the reformers and their doctrines from personal contact, he set out for Germany with a single companion in the early spring of 1522. He returned to Switzerland the next year and took up the saddler's trade. For a time he remained in obscurity; but the leaven of Luther's teaching was working, and Kessler became teacher, writer, preacher, in the new movement. In 1537 he was installed as evangelical pastor at St. Gall, and after many years became superintendent of the diocese in which his native town was located. He died March 15, 1574.

His chronicle, the quaint and disjointed style of which we have tried to preserve in our translation, narrates, among other things, an accidental meeting with the great reformer when he had left the Wartburg for a secret trip to Wittenberg. It begins like this:—

As we journeyed toward Wittenberg to study the Holy Scriptures, a terrible storm, God knows, came upon us near Jena in Thuringia, and after a good deal of seeking in the city for herbergage where we might stay overnight we were not able to find any. Shelter was denied us everywhere; for it was Carnival time, when people do not concern themselves much for the pilgrim or the stranger. So we turned away from the town to go further to see if we could not reach some village where one would give us shelter. By the city gate an honest man met us, spoke to us friendly, and asked where we were going so late, saying we would not find anywheres near, on account of the darkness, either house or home where we would be received. Moreover it was an easy matter to miss the road and lose one's self; therefore he would advise us to remain where we were.

We answered: "Father, we have visited all the inns to which we have been directed, this way and that; everywhere people have refused us, and denied us quarters, and of necessity we must go further." Then he asked if we had inquired at the Black Bear. We said: "We have never heard of it; tell us, good sir, where we may find it." Then he showed it to us a little way out of the city. And when we saw the Black Bear, though all the landlords had refused us lodging before, behold, here, the landlord received us at the door, graciously offered to keep us, and led us into the house.

There we found a man, sitting alone by the table, with a little book open before him. He greeted us friendly, invited us to approach and sit by the table; though, if we may mention it, our shoes were so dirty that we could not enter the room at ease, for shame at their appearance, and had sat down upon a bench by the door. Then he offered us something to drink, a thing we could not refuse. When we perceived his friendliness and cordiality, we sat down by him, as he had asked, and had a quart of wine brought out, so that we could return the compliment to him. We suspected nothing else than that he was a knight who, according to the custom of the country, sat there dressed in leather cap, trunk-hose and doublet, without armor, a sword by his side, with his right hand resting on the hilt of it, and his other holding the book. His eyes were black and deep, flashing and shining like a star, so that one could not look at them easily.

Soon he asked us where we were born, yet answered the question himself; "You are Swiss. Where in Switzerland do you come from?" We answered: "From St. Gall." Then he said: "If you are going from here, as I understand, to Wittenberg, you will find good countrymen there,—Doctor Hieronymus Schurf and his brother, Doctor Augustinus Schurf." "We have letters to them," we said. Then we asked him: "Sir, can you tell us whether Martin Luther is now in Wittenberg, or where he may be?"

He answered: "I have certain information that Luther is not at Wit-

tenberg just now; he will, however, soon arrive there. But Philip Melanchthon is there; he teaches Greek, as others also teach Hebrew. Honestly, I advise you to study both, for they are necessary to understand the Holy Scriptures." Said we: "God be praised! If God spares our lives, we will not desist till we hear and see the man (Luther); for, on his account, we have undertaken this journey, since we heard that he will overthrow both mass and priesthood. Because we have been brought up and destined from childhood to be priests, we will gladly hear what sort of instruction he will give us, and in what manner he will bring his purposes to pass."

After such words he asked: "Where have you formerly studied?" "At Basel." Then he said: "How is it at Basel? Is Erasmus Roterdamus there yet? What is he doing?"

"Sir," we answered, "so far as we know, everything there is all right; and Erasmus is there, but no one knows what he is doing, for he keeps very quiet and secluded."

These questions from the knight seemed very strange to us; and that he should be able to speak of the Schurfs, Melanchthon and Erasmus; likewise, concerning the claims of the Greek and Hebrew languages. Moreover, he spoke now and then a few Latin words, so that it would seem to us he was some other person than a common knight.

"Friends," he asked us, "what do people in Switzerland think of Luther?"

"Sir, there are there, as everywhere, various opinions. Many cannot sufficiently exalt him, and thank God that he has disclosed His wisdom through him, and exposed errors. Many, however, and especially the clergy, condemn him as an intolerable heretic."

"Yes, I can imagine," he said, "it's the priests."

During this conversation we had begun to feel at home with him, and my companion took up the book that lay before him, and opened it. It was a Hebrew psalter. Then he quickly put it down again, and the knight took it. From this we were more in doubt than ever as to who he was, and my friend said: "I would give a finger from this hand to understand that language." "You will understand it without trouble," he replied, "provided you apply yourself to it diligently. I also desire to pursue it further; so I exercise myself in it daily."

In the meantime the day had closed, and it had become dark, and the landlord approached the table. When he learned of our great eagerness and desire to see Martin Luther, he said: "Dear friends, if you had been here two days ago, you would have succeeded, for he sat by the table"—he pointed with his finger—"in *that* place." We were very much put out because we had been delayed, and poured out our ill humor on the bad roads which had hindered us. But we said: "Nevertheless, we are glad that we sit in the house and at the table where he sat." At this the landlord had to laugh, and left the room.

A little while after, the landlord called me out of the room. I was startled, and wondered what improper thing I had done, or what was attributed to me without any blame on my part. The landlord said to me: "Since I see you are honestly anxious to see and hear Luther—that is he who sits by you."

I thought he was joking, and replied: "Yes, Landlord, you would like to fool me, and satisfy my desires by substituting somebody else for Luther." He answered: "It is certainly he; but don't act as if you recognized him." I did not dispute the point with him, but could not believe it. I went back to the room again, seated myself by the table, and wanted to tell my friend what the host had disclosed to me. Finally I turned to him, and whispered slyly: "The landlord has told me that that man is Luther." Like myself, he would not believe it, and said: "Perhaps he said it was Hutten, and you did not clearly understand."

Now, because the soldier dress and manner reminded me more of Hutten than of Luther the monk, I was persuaded that he had said, "It is Hutten," since the beginnings of both names sound almost alike. Whatever I said later was spoken as if to the knight, Ulrich von Hutten.

In the meantime, two of the merchants who also wanted to remain over night came in, and, after they had taken off their cloaks and spurs, one placed an unbound book near him. Then Martin asked what sort of a book it was. He said: "It is Doctor Luther's exposition of some of the Gospels and Epistles, recently printed and sent out. Have you never seen it?" Martin replied: "It will reach me soon." Just now the landlord said: "Take your places at the table, we will eat"; but we asked him to make allowance for us, and give us something cheaper. Then the man said: "Kind friends, sit down by the gentlemen at the table, and I will wait upon you properly." When Martin heard this, he said: "Come over here, I will settle the score with the landlord."

During the meal Martin spoke many godly, friendly things, so that the merchants and we were silent, paying more attention to his words than to the food. During these remarks he lamented, sighing deeply, that, while at this very time the lords and princes were assembled in the Diet at Nuremberg, on account of the word of God, this pending controversy, and the grievances of the German nation, still they were inclined to nothing except to pass the short time in sleighing, costly tournaments, debauchery, and arrogance, when the fear of God and earnest petitions to Him would be to more account. "But such are our Christian princes." He said, furthermore, he was of the hope that the evangelical truth would bring forth more fruit among our children and descendants, who are not poisoned by papal error, but are resting on the truth and the word of God, than among the parents in whom the errors are so rooted that they cannot easily be dislodged.

Thereupon the merchants expressed their opinion, and the elder one

said: "I am a simple and ordinary layman, and don't understand the business very well; but this I say: As the case appears to me, Luther must be either an angel from heaven or a devil from hell. Out of love for him, I should like to pay him ten gulden, so I might make him my confessor; for I believe he would, and could, instruct my conscience." In the meantime the landlord had approached and whispered: "Don't worry about the bill, Martin has settled for your supper." That pleased us very much, not on account of the money or the food, but because this man had entertained us so hospitably. After supper the merchants arose, and went to the stable to look after their horses. Martin remained alone with us in the room, and we thanked him for his kindness and generosity, and let him understand that we took him for Ulrich von Hutten. But he said, "I am not he."

Just then the landlord came in, and Martin said: "I have become a nobleman to-night; for these Swiss think I am Ulrich von Hutten." "You are not," said the landlord; "you are Martin Luther." He smiled: "These think I am Hutten, you think I am Luther; soon I shall be Marcolfus." Saying this, he took a large beer-glass and said, according to the custom of the land: "Swiss, let us drink a friendly glass to our welfare." As I was about to accept it from him, he changed it for a glass of wine, saying: "Beer is unusual with you; drink this wine." Then he arose, threw his soldier's cloak about his shoulders, and gave us his hand in farewell, adding: "When you come to Wittenberg, give my regards to Doctor Hieronymus Schurf." We said: "We will gladly do so; but what name shall we give, so he may understand the greeting?" Said he, "Say nothing except, 'He who will come sends greeting'—he will understand at once." Thus he left us and went to rest.

Afterwards the merchants came back again, had the landlord bring them something to drink, and over it they discussed the guest who had sat by them and who he was. But the landlord let it be understood that he took him for Luther. The merchants were persuaded, and were vexed that they had spoken of him so thoughtlessly, and declared that they would get up early next morning, before he rode away, and ask him not to be angry with them, or think the worse of them, because they had not recognized him. They did this, and found him in the stable. But Martin said: "You said last night at supper you would give ten gulden to confess to Luther. If you do confess to him some time, you will see if I am Martin Luther." He said nothing more concerning himself, but mounted and rode away toward Wittenberg.

The same day we journeyed on toward Naumberg, and we came into a village—it lies at the base of a height called Orlamunde, I think, and the village Nasshausen—through which a stream flows that had left its banks on account of the violent rains, and partly washed away the bridge, so that one could not cross with a horse. We turned into this

village, and in the inn accidentally met the two merchants, who entertained us here for Luther's sake very generously.

The next Saturday, the day before the first Sunday in Lent, we called upon Doctor Hieronymus Schurf in order to present our letters. As we were called into the room, behold, we found the knight Martin, as at Jena. And with him were Philip Melanchthon, Justus Jodocus Jonas, Nicolaus Amsdorf and Doctor Augustinus Schurf, and they were telling him what had taken place in Wittenberg during his absence. He greeted us and laughed, pointed with his finger and said: "This is Philip Melanchthon, of whom I told you."

ARTICLE IX.

THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.

THE science of political economy is undergoing a change almost as remarkable as that which took place in astronomy in the Copernican era. In the old astronomy the earth was the center around which all other things, including the sun and the stars, were made to circle. In the old economy material wealth was the center round which all other things, including even life itself, were made to revolve. The new astronomy knows that the earth is not the center but only a planet moving about the sun, and the new economy knows that material wealth and the desire for it are not the central facts, but only subordinate parts of a great system, of which manhood and womanhood, character, mind, soul, affections, ideals, and development are the controlling elements, the real foci of power. The new astronomy stands off and looks at the world in its true relation to the rest of the universe, and the new economy stands off and looks at material wealth in its true relations to life and progress.

The differences between the new political economy and the old are of fundamental importance; some of them may be stated as follows :—

First. The old economy lived by itself and did business on the individualistic plan. It formed no intimate associations with other sociologic sciences and did not recognize them when it met them on the street. The new economy recognizes its relatives, lives in the family group, and

works in close association with all the other members of it. This is a matter of the utmost moment. It will not do to deal with material wealth as a thing by itself; it must be studied as part of a great whole. The science of wealth must be *coördinated* with ethics, psychology, government, art, evolution, and every other body of thought that affects human life. If your economy is not in harmony with your morals and your government, if the science of wealth does not conform to the principles of ethics and development, your social science is not an organic whole but a heap of broken fragments. The arch will not stand unless each stone is chiseled with reference to the rest. Political economy must be formed so that it will not refuse to fit its fellow sciences, but will take its place as a perfect stone in the arch of sociology.

If your government says, "Democracy, power in the people," and your economy says, "Aristocracy, plutocracy, power in the few"; if your jurisprudence says, "Justice," and your economy says, "Get rich"; if your ethics and your religion say, "Love, service, devotion," and your economy says, "Self-interest, conquest, mastery,"—there is civil war in your social science.

An economic system not in accord with the political system might subvert the government, and an industrialism out of harmony with ethics might debase society, or result in destruction, misuse, or waste of energy and wealth, or even ruin civilization as a whole, and so fail to accomplish the purposes of an industrial system, which are to create wealth, not to waste or destroy it; develop civilization, not endanger it; and elevate humanity, not debase it. A true science of wealth must tell us how to avoid these dangers, and secure these benefits so far as they depend on industry.

The old political economy neglected ethics, and, in spite of its name, endeavored for the most part to separate the

industrial and political systems. The new recognizes their indissoluble union, and justifies its title by coördinating their study and treatment. Ideals and political institutions are vital factors in industrial affairs, and industrial institutions are no less vital factors in morality, religion, art, and politics. A true political economy must harmonize with jurisprudence, ethics, æsthetics, evolution, and social science in all its parts. Man is the most important factor in wealth production, and the object of it also; wherefore, all sciences relating to man and disclosing the laws that determine his character and condition, have a bearing on political economy. It is just as impossible to construct a true, complete, and proper science of wealth or industry by the study of wealth alone, without reference to its relations with political and social life, as it would be to build a science of the stomach or heart by studying them alone, without reference to their relations with brain and nerves, lungs, liver, kidneys, and skin.

The standard economists tell us that "political economy is the science of wealth, the body of knowledge that relates to wealth,"¹ and yet they omit as a rule the ethical, political, and social relations of industry, which constitute the most important parts of this knowledge.² That one

¹ Walker's Political Economy, pp. 1, 3-4.

² Here and there in the standard books some reference is made to ethical and social considerations and the higher aspects of wealth and industry. (See for a strong paragraph of this sort Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. iii. c. iv, "Thirdly.") But it is the business of the new economy to deal with the moral and social effects of industry in its various forms, not in an incidental, fragmentary, or partial manner, but systematically and exhaustively, as the supreme object and sole justification of a science of wealth above the level of mere intellectual gymnastics. As a rule the leading economists quietly exclude the ethical and social factors in production, and silently neglect the *human* and *progressive*, as distinguished from the mere *mechanico-commercial*, aspects of wealth, production, and distribution. Sometimes the student of economics is expressly told that he must not concern himself with political, ethical, or social considerations, but must confine his attention to finding out

system of producing and distributing wealth develops conscience and character, sympathy and mutualistic life, while another system has the opposite tendency, is a fact relating to wealth that is vastly more momentous than any amount of knowledge about the law of supply and demand. The effects of morals and government upon industry, and the moral, political, and social effects of wealth and of different methods of producing, distributing, holding, and using it, are fundamental items in "the body of knowledge that relates to wealth,"—supreme elements of political economy, which, if omitted, leave the science of wealth without its most vital parts, and unable to fulfil the chief purpose for which it has any warrant of existence.

If honesty, conscience, good-will, education, and free institutions enable a community to produce more wealth than if it were dishonest, conscienceless, ignorant, and full of ill-feeling and slavishness, then honesty, conscience, good-will, education, and free institutions, and whatever tends to strengthen and develop them, are factors in productive power, and whatever has a contrary tendency opposes wealth production. If under some circumstances private how wealth is produced, exchanged, distributed, and consumed. "The more strictly the several branches of inquiry are kept apart the better it will be for each and for all" (Walker, p. 1). No reason is given by Walker for this, and he does not himself keep the inquiries strictly apart in all cases (see, for example, pp. 269, 304, 317); neither is there any warrant for doing so in his premises. He says that political economy is the science of wealth, and science is "knowledge coördinated, arranged, and systematized" (Century Dictionary). But coördination is directly contrary to keeping inquiries strictly apart. It is true, of course, that the economist should not pursue his studies to bolster political, social, or religious prejudices; but it is not true that he should neglect to consider industrial facts in the light of ethical and political facts and principles, or refuse to investigate the effects of industrial processes upon morals and civilization. He should clear his mind to the utmost, not only of religious and political prejudices, but of economic prejudices also, and seek the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about wealth; and to do this he must certainly study its relations with morality, government, and civilization.

monopoly of land and capital is opposed to freedom and democracy and unfavorable to the highest development of the human factor in production, while coöperative effort favors morality and the elevation of man; if conflict and antagonism are destructive, while union and harmony are creative; if partnership in profits and control, public spirit, careful training and wise organization, are more potent for effective production than the opposing forces of a chaotic struggle for existence; if certain industrial arrangements enable an unseen agency to intercept a large part of the wealth produced, so that the reward of labor does not increase in due proportion with the increasing productiveness of labor, whereby class differences are widened, wealth-congestion and poverty-congestion intensified, the people divided instead of united, the nation sundered instead of cemented; if industrial conditions disfranchise men, and political conditions determine the production and distribution of wealth; if civilization and wealth-diffusion multiply production while they diminish the birth-rate; if union, arbitration, education, justice, and even brother-love may fix wages, and politics may settle the hours and conditions of labor;—surely such important matters, indissolubly connected with wealth and the various methods and conditions of its production and distribution, fall within “the body of knowledge that relates to wealth.”¹

¹ We may even find, when we study the *whole* body of knowledge that relates to wealth, that the “Malthusian Law,” “The Iron Law of Wages,” “The Law of Demand and Supply,” and the whole “Theory of Values and Exchanges” are not fundamental laws of industry at all, but only imperfect statements of passing phases, based on a study of *part* of the facts relating to wealth, and likely to be swept away by the correlation of industry with ethics and jurisprudence. Already it is recognized that the “Malthusian Law” is not a law when moral considerations are taken into account, and that respect for labor and sympathy with the laboring classes may become a force in determining the rate of wages and overturn the “Iron Law” (see Walker, pp. 269, 304). Many do not pay competitive wages now, nor put the price on their goods and services re-

Second. The old political economy was static,¹ the new is dynamic. The old economy took things at rest, the new gives large attention to movement. The old economy generally assumes existing conditions to be right and eternal, and satisfies itself with trying to formulate the laws of industry as they are; as though logic should seek to determine only how men do reason, and not also how they ought to reason; or chemistry should study only existing combinations, and not the effects of possible combinations also.

The new economy not only seeks to understand the present industrial system, but also endeavors to grasp the conditions of a truly scientific system, and to discover how the transition to such a system may best be made. It studies the *movement* of the past and present; points out the evils and dangers of present industrial conditions, compares them with similar evils and dangers in other countries and other times; notes the consequences indicated by historic analogy and scientific prevision; tries to determine how the dangers may be averted and the evils abolished; discusses the means of retaining, enlarging, and strengthening what is good; and carefully formulates the best methods of developing and improving the production and quired by the "Law of Demand and Supply." And it is not impossible that all the learning about demand and supply, gold and silver monies, prices, values, exchanges, etc., that fills the books on economics, may in a few years give place to expanded treatments of subjects that now peep timidly out of the pages here and there with the melancholy air of unappreciative guests crushed by the coldness of their hosts.

¹ "All that one has, as an economist, to do is to find out how wealth is produced, exchanged, distributed, and consumed" (Walker, p. 1). Why may not the economist find out also how wealth *has been*, and how it *may be* produced, distributed, and consumed, and study the total effects, actual and probable, moral, intellectual, political, and social, of each method? Why not study how to *improve* the general methods of producing and distributing wealth? Surely reason gives no authority for excluding such inquiries from "the body of knowledge that relates to wealth."

distribution of wealth. The old was at rest, the new is in motion.

Third. The aims and standards of the old economy differ largely from those of the new. The old economy aims at merchandise, the new aims at manhood. The old economy generally looks to the increase of property as its object, regardless of the effect upon men,—it values merchandise more than manhood,—like a man who should spend all his time building the floor to his house, never giving a thought to the walls or roof or interior decoration—like the turtle who worked so long and so hard at making a pair of glasses so he could see better, that he lost his eyesight during the process.

The new political economy understands that a man is worth more than a railroad, a coal-mine, or a bank vault; that manhood and noble living are the supreme objects of all laws and institutions, including industrial and political institutions; and that wealth is of value only as a means to these objects, surpassing its reason for existence and becoming a curse, when, instead of acting as the servant of manhood, and the producer of nobility, it makes man its slave, and nobility its drudge.

Money and merchandise are valuable because they procure ease, comfort, health, culture of the body, mind and soul,—because they promote manhood and noble living,—yet in the rush for wealth all the benefits that wealth can give, and others infinitely beyond its power, are trampled in the dust. And the old political economy sits calmly by, taking notes of the process, as though it were eminently wise for a man to give his head for a bit of bread, and altogether proper to sacrifice a sovereign on the altar of his rightful slave. The reason is clear. The old political economy takes no note of the relative values of man and merchandise, and gives little attention to their interactions—the effects of each upon the other. It fails to rec-

ognize that manhood is the supreme product of a nation's industries—the highest wealth—the mightiest power for the creation even of that material wealth about which it is so solicitous. Keep all your machinery and capital, mines and factories, railroads and cities, but banish all the people now in America, and put barbarians in their places, and what would the wealth product be in this country next year? Our people could produce more barehanded than uncivilized men in the midst of unlimited capital and machinery, but without the honesty, self-control, habits of industry, training of hand and brain, knowledge, skill, ability to coöperate, etc., that make possible the wealth productions of the United States to-day. The old economy aims at merchandise, forgetting the purpose beyond, and it even neglects to inquire how to secure the most powerful factor in mercantile production. Its purpose is a false one, and its method of accomplishing even that false purpose is very imperfect. Intelligence and soul count more than capital, even on the low plane of material production. But political economy does not trouble itself about intelligence and soul, though the inferior factor, capital, claims its most abundant care.

The new political economy clearly recognizes the fundamental fact that manhood is the highest object of human endeavor, and the most efficient means of accomplishing all human purposes, even the production of material wealth. It is apt to be very misleading, and the source of grievous errors, to enumerate land, labor, and capital as the factors of wealth production. The formula ought to include mental qualities, character, social conditions, history, state of civilization, and all the infinite forces which make up the worker and his environment, and determine the product of his life, intellectual and material, individual and social, and which largely escape inclusion under the terms land, labor, and capital, as they are employed in cur-

rent political economy. It is better to say that the factors of production are land, labor, capital, civilization, or social conditions, and manhood,—then the truth appears on the face of the law, and the deductions from it stand a better chance of being correct.

John Stuart Mill admits that a true definition of wealth must include mind and character; yet, like Adam Smith, Ricardo, and others, he separates material wealth, and makes it substantially the sole subject of his treatise on political economy, practically confining the science of wealth to a consideration of the least important sort of wealth; as though astronomy confined itself to the moon, or physiology to the feet, with no due consideration of related facts, or correlation with treatises that did consider them, and no recognition of final objects and fundamental purposes and their relation to the subject under treatment. It would be no less sensible for men to devote themselves exclusively or disproportionately to studying how to increase the size of their feet, than to devote themselves exclusively or disproportionately to studying how to increase the amount of material wealth. And it would be no more remarkable to see men living simply to cultivate and carry about their feet, than to see them living solely to accumulate money.

John Stuart Mill redeemed himself in his autobiography, and each edition of his Political Economy was better than the last. But there are only a few faint glimmers of the dawn in any of the "standard works of the old masters." It is not necessary for political economy to contain a treatise on ethics or government or psychology any more than on engineering or the mechanic arts, agriculture or the composition of soils and minerals; but it is necessary that it should *recognize* the principles of ethics, government, psychology, etc., and test its results by them, otherwise it must fail to accomplish the *constructive* work which

is the most important function of a social science. Astronomy, geology, biology, etc., may not contain a treatise on logic, but each must recognize the principles of logic, and test its conclusions by them. Prevision, construction, development, are chief among the services that a department of social science may render. A science of wealth that does not determine the *best* methods of producing and distributing wealth, nor tell us what our industrial institutions ought to be, is less than half a science of wealth. It is not necessary that political economy should determine the origin and nature of mind and conscience, nor discuss the imagination, affections, habit, association of ideas, etc., nor record the evolution of democracy, nor tell us in what justice, honesty, kindness, purity, and altruism consist, or why they are good—these things belong to ethics, government, psychology, etc.—but political economy must note the conclusions these sciences reach, and coördinate its own deductions with them,—it must recognize the value of intelligence and virtue and social conditions, duly subordinate material wealth to the higher wealth, place mind, character, institutions, and environment at the head of its list of the factors of production, make manhood the ultimate object of all its studies, found its system on the laws of development, and devote itself to instructing men how to organize an ideal industrialism, a truly scientific system of producing and distributing wealth, that will not waste more than it produces, nor destroy values higher than those it creates. This the new economy aims to do.

Some of the leading principles which the new political economy must keep in mind, and subject to which it must do its work, may now be stated, with a hint now and then of a few of their applications.

COÖRDINATION.

1. Correlation of the social sciences, so that each will recognize, understand, and mutually support all the rest. If an institution or method of business is contrary to the principles of justice and the law of love, then it is contrary to a true economy. If the purchase of labor as a commodity at the lowest market price, the purchase of human life for cash, not all at once beneath the sheriff's hammer, but on the installment plan, a day, a week, a month, or a year at a time, under the compulsion of necessity—if this is contrary to the highest welfare of mankind, then it is contrary to political economy.

PROGRESS.

2. We must study not only what the laws and methods of industry are, but what they ought to be. We must not only understand and test the present, we must seek the ideal and its realization. If the wage system is defective, we must determine the conditions of improvement, both palliative and radical. We must study short-hour laws, improved dwellings, public employment bureaus, etc. We must see if coöperation, or socialization, or some other plan may not be better than present methods; and, if so, how the change may be most easily, justly, and speedily accomplished, and the new plan tested under conditions that will give it a reasonable chance of success.

If many cannot get work at all, while others toil to exhaustion; if some who render large service have little, while others who render no service have much; if invention and civilization have multiplied productive power so that workmen produce twenty, fifty, or a hundredfold what they formerly could in the same length of time, and yet those workmen are some of them worse off than formerly, and others but little better off, and even the average condition, though much improved, is still far below the level

of economic justice, since the reward of labor, though increased, has by no means increased in due proportion with the increase in the productiveness of labor—the share of labor having risen in arithmetical ratio, while the share of those who own the great franchises and combinations, manufacturing and commercial enterprises, city estates and favored lands, has risen in geometric ratio, or even in exponential ratio; if privilege and monopoly take billions of dollars every year from industry, and hundreds of millions are gambled for and wasted by a few; if some of the means of satisfying human wants that are privately owned would be better used under public or coöperative ownership; if some are making money by corruption or oppression, or coining money out of the ruin of their fellow-men; if some industrial conditions tend to debase mankind and endanger free institutions,—then it is the business of political economy to study these matters and tell us what must be done to get rid of such economic evils and attain a more perfect industrial system.

THE FUNDAMENTAL TESTS.

3. The ultimate purpose of all institutions and of all human effort is happiness. Misery is not of sufficient importance to make it worth while to build industrial and social systems to manufacture and distribute *it*. The ultimate test of a social system is therefore the degree of perfection with which it produces the happiness of man. Happiness requires complete and noble living. An ignoble life causes pain to the person who lives it, and to every one who comes in contact with it; and an incomplete life, one that omits a part of the noble activities of which it is capable, loses the pleasures to itself and to others that would come with the omitted activities, and lowers the sum of the world's rightful joys. A secondary or derivative test of a true social system is, therefore, its tendency to pro-

duce noble and complete living. Noble and complete living requires perfect manhood and womanhood, for imperfect men and women cannot live perfect lives; so that still another secondary or derivative test, or perhaps, more accurately speaking, another form of the same fundamental test of a true social system, is its tendency to produce perfect manhood and womanhood.

Again, the spiritual element in happiness, in manhood, in noble and complete living, is love—not in the sense of the selfish passion that demands possession and control of the life of another, but love in the sense of sympathy, kindness, brotherly feeling; the love that makes sacrifices for the good of the loved one; the love that knows no way to be happy but to make others happy, that will not ask a pleasure at the cost of agony to others, nor seek a joy that comes as a burden on the back of pain. Every element of man's spiritual nature that is inconsistent with or contradictory to complete and perfect love, such as hate, revenge, injustice, cruelty, jealousy, etc., is a pain producer, while love multiplies the joys of existence a hundredfold. Mankind can never be completely happy till every human being instinctively recoils from doing any act the law of love would condemn, and spontaneously desires to do every act the law of love would command or suggest. So that still another derivative test of a true social system is the degree of its conformity to the law of love.

THE SUPREME PRODUCT.

4. Manhood is the supreme product of an industrial system. Material wealth is desirable only to such extent and under such conditions as make it conduce to noble living. The production of character and intelligence is the highest form of industry, and to its requirements all other industries should conform. Life is not for money, but money for life. Men should not live to take care of

machines, nor be banished by their introduction; machinery should exist to help men, not to subject them. As new machines are invented, men should not be thrown out of employment, but hours should be shortened and wages increased that men may have time to think and the means of culture. A system under which machines take precedence of men is not in accord with a true economy, for it subordinates the higher wealth to the lower.

THE STANDARD OF VALUE.

5. We must measure final values in terms of life and progress, not in terms of dollars and cents. A fireman is worth more than a locomotive, and a brakeman more than an express train, though he may not sell for so much. A sailor is worth more than a ship, though his exchange value may be far less. A boy is worth more than a coal-mine or a cotton-mill, a girl more than a clothing factory or a department store; a happy home more than the taxes from a dozen saloons. Money itself must have its value measured by its effects on life and development.

MUTUALISM.

6. The two great divisions of human relationship are severance and association. The second division falls into four great groups, which we may call Conflict, Mastery, Partnership, and Devotion; an ascending series,—the first two wasteful and debasing, the last two elevating and ennobling.

Whether it be the devotion of a mother to her child, of a lover to the loved one, of a soldier to his country, of a philanthropist to humanity, of an inventor to his great idea, of a scientist to the discovery of truth, of a poet, musician, or artist to the creation of beauty, of a philosopher or reformer to his high ideal, of a martyr to the cause he

loves,—everywhere devotion is recognized as the loftiest of relations.

There is a steady tendency of the lower forms of relation to pass into the higher. Institutions and emotions have their laws of selection and survival, as well as individuals and races. As population increases, the severance of distance gives way to contact in conflict or in union. Conflict merges into mastery or partnership or devotion. Mastery is almost as unstable as conflict—there is conflict in its heart, unless the mind of the slave is dead and the soul of the master forever asleep. It builds upon rebellion's soil. There is no rest, no permanence, no safety, till mastery is changed to partnership or devotion; and when once we have partnership, devotion is only a question of time for growing sympathy to change the crude justice, that is satisfied with the absence of aggression, into the higher justice we call love, that is satisfied only by the gift of our all for others. He that would be greatest among you must be your servant. Loving service is the highest ideal of life. Mutual help or mutualism is the perfect solvent for all social problems.

If these things are true, then a system of industry that fosters antagonisms, and teaches conquest, and permits oppression, is not in accord with a true economy. It is not adapted to producing the best wealth,—perfected manhood and noble lives.

The higher relations, partnership and devotion, are forms of coöperation. The competitive system is composed of conflicts and masteries, which are low relations. If progress is from lower forms to higher, there can be no doubt that coöperation will take the place of competition.

THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT.

7. Development requires the encouragement of good and the repression of bad.

8. Experience and reason prove the value of liberty, justice, and union. In respect to union, our industries are about in the same condition as the states before the Federal Constitution went into effect. In respect to justice, those who do least to make the world better obtain the most wealth and power, and receive the most consideration. Those who build the palaces do not live in them. Those who create the wealth of the world do not enjoy it. In respect to liberty, no one is free who is dependent upon the arbitrary will of another for an opportunity to earn his daily bread.

Every living thing should have full freedom except where reason and experience demand a limitation, and then equal application of the limitation, and exemptions from it, to all under the same essential circumstances. Full liberty to do what is clearly right, no liberty to do what is clearly wrong. In the region of doubt, liberty for the sake of discovery and progress.

9. Justice, liberty, and development require the *diffusion* of wealth, power, knowledge, and virtue. A system that gives one man two hundred millions and another nothing, though he is honest and willing to work—a system under which half the people own practically nothing, $\frac{1}{8}$ of the people own more than $\frac{7}{8}$ of the wealth, and 1 per cent of the people own 55 per cent of the wealth, is a system that cannot well stand this ninth test.

10. Justice, liberty, and development also demand the *equalization*: (1) of opportunities for education, development, labor, and enjoyment; (2) of unearned increment; (3) of innocent burdens and difficulties, such as distance, climate, soil, accidents, sickness, death, taxes, etc.

11. Self-government is required by liberty, justice, and the law of development: (1) because of its educating, ennobling, and self-respect-producing effects; (2) because of the protection it offers against injustice and oppression.

12. Partnership is the most perfect relation in which men can *formally* combine. It involves self-government as an inherent part of itself, secures coherence and eliminates the wastes and debasements of conflict by unifying interests, promotes energy and economy, favors the diffusion of wealth, fosters liberty and justice, aids the building of character, and obeys in every way the Law of Development.

Universal Partnership is the highest aim of social organization. Profit-sharing, coöperation, public ownership of monopolies,—anything that unifies interest, banishes conflict, and increases mutual helpfulness,—is in the right direction. In the ideal society, men will be coördinated, not as master and servant, but as partners,—coöperators. In no other way can universal human nature throw off the ignominies of servitude, and rise to the dignity of self-control—every man the master of nature and himself, no man the master of another. Democracy, when real, is nothing but partnership. The word is sometimes applied to organizations in which the government is nominally shared by the members, although really ruled by a class—these are democracies only in form and name, in substance they are aristocracies. In a real democracy, the will of the people has such immediate and vital control, that what the people want to have done is done, and what they do not wish to have done is not done. A nation may have a democracy, even a real one, in one portion of its affairs, and yet submit to aristocratic rule, or even monarchical despotism, in another portion. Some of our own people live under a real democracy in respect to local political affairs, an elective aristocracy in respect to the political affairs of state and nation, a hereditary aristocracy in respect to industrial affairs, and a monarchy in respect to religious affairs.

13. Economy and increase of resources are necessary to the highest development. Waste is to be reduced to a

minimum ; energy, education, character, skill, inventive power and organization, carried to a maximum.

14. Prevision is essential to life,—the more perfect it is (other things equal), the higher the life. It requires (1) assured employment and income; (2) wise adjustment of supply and demand; (3) elimination of all chance, as far as possible.

15. Stability in substantial measure is needful for reasonable prevision. Rapid or sudden changes are very costly. Instability and uncertainty destroy business, peace of mind, energy, progress,—modified men are required for modified institutions. Human nature is not a fluid or a ball of putty, to take a new shape in a moment; it is like the stream of the glacier,—a slow, strong pressure is needed to move it so that the atoms can readjust themselves without breakage. Not revolution, but consciously aided evolution, is what the law of development demands.

16. Replacement of nature's rough and costly method of *automatic selection* by the refined and rapid method of *intelligent selection* is one of the greatest aids to progress. The principles by which fine horses and cattle and dogs have been developed without the waste of time and life and the anguish of the "struggle for existence," should be, as far as possible, applied to the development of man.

17. We should *go to the sources of good and evil*, for that is where effort will yield the largest return. The birth and training of children are the most vital concerns. A community that allows vast multitudes of its children to be robbed of their childhood, imprisoned in factories, buried in sweat shops and department stores, brought up in the slums, on the streets, in the saloons, selling newspapers, blacking boots, carrying messages and bundles, when they ought to be in school or at play,—a community that has 36,000 children in its grammar schools and no room in its crowded high schools for more than 4500, showing that

it has no intention to give the great majority of children a thorough education,—a community that allows hundreds of women to sew from ten to sixteen hours a day, making dresses and trousers and shirts for one dollar to three dollars a week, and permits millions of girls and women to work long hours under unwholesome, dangerous, and immoral conditions in tobacco factories, cotton mills, bakeries, stores, sweat shops, and garrets, for wages that afford only a bare subsistence,—a community that allows the mothers of its future sovereigns and those sovereigns themselves to be treated in such a way, certainly needs to be told to look to the fountains.

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF BROTHERHOOD.

18. The law of brother love is the fundamental principle from which all the others are deducible, and which alone can entirely eliminate conflict, produce a perfect community of interest, and carry mutual helpfulness to its limit. Love makes every power of wealth, position, education, and ability a trust for humanity,—obedience to its dictates is not self-sacrifice, but only the sacrifice of the lower self to the higher self. A man with a big brain or a strong body, if love rules him, will not try to make others serve him, but will seek to serve them. Love will make him feel that for every power he possesses more than others, he owes them that much more of service than they can owe him. Ability with love behind it means simply duty and delight to serve.

We teach our children in church and school that they should love their neighbors as themselves, but our industrialism teaches them to outwit and underbid their neighbors; to get their business away from them, pay them as little and make them pay as much as possible,—get money for ourselves no matter if it ruins them. Yet all the time we say we are brothers, and we pay thousands of ministers to preach the Brotherhood of Man.

We are not brothers. We ought to be, and our saying we are is a very encouraging sign, because it shows our ideals; and where our ideals are, we shall be some day. But we are not brothers now. Our actions belie our words. Imagine, if you can, a millionaire allowing his baby brother to be raised in the slums by the most degraded men and women in the land. Imagine a baby in the slums with a dozen millionaires for brothers and sisters, all of whom knew he was there, and was their lawful brother in direst need and sore distress. Imagine a baby in slum life with brothers and sisters worth sixty-five billions of property. You cannot do it. Yet that is what the brothers and sisters of every baby in the slums possess according to the brotherhood of man and the census of 1890—nearer seventy-five or eighty billions now probably; but it might as well be zero as far as the average slum baby is concerned.

The time will come, however, when there will be no slums; for the Brotherhood of Man has entered the marketplace and the factory, and will transform them, and with them the homes of those who labor there. It is beginning to be understood that union, harmony, mutual help, and brotherliness are vital causes in economic phenomena, fundamental factors in the production and distribution both of material riches and the higher wealth. Conscience and coöperation, profit-sharing and labor copartnership, self-government and socialization, democracy and devotion, are gradually taking possession of the field of industry, and the New Political Economy is beginning to teach our youth that, from an economic standpoint, as well as from an ethical standpoint, conscience is better than conquest, union better than conflict, devotion better than mastery; and that service is the best riches, manhood the highest wealth, and brother love more to be desired than all the money in the world.

ARTICLE X.

DR. DRIVER'S PROOF-TEXTS.¹

BY G. FREDRICK WRIGHT.

IN further proof that the Pentateuch employs language "implying that the period of the Exodus lay in the past, and that Israel is established in Canaan,"² Dr. Driver adduces Deut. ii. 12b, which reads, "As Israel did unto the land of his possession which the Lord gave unto them." But this is ordinarily and easily explained, on the theory of Mosaic authorship, by regarding it, with perhaps the whole of the two preceding verses, as a parenthetical explanatory addition by a later hand. No one could reasonably object to the supposition that a limited number of such additions have been made. The textual criticism of the New Testament has familiarized us both with the fact of such clerical additions in manuscripts undergoing repeated copying, and also with their limitations and characteristics. By general consent, this is preëminently the kind of explanation most likely to creep into a manuscript in the process of transmission. It may, however, with a fair show of reason, be maintained that this is not such an addition, but that Moses is here referring to the conquests of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, already effected on the east side of Jordan.

Deut. iii. 11 is Dr. Driver's next proof-text. This passage relates that Og's bedstead was a bedstead of iron, add-

¹ Continued from July, 1898, p. 525.

² Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (sixth edition), p. 124.

ing, "Is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon." Dr. Driver interprets this clause as indicating that Og's bedstead is "a relic of antiquity." But such an interpretation is entirely gratuitous. It may as well be that it is referred to as "a memorial of a recent victory."

Dr. Driver is also himself careful to add, in a separate clause, that these last two passages, as well as Deut. iii. 14, might "indeed in themselves be treated as glosses." But he insists that "the attempts that have been made to reconcile the other passages with Moses' authorship must strike every impartial reader as forced and artificial." With reference to the soundness of this judgment, we will refer the reader to our examination of them in a previous number of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.¹

Dr. Driver further fortifies this selected body of inconsequential proof-texts by referring to other passages of Deuteronomy quoted on p. 82f. of his volume. On turning to this page, we find that the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy is rejected, on the ground that Deuteronomy "speaks regularly, not of Sinai, but of Horeb (as Ex. iii. 1; xvii. 6; xxxiii. 6)." The only argument in favor of Dr. Driver's position which can be drawn from this fact is that this usage is thought to show that Deuteronomy was written earlier than those portions of the Pentateuch which are denominated the Priest Code, and indicated by P, which use the word Sinai instead of Horeb; and, as Deuteronomy is post-Mosaic, P must be still later. But it should be observed, as will appear in a striking case adduced a little later, that the supposed identification of the disjointed members of the Priest Code has been accomplished by methods that are largely arbitrary, and that very likely passages containing Horeb have been excluded by the critics from the Priest Code because of the occurrence of this word in them. We might also turn the argument around,

¹ Vol. lv. (July, 1898), pp. 515-525.

and say that the Priest Code was written before Deuteronomy, and before the passages in Exodus using the term Horeb; for, how else should a writer who knew that the names of both Sinai and Horeb were used to designate the holy mountain limit himself to one of them? The facts as Dr. Driver uses them will prove one alternative as well as another, i.e. they prove neither. Dr. Driver has drawn his inferences from only half of the facts.

The truth is that the critics here have discovered a mare's nest. Deuteronomy is preëminently a rhetorical book, and it is impossible for us, at this distance of time and place, fully to understand the rhetorical motives which led to the use of one word rather than the other. It should be noted, also, that Dr. Driver is careful to say that Deuteronomy speaks "regularly," not of Sinai, but of Horeb, for he was well aware that there was one exception, namely, Deut. xxxiii. 2, an exception which he does not deign to explain except by a footnote which would indicate that the whole of the thirty-third chapter had been incorporated into the book from independent sources.

A second passage referred to on page 82 is Deut. xi. 6, which alludes to the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, but is silent as to Korah. This is thought to be a significant circumstance. To the considerate reader, however, it will seem that when, in a discourse of the length of Deuteronomy, a selection of historical illustrations is made, and only a single sentence is given to summarizing two chapters, the inferences which can be drawn from omission of reference are of the slightest value.

A third illustration on this same page is drawn from the omission of Joshua's name (Deut. i. 36) in a passing reference to the report of the spies. Deuteronomy i. 36 affirms that not one of this evil generation should see the good land, "save Caleb the son of Jephunneh"; whereas, in the portion of the narrative referring to the matter in Num-

bers and assigned to the Priest Code, both Caleb and Joshua are mentioned. The reasoning is, that, if the writer of Deuteronomy had known of the reference to Joshua in the so-called Priest Code, he also would have mentioned him, together with Caleb, in the present connection. Therefore Deuteronomy is later than the Jehovistic narrative, and the Priest Code later than Deuteronomy.

But here, as elsewhere, the whole reasoning of Dr. Driver is vitiated by two fatal defects. In the first place, he fails to take into consideration the exegetical significance of the professedly rhetorical character of the book of Deuteronomy. In such a summary of facts as is adapted to popular address, we are not to look for fullness of detail. In the present instance the references to Caleb and Joshua in Deuteronomy are as distinct and definite as could be expected in so short a summary. It is true that the writer of Deuteronomy says that none of the men of that evil generation should enter the good land, "save Caleb the son of Jephunneh" (i. 35, 36), omitting the name of Joshua in that verse. But the relations of Joshua to Moses were such that he stood in a unique position, and would more naturally be mentioned as he is in a following sentence. In Num. xxvii. 18-23 we have an account of the formal installation of Joshua as the successor to Moses, an installation which was repeated in Deut. xxxi. 14, 23.

Now, returning to the references in the first chapter of Deuteronomy, we find that the statement, that none of the men save Caleb is to enter into the land, is qualified by the statement in verse 38 that Joshua is to go in, therefore "encourage him, for he shall cause Israel to inherit it." This statement regarding Joshua is preceded by the statement that the Lord was angry with Moses, so that he could not enter. The propriety of giving prominence to Joshua's official relation amply justifies the omission of details in such a summary as Deuteronomy professes to be, and ac-

counts for the form in which the facts are there alluded to.

Secondly, it is instructive to notice, in this passage, the arbitrary method pursued by Dr. Driver in analyzing the narrative. He refers us from page 82 to page 63 for further details. On turning to this page, we find an elaborate discussion of the composite nature of Numbers xiii. and xiv., which contain the narrative of the spies. These we find to be assigned to P and JE in such a manner that P contains the only references that are made to Joshua; while an effort is made to show that the two narratives are to some extent self-contradictory, and that these apparent discrepancies can be accounted for in no other way than by supposing that two contradictory original narratives were put together by an incompetent editor *a long while after the original events*. This theory, however, is purely gratuitous, for the combination of apparently conflicting accounts might as naturally arise from the difficulty a contemporary historian would have in condensing a brief account of such complicated transactions.

In modern phrase we should say, that this committee of twelve, sent to spy out the land, made a "majority" and a "minority" report, Caleb being chairman of the minority, whose report is briefly characterized in Num. xiii. 30. But the majority report prevailed with the people, and led to an incipient rebellion, some incidents of which are related in chapter xiv. At this crisis, Joshua came forward with Caleb to stem the tide of opposition. A special reason for mentioning only Caleb's name in verse 24 as one who is exempted from the general curse is that a definite promise had been made to him that his seed should possess Hebron, a promise which is claimed by Caleb after Joshua had partially conquered the region (Josh. xiv. 6-15).

Still another apparent discrepancy in this account in Numbers is that JE represents the spies as calling the land a fertile one; whereas P represents them as saying that the

land is one which "eateth up the inhabitants thereof," which expression Dr. Driver thinks can only mean that it is an impoverished land, not worth conquering. To sustain this exegesis he refers to Lev. xxvi. 38 and Ezek. xxxvi. 13. But, on turning to the passage in Ezekiel, the reader finds that the land is said to be one which eateth up men, not because of its natural barrenness, but because of special judgments of God upon its people; and this accords with the general statement of the passage in Numbers. Pestilence or difficulty of defense against enemies may have been the evils magnified in the majority report.

Or, if Dr. Driver should still insist on his interpretation of the phrase, it is by no means inconsistent with the character of such a committee as this was, that they should shift their ground in course of the argument, and magnify the terrors of those portions of the land through which they had passed which were barren and inhospitable. No great length of time is required, in such a deadly controversy as this was, to work up conflicting accounts in the reports of such a partisan committee.

Another reason given by Dr. Driver for discrediting this account in Numbers is that P and JE differ as to the starting-point of the spies. To P he assigns xiii. 3 and 26, which say that the spies started from the wilderness of Paran and returned again to the children of Israel in the wilderness of Paran. But he infers from Num. xxxii. 8; Deut. i. 19; Josh. xiv. 16, that JE represents them as starting from Kadesh. It is difficult, however, to see how there can be any discrepancy in such references when there is so great an uncertainty, at the present time, as to what were the limits of Paran, and what was the position of Kadesh. And this leads us to notice a characteristic feat of critical analysis. The passage which we have just referred to (Num. xiii. 25, 26) expressly says that the spies returned "unto the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh,"

which would be like saying that a person came back to England, to London. But just here Dr. Driver draws his pen through the middle of verse 26, and assigns Kadesh to JE, leaving Paran with P, and then proceeds to draw his argument from the assumed fact that JE starts his spies from Kadesh, and P from Paran! It is thus that, while turning around in a circle of his own creation, he deludes himself with the thought that he is advancing in a cumulative argument.

In view of these exposures we may dismiss without further notice the "&c." with which Dr. Driver here seeks to bring his argument to a climax.

The only remaining point, in this summary of strong proofs adduced by Dr. Driver, is, that "the laws, also, in many of their details, presuppose (and do not merely *anticipate*) institutions and social relations, which can hardly have grown up except among a people which had been for some time settled in a permanent home" (p. 124). Reserving the consideration of this statement to a later number, we will close the present examination with some remarks upon the author's conflicting statements concerning the use of writing in the time of Moses.

Upon page 158, Dr. Driver earnestly protests against the assertion "that the primary basis of Pentateuchal criticism is the assumption that Moses was unacquainted with the art of writing, and that this has been completely overthrown by the Tel el-Amarna tablets," which, he says, "rests upon an entire misapprehension of the facts. As the absence of all mention of the supposed basis in the preceding pages will have shown, it is *not* the premise upon which the criticism of the Pentateuch depends: the antiquity of writing was known long before the Tel el-Amarna tablets were discovered; and these tablets (though deeply interesting on account of their historical contents) have no bearing on the question either of the composite

structure of the Pentateuch, or of the date of the documents of which it is composed."

But on page 125, in the summary of argument which we have been considering, we find Dr. Driver asserting without reservation that "in the early stages of a nation's history the memory of the past is preserved habitually by oral tradition; and the Jews, long after they were possessed of a literature, were still apt to depend much upon tradition."

Remarking upon these two quotations, it is pertinent to say that some of the earlier advocates of the divisive criticism did oracularly assert that Moses was unacquainted with the art of writing. And even now it seems, that, while Dr. Driver yields that point, he still strenuously maintains the universal proposition that "in the early stages of a nation's history the memory of the past is preserved habitually by oral tradition." What authority has he for such a sweeping statement? It is difficult to see how he can make it in face of the fact that the Tel el-Amarna tablets, representing only a single discovery in Egypt, furnish literary matter from officers, scattered over Palestine and Syria, which amounts in bulk to that of the whole Pentateuch, and which was written shortly before the time of Moses. Indeed, the discoveries in Babylonia and Egypt are all emphasizing the importance which was set upon written documents in pre-Mosaic times. Thus, the ordinary theory, which makes Moses and his generation responsible for the Pentateuch, is receiving a support from these discoveries which many modern critics do not have either the perspicacity to perceive or the frankness to acknowledge. In light of our present information it would be out of all analogy with the habits of the time and place for the generation to which Moses belonged to have left no written records of the momentous events which they witnessed and of which they were a part.

ARTICLE XI.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF WEALTH.¹

BY THE REV. CHARLES C. MERRILL.

FIRST PAPER.

THERE are at least two reasons why one can distinguish the "Christian conception" of any human interest from "Christ's conception" of it. In the first place, as Ian Mac-laren has pointed out in one of his books on religion,² Jesus did not give his truth to his followers in a developed form, but in the germ, as it were; and he intended that these seed thoughts should be gradually disclosed and unfolded as the centuries went on. "Christ's conception"—a purely historical question in New Testament theology—would give us the germ, while a "Christian conception" would discover the organism so far as it has now developed. In the second place, a "Christian conception" of any human problem would suggest a somewhat fuller use of Jesus' total view of life, of the fundamental principles of his teaching as a whole; while "Christ's conception" would more properly be confined to his more specific remarks on the subject under discussion. To get a true understanding of what Jesus would have his followers think about wealth, it is especially important to keep in mind

¹The following books are referred to by the names of their authors only: Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology* (Eng. trans. 1895); Meyer, *Commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Eng. trans. 6th German edition; always under the passage cited); Plummer, *International Critical Commentary on Luke*; Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (Eng. trans. from third revised edition); Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (8th Ed. Longmans); Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Eng. trans. 1894).

²The Mind of the Master, chap. ii.

constantly this larger use of his central principles. "Christian social ethics," Dr. Smyth truly says, "are to be measured not entirely by the particular social precepts we may find treasured up in the New Testament, but by the whole intention of the Spirit of Christ, as it is to be gathered from Christian history."¹

A full treatment of our subject would thus evidently involve: (1) an investigation of Jesus' specific and implied teaching concerning wealth; (2) a setting forth of their historical development, that is, of what the Apostolic and post-Apostolic Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, etc., thought about wealth, and of their interpretation of Christ's teaching; (3) an effort to make a present-day application of the principles which have emerged. All of this is too great a task for our present opportunity, and we shall therefore omit here any discussion of the historical development, except to refer briefly to New Testament writings other than the Gospels. Such a review would undoubtedly yield material of great interest and would have an important bearing on our whole investigation. But when we reflect how frequent has been the deviation from the real teaching of Jesus during the years since his coming, how contrary to the essential spirit of his life has been much of the conduct enjoined by the church; and when we remember that to-day we are apparently nearer than ever before to the essential elements of the mind of Christ, is it not plain that we cannot go far wrong if we shall here take the specific teaching of Jesus regarding wealth, together with some aspects of his fundamental life-view, and attempt a direct application to certain modern needs and questions?

I.

Every great teacher who wishes to influence men toward right thinking and conduct often feels compelled to devote

¹ Newman Smyth, *Christian Ethics*, p. 374.

his attention, first of all, to removing their erroneous ideas. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that a main part of the teaching of Jesus regarding wealth is an endeavor to uproot the notion, deeply seated in men's minds, that the mere possession of this world's goods has some intrinsic value; that they are in some way an end, and not wholly a means.

To begin with, Jesus lays down the principle that one's heart and mind cannot be set on two things at the same time: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon" (Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13); for we are like a slave who cannot serve two masters at the same time, because, as he legally belongs to both, in obeying one he will necessarily neglect the commands of the other.¹ Therefore a choice is to be made between the service of God on one side and the service of mammon, which is here a personification of wealth, on the other. Which of these is to be chosen, Jesus makes clear in the passage which immediately follows this verse (Matt. vi. 25-34; Luke xii. 22-31).² After warning against all anxious care for one's bodily need, which is based, as Tholuck³ suggests, on the idea that God does not care, which leads one to forget his dependence on God and make food and clothing the *summum bonum*, Jesus insists that men are to seek God's kingdom wholly, that is, they are to think of God's rulership and the right character which he demands as the one matter of supreme concern to them, and their hearts are to be entirely weaned from the pursuit of mere earthly well-being, for God will see that all this is added to them (Matt. vi. 33; Luke xii. 31).⁴ This requirement to separate the heart entirely from

¹ Cf. Wendt, Vol. ii. p. 59.

² Matthew places this in his Sermon on the Mount, but its position in Luke is the more probable one—after the parable of the Rich Fool.

³ Commentary on Sermon on the Mount (Eng. trans. 1869).

⁴ Meyer (on Matthew) opposes the ordinary interpretation of this verse—that we are to seek God's kingdom and his righteousness *first*,

earthly goods is expressed with even more emphasis in the words, "Sell that ye have, and give alms. . . . For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (Luke vi. 33-34; cf. the probable parallel in Matt. vi. 19-21, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures in heaven," etc.).

Abundant reason for this supreme choice of God and absolute renunciation of mammon is found in the incomparable value to each man of his higher life or his soul—that part of his being which links him with God (Mark viii. 36-37 and parallels in Matthew and Luke). Even the whole *κόσμος*, the largest conception of material goods which a man can have (that is, the control of it all, not balked in a single desire or purpose because of inability to possess), cannot for a moment be set over against the interests of the spiritual life; for there is nothing which can be given in exchange for the individual soul. The non-permanency of earthly riches ("moth and rust doth consume" and "thieves break through and steal," Matt. vi. 19) furnishes another motive for abandoning them wholly as an end of human endeavor, especially when it is remembered that heavenly treasures, as contrasted with the earthly, are lasting and enduring ("neither moth nor rust doth consume," "thieves do not break through nor steal"—Matt. vi. 20; cf. Luke xii. 33).

It is not strange, then, when riches become a *summum bonum* to a man, when his heart is set upon them and cannot be withdrawn from them in any other way, that Jesus requires him to give them up and assume a condition of poverty. The case of the Rich Young Man who so eagerly asked Jesus how he might inherit eternal life, and was finally bidden to part with all his wealth and become a fol-
and afterwards are to provide for our own physical needs. He thinks it means, we are to seek God's kingdom and righteousness *only*. For does it not say that "all these things shall be added"? Hence we are not to seek them at all. The verse in Luke, where *πρῶτον* is omitted, seems to support this view, and it is adopted above.

lower of Jesus in his itinerant ministry (Mark x. 17-22 and parallels in Matthew and Luke), does not furnish an illustration of what Jesus commands every one who would become a Christian to do; but it shows what is the requirement for every one whose state of heart is the same as his, and makes it clear that all must renounce in principle, if not actually, their devotion to earthly goods.

Now this renunciation of wealth, either in principle or in actuality, is plainly a difficult thing for a rich man to do, as was shown when one who had so many good qualities as this young ruler went away sorrowing at Jesus' final word. It therefore came about that those who gathered about Jesus' standard were mainly poor men; and near the beginning of his ministry he could truthfully say to his disciples, "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God!" and to his opponents, "Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation" (Luke vi. 20, 24; cf. Matt. v. 3),—not that any of them were blessed or cursed simply because they were rich or poor, but that, as a matter of fact, riches were a great hindrance to entering the kingdom of God, and poverty seemed to be an advantage for such entrance. He also sought to express in a vivid way the fact that the fundamental question to be asked concerning a man was not at all one of external possessions or conditions, and the man who plumed himself upon any outward prosperity was bound grievously to be deceived.¹ (Cf. James ii. 5, "Did not God choose them

¹The question, whether, in the opening verses of the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew or Luke gives us more nearly the original words of Jesus, may be said to be still unsettled. Authorities are divided: e.g., Tholuck, Meyer, Weiss, Weizsäcker favor Matthew; Godet, Wendt, Plummer favor Luke. The principal argument for Matthew is the so-called ascetic or anti-wealth tendency in Luke, who or one of whose sources seems to seize many opportunities neglected by the other evangelists to inveigh against wealth and those that possess it. The principal argument for Luke is that it seems easier to suppose the addition of the words "in spirit," by Matthew (in Matt. v. 3) than their omission by

that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith," etc.) And thus, in commenting on the sad departure of this young man to whom he had been drawn so strongly, Jesus had good reason to say, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!" A moment later he expressed the same thought still more vividly when the disciples seemed amazed at his first remark, by adding, "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Mark x. 23, 25, and parallels in Matthew and Luke).¹ While Luke (in Luke vi. 20). This latter argument appears to me to make his originality very probable, especially as I do not find this ascetic tendency to be sufficiently marked in Luke to justify any serious questioning of his substantially accurate reproduction of Jesus' teaching regarding wealth. On this assumption, free use will be made of Luke's material in the entire discussion. It is no doubt true that Luke had a special interest in, and sympathy with, the poorer classes, and that he was in a marked degree drawn to those features in the life and teaching of Jesus which suggested hostility to the rich. This strong feeling may probably be accounted for by the circumstances of the time in which he wrote. We may also admit that Luke's personal attitude toward the rich has given a somewhat peculiar tinge to the tradition as he has handed it down to us. On the other hand, however (as Plummer suggests), Luke does not, if rightly interpreted, teach that wealth is sinful, or that rich men must necessarily give away all their wealth, or that the wealthy may be despoiled by the poor. Moreover, he is not at all consistent in his antagonism to wealth, nor does he apparently make use of all the ascetic material within his reach. Observe, for example, that he omits reference to "the *deceitfulness* of riches" (viii. 14), in the parable of the Sower, while the other evangelists retain it (Matt. xiii. 22; Mark iv. 19); that he does not speak of the apostles' having forsaken lands (xviii. 29), as do the other writers (Matt. xix. 29; Mark x. 29); that he alone speaks of Jesus' dining with a Pharisee (Luke vii. 36-50); that he commends the rich Joseph of Arimathea (xxiii. 50-51; cf. Mark xv. 43 and Matt. xxvii. 57). It may be said in reply, that, while these omissions and insertions show that the entire Gospel is not consistently ascetic, they do not touch the claim that there is in it an ascetic source or document. But we must ask for the proof of such a document standing by itself in the Gospel, and I think it will be very difficult to show its distinct existence, since these non-ascetic expressions or omissions can be found in all parts of the book. On this entire subject cf. Plummer, p. xxv f.

¹ Needle's eye is to be taken literally here. The expression is a pro-

the first of these sentences expresses the difficulty of a rich man's putting himself under God's rule, the second declares its utter impossibility. It is not at all necessary to take the latter as a hyperbolic expression, if we remember that Jesus immediately afterwards said, "all things are possible with God" (Mark x. 27 and parallels).

There are also two parables in the Gospel of Luke which seem to point out to the rich the same peril to their spiritual well-being. No doubt the most apparent teaching in the parable of the Rich Fool (Luke xii. 16-21) is that bodily life cannot be lengthened or affected by riches, since "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth" (ver. 15). But it is also certainly shown here that the man who supposes that the accumulation and enjoyment of a great sufficiency of earthly goods will furnish him any real blessedness or happiness is utterly self-deceived.

The second of these parables—that of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-31)—will be rightly understood only if we connect it immediately with the preceding 15th verse, in which Jesus condemns the Pharisees, who were lovers of money "and had scoffed at him" (ver. 14), for justifying themselves in the sight of men, and says that God knoweth their hearts, and here, as always, abominates that which is merely exalted among men. In illustration of this general feeling on God's part, the parable shows, in its first section (ver. 19-26), how the positions of men in this life are reversed in the next world, and how God's judgment is entirely different from man's; and in its second part (ver. 27-31) it is made clear that the present wealth and high position of the Pharisees did not shield them from the penalty of their unbelief in divine truth when it was proclaimed—especially by Jesus. The rich man, then, verbal one, denoting that a thing cannot possibly happen. Cf. Plummer, *Edersheim* (Vol. ii. p. 342); *contra*, Godet, *Commentary on Luke*.

in both these parables is taught the absolute folly and futility of trusting in or holding to his wealth as in any way promoting his spiritual welfare or shielding him from eternal loss. He is to be on his guard against that deceitfulness of riches, which chokes the word and makes it unfruitful (Mark iv. 19=Matt. xiii. 22; cf. Luke viii. 14). It is true, as the writer of 1 Timothy points out, that "they that desire to be rich fall into a temptation and a snare and many foolish and hurtful lusts, such as drown men in destruction and perdition" (vi. 9); and the "rich in this present world" are rightly charged "that they be not high-minded, nor have their hope set on the uncertainty of riches" (vi. 17). (Cf. also James i. 10-11.)

The principle of renunciation inculcated in the passages which we have cited is in entire accord with the general spirit and trend of the teaching of Jesus. It is in harmony with that idea of heart-righteousness which is so constantly insisted on by him, especially in the Sermon on the Mount. The question is not at all, in Jesus' mind, as to a man's external deeds or achievements or position, but has to do solely with the innermost state of the heart. It also agrees with his steadfast opposition to dualism in any form and his strenuous assertion of God's absolute supremacy in his world, that he is one and all in all. For if you once allow that wealth has intrinsic worth, as compared with God's purpose for your life, you are establishing another power in the world contrary to him, to which you admit you owe allegiance. It is, once more, accordant with his doctrine of the kingdom of God, which involves, as one of its main features, the declaration that God's rule in men's lives ought to be supreme, that every man is bound, first of all and above everything else, to acknowledge in thought and acts God's absolute kingship of his being.

II.

It is evident from the foregoing that Jesus intended to impress with the utmost emphasis upon the minds of his disciples the truth that earthly goods, in and of themselves, have no real value whatever, and that the contrary belief is fraught with the gravest disaster to the soul. But we ought at once to notice that this does not involve asceticism, the entire separation of the Christian from all interest in, or pursuit of, wealth. Nor does it mean that the thoroughly consecrated follower of Jesus is to neglect to earn his own livelihood, looking to others for support, or that he is simply to get sufficient food, clothing, and shelter for himself and those immediately dependent on him, and refuse to amass wealth or engage in what is commonly called "making money." Jesus does not imply that there is intrinsic merit in any one of these courses of action or inaction.

No doubt it is true that on the surface a good case could be made out for Jesus' supposed belief in an ascetic attitude toward wealth. We have, first of all, his life—he had no home (Luke ix. 58=Matt. viii. 20: "The foxes have holes," etc., "but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head"); he was supported by friends (Luke viii. 3, "which ministered unto them of their substance"); and that he and his company were poor is probably implied in the gathering up of the fragments after the feeding of the five thousand (cf. Mark vi. 43 and parallels; and Mark viii. 8 and parallel). Next, we recall how the four fishermen on the Sea of Galilee in following Jesus left behind all earthly possessions, presumably in compliance with his request (Luke v. 11; cf. Mark i. 18, 20=Matt. iv. 20, 22); and how Matthew "forsook all, and rose up and followed him" (Luke v. 28; cf. Mark ii. 14=Matt. ix. 9). Finally, many of the passages explained above could easily be interpreted in an ascetic fashion—in fact, many commentators claim

that this is their only true interpretation. It is said that Jesus' attitude was one of uncompromising hostility to the rich as such; and that he would have his disciples get rid of their present possessions and have as little thereafter to do with wealth as possible. Such a verse as Luke xii. 33 "Sell that ye have and give alms," etc. (cf. Matt. vi. 19-20), would be quoted in support of this position.

But certainly such a view is a superficial one, and does not give a true view of what Jesus would have his disciples think about wealth. For it is to be remembered, in the first place, that Jesus' life was a special one, lived for a special purpose, and in a special way, and that it is not to be reproduced exactly and formally by his followers to-day. The mere fact that he was a constant traveler and that it was in accord with his life plan to have no definite and regular means of support or abiding-place does not prove that all Christians must imitate him in an ascetic mode of living. There are, moreover, distinct indications that Jesus' way of life was not consistently ascetic. Witness his attendance on the marriage at Cana (John ii. 1-11); his healing Jairus' daughter, and the centurion's servant (Mark v. 21-24, 35-43, and parallels in Matthew and Luke; and Matt. viii. 5-13 and parallel in Luke); his friendship with Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea (John iii. 1 ff.; vii. 50; xix. 38, 39); his dining with rich Pharisees and rich publicans (e.g. Luke vii. 36 ff.; v. 29, and parallels in Mark and Matthew). Indeed, in comparing himself with the ascetic John the Baptist, he distinctly disclaims that such was his manner of life, for he "came eating and drinking," and was accused, not of being an ascetic, but of being "a gluttonous man and a winebibber" (Matt. xi. 18-19=Luke vii. 33-34).

As for the apostles who abandoned their worldly goods to follow him, passing over the fact that our attention is called to this only in the Gospel of Luke, it is to be no-

ticed that here also we are dealing with men who are called to a particular work in connection with the founding of Christianity; that their example is to be followed universally is not clear. The true meaning of that portion of the teaching of Christ which might be thought to inculcate an ascetic view of wealth has already been shown, or will be set forth later. It is not actual renunciation of material goods which he demands, but a renunciation in principle—the heart must be entirely separated from them; they are to be wholly subordinated to the highest task in life. Jesus had a way of speaking with “an impressive pregnancy”—what has been called “the principle of aiming at the greatest clearness in the briefest compass”¹—that sometimes led him to utter what seemed like thoroughgoing denunciation of wealth; but there is no clear indication that he deemed houses and lands, and gold and silver, abundance of food and clothing, and everything else which goes to make up wealth, as an evil in and of themselves, or that he thought there was anything necessarily contaminating and defiling in the possession or use of them. Indeed, his command to pray “Give us day by day our daily bread” (Luke xi. 3=Matt. vi. 11), and the statement, even if it is not to be taken literally, that the disciples should receive “a hundredfold now in this time, houses . . . and lands, with persecutions” (Mark x. 29-30; cf. parallels in Matthew and Luke), would seem to point definitely in the other direction.

The strenuousness of Jesus’ principle is, however, not lessened but increased, when we do not give his teaching an ascetic interpretation. It is infinitely harder for a man to divorce his heart from earthly goods when he engages in the world’s business every day, and mingles in the common affairs of men, than when he cuts himself entirely

¹ Wendt, Vol. i. p. 130; cf. his discussion of this principle in the following pages.

aloof from them. In the latter case, there is one supreme act of self-sacrifice, and then the worst is over; but in the former, there must be a constant struggle between strongly opposing forces. For the ideal which Jesus holds before men is incomparably high: "God is supreme," he says. "You must serve him alone; at the infinite peril of all which has any real value in this world or the next, of your highest and only true interests, do you set your heart on anything else." With an overpowering sense of the immense danger of being drawn away by the things of the world, and of the irreparable loss thus involved, a man might resolve, "I will go out of temptation, as far as I can; I will have nothing to do with anything which is so likely to drag me down and cause me to lose my soul, as wealth." But Jesus forbids this, except in rare cases. His behest is, Continue in the world; do not abandon your wealth, do not give up the legitimate pursuit of it; but disengage your heart from it, do not become enamored of it, do not let it control or master you in any way, for thereby you will lose your life. Who will say that this is not a task of supreme difficulty, calling out the most powerful moral resources in every man?

ARTICLE XII.

CRITICAL NOTES.

NOVEL BIBLE HISTORY AGAIN.

ONE of the latest new discoveries in biblical history is that our Saviour promised to "all believers in all times" an inspiration "as truly operative now as it was eighteen centuries ago," apparently identical with that of the apostles, one in fact which should make "believers in Christ know more of Christ than those of the first century," inasmuch as "it has enabled our Lord to say things to his disciples in recent times which the apostles could not bear while he was still with them," which makes them "channels" of "revelations from God" to such a degree that "every believer may hope to find for himself and for others truth not known"; and "God calls the men and women of our time to be his inspired prophets."

This discovery appeared on the 29th of September, 1898—memorable day—in a journal claiming to be "denominational" as well presumably as evangelical, and in the same number young people are urged to support "the denominational paper." We will presently give these singular claims in their full connection, to show that the meaning is unmis- takable.

The article referred to is headed "The Word of God for To-day." The opening paragraph reads thus: "Is there a word of God yet to be re- vealed? In former days 'men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit.' Does the Holy Spirit now move men to speak from God?" Here the reader is requested to observe the entire sentence of which the editor cites the conclusion. After speaking of the voice from heaven which he heard in the holy mount, Peter proceeds, "And we have the word of prophecy made more sure; whereunto ye do well that you take heed as unto a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the daystar arise in your hearts; knowing this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation. For no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (1 Peter i. 19-21). The bearing of the inquiry is very clear, namely, whether men now have the same kind of inspiration that the prophets had. If the point of the question raised is unambiguous, still less unmis- takable is the answer given. To avoid any misunderstanding or charge of misrepresentation, we will cite a continuous part of the article, though

it is not the only statement to the same purport. The way is prepared for the announcement by a series of preliminaries, which, as we will presently show, do not help the statement. After the preliminary half-truth, "The apostles made no exclusive claim to the possession of power to speak the word of God," and some others, the writer proceeds thus (the italics being ours):—

"The spirit of truth," Christ said, 'shall guide you into all the truth.' *That greatest of Christ's promises Peter declared was made to all believers in all times.* The advancement of the Christian church in the knowledge is the fulfillment of that promise, but it is by no means yet completely fulfilled. After nineteen centuries of Christian experience *if believers of to-day did not know more of Christ than those of the first century the promise would have failed.* The continuous inspiration of the Holy Spirit has enabled our Lord to say things to his disciples in recent times *which the apostles could not bear* while he was still with them in the flesh. There have been, no doubt, particular periods when that inspiration has been exerted with special power, but *it is as truly operative now as it was eighteen centuries ago.* There are words of God still to be spoken. There are *revelations from God* still to be made to his children. Every believer may hope to find for himself and for others *truth not known.* He may be the channel for divine truth which God seeks to impart, which men need to-day. The noblest ambition to which God calls men and women of our time is to be his *inspired prophets.*"

The meaning of the foregoing series of statements cannot be mistaken nor explained away. Notwithstanding the occasional haziness and confusion of things quite distinct, the definite assertions, some of which we have italicized, claim for all believers always an inspiration equivalent to that of the prophets and apostles of old, and not only so, but actually supplementary to it,—a revelation of what Christ could not give to his commissioned apostles, and a revelation not only in the believer's own consciousness but "for others also."

The only direct basis for this stupendous claim is the Scripture quotation in the first sentence, and the assertion in the second sentence. These two sentences contain three several positions which are destitute of foundation.

The first is, if possible, the most objectionable of the three; for it consists in tampering with the passage which it professes to quote, in two ways, as will appear. The clause partly cited reads (R.V.) thus: "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he shall guide you into all the truth." Our editor carefully omits the personal pronoun *he* (Greek, *ekinos*), which here, as Alford remarks, is emphatic, and which through the whole section definitely and unmistakably (together with other indications) designates the personal Holy Spirit; and furthermore, in defiance of the usage of the English version, the Revised version, and every English Bible that we have ever encountered, he ventures to print the

word Spirit with a small "s," as we have exactly cited him. These two combined processes thus substitute for the personal Holy Spirit a generalization, abstraction, or merely human mental condition, which constitutes the easy transition, the *facilis descensus* by which "inspiration" is to be made perpetual and universal to believers, and they all stand by the side, and somewhat in advance, of apostles. One would charitably suppose that this irreverent mode of printing was a typographical oversight, but for the combination and relation of the two changes, and also for the reason that in so important and critical a question, *such* a typographical oversight could not be well condoned.

Quite as singular is the second erroneous statement involved in the sentence immediately following, namely, that this promise of Christ was made to all believers in all times. The historic transaction does not afford a shadow of support for the statement. The promise occurs (John xvi. 13) in the Saviour's discourse to the eleven apostles after the last supper, and was, as matter of fact, made to them alone, either as they still lingered in the room¹ or on their way to the Mount of Olives.² In either case, as the reader will see from the whole narrative before and after, there is no intimation that any person beside the eleven was present with the Saviour, but distinctly the contrary. The promise was made to them by themselves. "This section," as Westcott truly remarks, "distinctly marks the position of the apostles with regard to revelation as unique."

Equally unfounded is the statement which enwraps this last error, namely, that Peter declared that this greatest of Christ's promises was made to all believers in all times. We have searched in vain in both epistles of Peter, and in his speeches recorded in Acts, to find any definite allusion to this passage, much less any declaration that the promise was made to all believers in all times. Is it possible that the writer had in mind Peter's quotation from the prophet Joel with reference to the gift of tongues at the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 16) and in confounding Jesus Christ with Joel, got seven or eight hundred years off the track? Where is that declaration of Peter?

It is somewhat surprising to see such a momentous claim resting on three such baseless positions, addressed by a religious journal to intelligent readers. It seems as though some Mephistopheles had entered the editorial sanctum some day when the editor was out.

The passage thus treated being the only text on which the extraordinary claim is made, with the vindication of the text the claim disappears from sight. The way was prepared for the claim by a number of preliminaries, some not relevant to the proposition, and others confusing things different and distinct, as when the knowledge of religion gained by Christian experience by modern Christians is confounded with direct revelations from God to chosen men with binding authority over other men.

¹ Olshausen, Meyer, Tholuck, Alford, and others.

² Lange, Ebrard, Westcott, and others.

There is also the confounding of the imperfect qualifications of the apostles "while Christ was with them in the flesh" with their full equipment after his resurrection when they were endued with the spirit according to his previous promise and specially appointed to be his "witnesses unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

We will barely allude to some of the irrelevant things adduced. We are told that "the Bible as we know does not contain all the words of God which have been already spoken." Very true; but how does that fact of unrecorded utterances of "the mightiest prophets" go to show that we are all mighty prophets? We are also reminded that at the Pentecost believers were filled with the Holy Spirit and spake as the Spirit gave them utterance. Very true; and these persons were specially endowed with miraculous gifts,—a fact which the editor omits to mention. And besides we are not informed that even these persons communicated any new doctrine or duty with authority,—although that is not an important point. We are told again that "often in the early church Christians who had not been set apart to any special work or office spake the word of God." So they did, and so they do now; but how? as new revelations to themselves with binding authority over others, or as revelations made to others, namely, to God's special commissioned messengers, pressed home only on the authority of those others? How does Mr. Moody speak "the word of God"? Once more we read that "writers of the New Testament who do not claim inspiration for themselves ascribe it to others; Luke, for example, says that Elizabeth, Zacharias, and Simeon spoke in the Holy Spirit." Luke also informs us of the fact which the editorial fails to mention, that special revelations were made to these persons. All such references to declared supernatural revelations to certain persons, at a time of miraculous endowments and supernatural revelation, furnish no shadow of proof as to what takes place now. But we read, "The apostles made no exclusive claim to speak the word of God." No; whether we take the ambiguous phrase "word of God" in the wider sense in which all preachers utter it, as a word otherwise revealed, or in the narrower sense which it should have here, as directly and authoritatively revealed to the speaker. For they recognized the authority of the old prophets and especially the supreme authority of their Master, and they also spoke in approval of the utterances of those disciples who in their own time were endowed with miraculous gifts, although we do not read that these latter persons made new and permanent authoritative communications to the church. But all this does not advance one step towards proving that all believers now, showing no such miraculous endowments nor authority, utter original revelations, direct revelations from God. On the other hand, the apostles do expressly claim to speak "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ" and by his special authority. As he assured them that they should be his witnesses, so they actually claim to be his witnesses, exhibiting also in con-

firmation "the signs of an apostle" in their miraculous powers. And they claim to speak with an authority that brooks no resistance; as when Peter denounced "swift destruction" on certain coming false teachers, John warned believers not to receive into their house any teacher who did not bring this [his] doctrine, and Paul could repeatedly pronounce an anathema on any person or being who should preach any gospel "other than that which we preached unto you." Even the Sunday-school scholar should hardly need to be reminded of these things.

One is tempted to inquire what signs of an apostle our friend has shown and whether he claims binding authority over other men in his declarations; and particularly what are some of the revelations that have been made through him. Well, "after nineteen centuries" he has already informed the churches—for it is the same "channel"—that Moses permitted the sale of diseased meats to the Gentiles as a standing law, that "the prophets bitterly contended with one another," and that "all the apostles made mistakes while they were attempting to interpret to men the will of God"—all, we presume, except this latest prophet or apostle. This is some of "the inspiration operative now." When not only the denominational editor, but every believer, may "find for himself and for others truth not yet known"—such truths as these last—what an illumination will there be in this dark world!

A striking illustration of this new light or its equivalent occurred in the same city a few days later, when in Arcade Hall Rev. T. E. Allen announced (so it was reported next day), "I frankly told them [his recent congregation] that I thought I possessed much the same power of prophecy as did Jesus and the Hebrew prophets." But it seems that Unitarianism would not accept the claim, and he resigned his church, and denounced Unitarianism as too slow.

It is a relief not to find in the article referred to any allusion for the hundredth time to the well-worn advice of good John Robinson; for, though Robinson spoke only of "more truth and light yet to break out of God's holy word," it would have taken but one or two vigorous strokes of the pen to make it a promise of more truth to break out of every believer.

When men speak of every believer being inspired and having a revelation, it is only another mode of saying that no one has or has had any distinctive inspiration or revelation. For it reduces prophet and apostle to the common level. A generation or so ago there were certain new lights who earnestly maintained that every day was the Sabbath; which both in theory and practice amounted to this, no Sabbath at all. And when it is maintained that all are inspired prophets and channels of revelation, the claim would abrogate all distinctive inspiration and revelation.

HANOVER, N. H.

S. C. BARTLETT.

TOHU: A HISTORICAL AND EXEGETICAL STUDY OF ITS
MEANING IN GENESIS I. 2.

THIS word has given translators much trouble, because of their desire to make its meaning harmonize with their philosophy, and their philosophy has so often changed. The only satisfactory course was to determine the sense from the study of other places where *tohu* occurs, and let the philosophy take care of itself. Those who translated the Hebrew into Greek found *tohu* to mean *vanity*, *naught*, *a thing of naught*, *nothing*, and so translated it in the great majority of cases. Even in that much-quoted verse in Jeremiah, "I beheld the earth, and lo, it was *tohu*," they rendered this word by *obolē*, *nothing*. But when they came to it in Genesis, they thought they saw an insurmountable difficulty in the way. It was, they imagined, impossible that the earth ever was in such a condition as would be indicated by *naught*, *a thing of naught*, *vanity*, and the like, which they had so freely used in other places for *tohu*. So they devised a new meaning to suit their ideas of propriety. They made it read, And the earth was *invisible*, *ἀσπαρος*. They could understand this; it in no wise contradicted their philosophy, and, besides, it harmonized well with the next verse, which says, "darkness was upon the face of the deep." But I notice they were not well enough satisfied with that meaning to use it elsewhere. I think they had some doubts about its appropriateness in Genesis.

In preparing the Vulgate, the same difficulty was met,—what to do with *tohu*. The mistranslation of the LXX. was too glaring to be followed, and so, from the study of the various Hebrew texts in which the word occurs, another meaning, more in harmony with them, was evolved, *inanis*.

This passed muster for a long time. But the idea that chaos was the real condition of the primal world—an idea which later on was embalmed in Milton's immortal verse—became more and more prevalent; and so, when King James's divines met to form a new version, they adopted for *tohu*, *without form*, as representing a chaotic condition. Of all renderings this has the least excuse.

That of the Septuagint, *invisible*, had this in its favor: If it was true, as the account said, that darkness did really cover the deep, the earth certainly was invisible. And as to *inanis*, that was in pretty good accord with other uses of *tohu*. But *without form* was merely forcing into the account what those divines thought was true, viz., that at first there was neither law nor order, form nor shape. This did very well as long as no one questioned it. After a time, however, scientists pointed out that the earth had never been without law and order; that nature knew nothing of a chaos in the Miltonian sense, and, moreover, every portion of matter, however irregular, had form.

A century or more later, when geology began to make trouble with the

traditional Genesis, a new exegesis was proposed, which would avoid the difficulty with geology, and yet admit what Milton and others had taught as to the "days." If I remember right, Dr. Pye-Smith devised it. Many, perhaps most who believe in revelation, have adopted it, and still hold it.

In the beginning, millions and millions of years ago, according to this explanation, God created the heavens and the earth. In that vast stretch of time lived the plants and animals of geology whose remains are now found in the rocks; then, too, occurred the great geological movements of which we read. After all this, God saw fit to cause the water to overflow the land and extinguish all life, plant as well as animal. At the same time he covered the earth with a thick envelope of cloud, which shut out the light, and all was dead and dark. How long this continued we do not know; but at last it came to an end, and God began to refit the world for man, and in six days it was done, finished as we now see it.

Without stopping to point out the difficulties in the way of this theory, in which it surpasses all others, I shall speak only of its influence on the rendering of *tohu*. *Without form* had become intolerable to many as describing a state that could not possibly exist. Knowing nothing of our world's having been an unsegregated part of a great gaslike mass, it never occurred to them that the earth then had no more form than has the water, now in the cloud, which will soon fill my cistern, or the pen in my hand, when it was a part of the steel ingot from which it came. They dropped the old rendering, *without form*, and reasoned out a new one. They said, In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth; and then, in due time, he laid the earth waste. That must have been its condition when he set out to re-create it for man, and therefore *tohu*, which describes it, must mean *waste*. When the Revised Version was made, its authors thought this would obviate all objections, and so they made it read, "And the earth was waste and void."

If that could be shown to be the real meaning of the word, no one should change it; even though it indicated a condition which never existed; for our first business is to know what the account says, and then wait, if need be, till we have more light.

What then does *tohu* mean? I find the following in my Hebrew Concordance:—

1. Isa. xxix. 21. And turn aside the just for *tohu*, a thing of naught.
2. xlix. 4. I have spent my strength for naught, *tohu*.
3. Job vi. 18. They go to *nothing*, *tohu*.
4. xxvi. 7. He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, *tohu*.
5. Isa. lix. 4. They trust in *vanity*, *tohu*. Vulgate, in *nikilo*.
6. 1 Sam. xii. 21. For they should yet go after *vain things*, *tohu*.
7. For they are *vain*, *tohu*.
8. Isa. xl. 17. All the nations are accounted . . . *vanity*, *tohu*.
9. xl. 23. He maketh the judges of the earth, *tohu*, as *vanity*.

10. xliv. 9. They that make graven images are all of them *tohu*, *vanity*. Vulgate, *Nihil*.

11. xli. 29. Molten images are . . . *confusion*, *tohu*.

12. xlv. 18. He created it not *tohu*, *in vain*. Vulgate, *in vanum*.

13. xlv. 19. I said not . . . seek ye me *tohu*, *in vain*.

In all these, *tohu* is translated by *naught*, or *nothing*, or *vanity*, or some such word, except in the eleventh, and there it evidently ought to be. The sense would be improved by substituting *vanity* or *nothing* for *confusion*. The other renderings which have been proposed for *tohu* refuse to be used in any of them.

In the following passages, all that remain, there is the same idea of *naught*, *nothing*, *vanity*, or the like.

14. Job xii. 24. To wander in a *wilderness*, *tohu* (i.e. a place where there is nothing).

15. Ps. cvii. 40. He causeth them to wander in a *wilderness*, *tohu* (where *nothing* is).

16. Deut. xxxii. 10. In the *waste*, *tohu*, howling wilderness. (A howling wilderness where nothing is.)

17. Isa. xxiv. 10. The city of *confusion*, *tohu*, i.e. the city of utter worthlessness, whose value is naught; *vanitatis*, as the Vulgate has it.

18. xxxiv. 11. Stretch upon it the line of *confusion*, *tohu*. The Septuagint has it, "*the line of surveying of a desert*." Where the city has been, the land surveyor with his line shall measure only a desert. In plain prose the city shall become a desert.

19. Jer. iv. 23. I beheld the earth, and lo, it was *tohu*. The Old Version says, *without form*, and the Revised, *waste*. I do not know that any one defends the former; the only question is in regard to the latter.

The context does not forbid it, nor does it forbid any other adjective which one may fancy appropriate. But to say, I beheld the earth, and lo, it was *waste*, is in no better harmony with the context than, I beheld the earth, and lo, it was a thing of *naught*, *nihil*, i.e. utterly destroyed. The expression *a thing of naught* is in easy harmony with all the texts where *tohu* occurs, while *waste* is incongruous with nearly all of them.

Only one thing could justify the use of *waste* in the second verse of this account, viz., that such a creating and subsequent destruction did actually take place. It requires a very moderate knowledge of geology, though greater than was attainable when this theory was launched, to say that nothing of the kind occurred. On the other hand, it is beyond all reasonable question that our earth at first was in a gaslike condition, many hundred times rarer than the air we breathe, as near nothing as one can form any idea of, and well described by such terms as *vanity*, *a thing of naught*, *nothing*.

Independently of all theories, the study of the places quoted shows

that, to the Hebrews, *tohu* was a word of depreciation answering closely to our colloquial use of the word *nothing*,—not an absolute vacuum, but close to it.

Looking at it as a question in hermeneutics, and apart from any geological or other theory, the usage demands that these first two sentences should be translated,

In the beginning God created the heaven and earth.
And the earth was vanity (or a thing of naught) and void.

It should be no objection to such rendering that it chances (?) to describe the earth's earliest condition.

Admitting this to be the proper meaning of *tohu*, the way is clear to collate the physical statements in this account with the facts made known by astronomy and geology and relating to the same matters. To be satisfactory the work must be thorough, skipping nothing, shirking nothing, omitting no detail, bending no word from its legitimate meaning, and making no change in the order. On the other hand, the "facts" to be collated must be facts, *res adjudicatae* by the consensus of 1899.

It is greatly to be desired that such a collating of the two accounts should be made,—but only by those whose knowledge of Hebrew and of present science qualify them for the task,—and that they should give the world the results. Will they do so? It is worth trying.

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REJOINDER TO DR. BEHREND'S CRITICISMS.

DR. BEHREND'S strictures in the last issue upon my article "The Early Religion of the Hebrews," published in the same number, appears to me to evidence a far too careless reading of my thesis to warrant him passing judgment thereon.¹

Dr. Behrends commenced by complaining that I had neglected to indicate the exact date when, according to my contention, the religion of the Hebrews was little, if any, removed from that of those people by whom they were surrounded. But Dr. Behrends himself neglected to note that in this connection I had purposely employed the term *so-called* Hebrews, which, with a little careful study of my opening contention, should have shown him that I had reference to a period commencing with the advent of Abraham in Canaan, and covering the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land.

My reference to Dr. Davidson's suggestion as to the true cause of Abraham's departure from Ur, casts no reflection upon the record of this event as we have it in Genesis. Dr. Davidson suggested that he left Ur after being defeated as the leader of a horde in some local encounter.

¹ See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 1v. (Oct. 1898) pp. 629-655, 742-743.

Professor Margoliouth, in the October *Contemporary Review*, suggests that he left Ur to enjoy greater freedom to worship Sin, the moon-god, for which purpose he settled for some time in Haran. My suggestion was that he left his home for Canaan as one representative of the people who had recently become possessed of Babylonia, and who were gradually taking possession of the surrounding districts.

Now Genesis represents Abraham as leaving Ur for Haran, and Haran for Canaan, on account of special calls of God to that end. None of the three causes given above for Abraham's removal conflict with this representation. Modern criticism does not deny the direct hand of God in the various episodes narrated in Genesis. It seeks only to arrive at truer and more likely details in these episodes which have been unintentionally lost in the well-recognized Oriental method of fancy picture painting.

Dr. Behrends seems to think that "it is purely arbitrary criticism which preserves an Abraham, and then resolves Jacob and his twelve sons into personifications." But why so, if criticism accepts Lyncurgus as a real person, but denies that he had two sons named Eunomos and Eukosmos (i.e., "Law" and "Order" respectively)?

And here I may mention that the great champion of traditionalism, Professor Hommel, plays fast and loose with the sons of Jacob. The tribes of Asher, Simeon and Levi, he informs us, left Egypt and settled in South Palestine long before the time of Moses.¹ Asher he infers must no longer be looked upon as the son of Jacob, but as the son of Dedan, son of Jokshan, son of Abraham by Keturah his second wife,² at least this is the logical inference from his finding touching the origin of Asher.

Dr. Behrends is certainly not warranted in stating that the Decalogue is intensely and emphatically a law-code of spiritual and ethical monotheism, in opposition to my contention that Moses was a pronounced henotheist. Conceding that Moses penned the Decalogue as it stands at present, there is, after all, no more than a pronounced henotheism to be discovered here. The first and second commandments of the Ten Words alone allude to the worship of, or obedience to, Israel's God, and here we are simply told that Israel is to have no other gods but Jehovah, since he is a jealous God. Thus, all that can be gathered from the Decalogue is a pronounced henotheism with at the most an implied monotheism. As the Decalogue stands, there is not one word against the assumption of the existence of other gods, but merely that no other gods—whose existence Moses abundantly admits—must be worshiped by the Israelites but Jehovah only.

From the above it will be seen that there is not the slightest necessity to dissect and mutilate the Decalogue, as Dr. Behrends contends, to discover that Moses was, after all, merely a pronounced henotheist and not

¹ Ancient Hebrew Tradition, p. 268.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 238-240, 271, 272.

a monotheist, a fact plainly seen in his frequent admission of the existence of other gods besides Jehovah (Ex. xii. 12; xv. 11; xviii. 11; Num. xxxiii. 4).

In concluding, Dr. Behrends appears altogether incapable of grasping the philosophy in the study of comparative religion. To suggest that, because monotheism was the outcome of the religious movement inaugurated by Abraham and Moses, the henotheism of these leaders might as well be called monotheism, is scarcely the utterance of a student of comparative religion. The development of the henotheism of Abraham and Moses respectively into monotheism was due to the hand of God. Indeed, the henotheism of these two leaders was similarly due, not, however, according to modern criticism, in the manner of objective calls, as recorded in the Old Testament and accepted by the traditional school; but owing to the faithful acceptance and working out of those subjective impressions which are quite as much calls of God as any outward manifestation could possibly be. This method of interpreting the Oriental picture painting of Old Testament incidents is fully accepted by no less a scholar than Professor W. Sanday in his "Oracles of God."¹

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THE PARSONAGE, WAY'S MILLS, QUEBEC.

¹ Fourth edition, p. 49.

ARTICLE XIII.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE VIRDEN MASSACRE.

THE right of any man to work for whom he pleases and for what wages he pleases, and the right of any employer to hire whom he pleases and for what wages he pleases, is the fundamental principle involved in the strike and massacre at Virden, Ill., October 12.

The Chicago-Virden Coal Company brought a train-load of Negroes from another State to take the place of some striking coal-miners, and a force of deputies and detectives was guarding the property of the company when an outbreak occurred, resulting in the death of nine miners and three deputies. Twenty were wounded. The mine operators notified Governor Tanner that their property was in danger, and asked for the protection to which they were entitled, and received from that monstrous caricature the following dispatch :—

“Under the present well-known conditions at Virden, if you bring in this imported labor you do so, according to your own messages, with the full knowledge that you will provoke riot and bloodshed. Therefore, you will be morally responsible, if not criminally liable, for what may happen. In my opinion the well-matured sentiment of the people of Illinois is largely opposed to the pernicious system of importation of labor, and I am not wedded to any policy which is in opposition to the will of the people of Illinois. Hence, while I do not suppose that you care to listen to a suggestion from me, yet I venture to advise you to abandon the idea of importing labor to operate your mines.”

In sending such a message, the Governor of Illinois has simply established the truth of all the prophecies that were made respecting his fitness to hold so high and dignified a position as he now occupies. The writer met him but once during the campaign, and then the candidate for Governor was in an unpardonable condition—a state of intoxication. He was elected Governor during the presidential excitement, and his election proves it is a mistake to elect state officers for more than two years. Many good reasons can be given for even annual elections of state and municipal officers when accompanied with a rigid civil service law.

There is a fund of sympathy abroad for men who are obliged to work in mines at wages that are not self-supporting; for the fact that a mini-

imum amount of skill is required to mine coal does not obscure the fact that a human being must do it. Competition is bitter, and the struggle for existence is a fearful warning, to those who would become producers, not to enter the field in competition with simply physical force, a maximum of force and a minimum of skill. Yet some one must mine coal, and machinery has not yet come in to do it. Shall the state assume control of the industry, or shall striking miners be permitted to corner the labor market at any particular place, and thus prevent competition?

The competitive warfare is seen at its worst just here. Hunger and want drive men to underbid in the labor market, and yet the property of corporations must be protected, and it is the sworn duty of the Governor to do it. The competitive law governs the mine-owner no less than the employe, and the non-union man has rights which the law is bound to respect. A Governor cannot enter into the details of the coal business, and decide whether wages are too low or too high. He is bound to protect the persons and property of the citizens and of all residents of the state. The moment he discriminates in favor of one against another, for any reason that is unlawful, he is lost.

That Governor Tanner did so for political, and not for humane, reasons, no one will doubt who knows the man. Thus he became himself a criminal, which is not entirely a new rôle for him, as he was once tried for manslaughter, although acquitted. Whether the law of competition or of coöperation should prevail is not a question for an executive to ask when acting in the performance of duty,—enforcing the law. Governor Altgeld was a misfortune at the time that Debs was in power, but Governor Tanner is even worse.

TELEPHONE MONOPOLY.

THE efforts of the Bell Telephone Company to extend its monopolistic control of the telephone business for a long period of years have been ingeniously conceived, and yet more cunningly executed. There was a delay of several years in taking out from the Patent Office the patent on the Berliner transmitter. This patent expired in foreign countries some time since, and, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in another case, a patent cannot be alive in this country when it has expired in other countries. But this clear issue was befogged by the Bell Company before the eyes of the American people by spreading broadcast the news that the Supreme Court of the United States had sustained the Berliner patent, and hence the Bell Company could maintain a monopoly of the telephone business until the Berliner patent expired.

But the Supreme Court did nothing of the sort. The issue was not as to the validity of a patent in the United States when it had expired in other countries, for that the court had before passed upon; but the issue was as to the complicity of the Patent Office with the Bell Company in

delaying the issue of the patent for the purpose of extending the time of its vitality. The government itself was the complainant in the case, and the Supreme Court held that it was estopped from objecting to its own action, and that such delay was not *prima facie* evidence of fraud, but simply of red tape.

But the Bell Company caused the news to be sent broadcast that its hand on the throats of telephone users could be legally held for a score of years to come. The actual cost of a telephone plant of less than a thousand phones does not exceed sixty dollars per phone, and the cost of maintenance does not exceed ten dollars per phone per annum. The profits of the Bell Company, therefore, have been enormous; so that they could well afford to hire men like Robert T. Lincoln for President of the Central Union Company, and pay a fabulous price for the use of his name to disarm public prejudice. Mr. Lincoln is now President of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

The Bell Company issues circulars warning people against multiplying phones in a house, when the truth is that only thus can the power of the monopoly be broken; for, if 300 subscribers in a town are worth to the telephone users \$4 per month, 700 subscribers must be worth \$6, or \$2 per month for the other 400 phones.

The telephone is bound to become a necessity in every home; and in England a committee appointed by Parliament to report on the telephone business openly advocates the municipal ownership, the same as of gas, electric light, and waterworks. The telephone should be no longer a luxury, but a necessary of life; and the simplicity of its construction, as well as the improvements in the art, brings it within reach of all.

The Bell Company will naturally oppose this, and throw dust in the eyes of the people as long as possible; but the sober sense of the people will assert itself in time.

Z. S. H.

THE WHEAT SUPPLY.

At the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sir William Crookes, its President, gave some interesting statistics in relation to the world's consumption of wheat and the future supply. The present acreage of wheat is about 163,000,000 acres. The average bushels per acre is 12.7, yielding, therefore, 2,070,000,000 bushels. Thirty years hence the demand will be 3,260,000,000 bushels. The largest possible addition to the wheat-growing area is not more than 100,000,000 acres, which in 1931 will leave a shortage of 330,000,000 bushels ten years later.

The only possible remedy is to raise the average yield from 12.7 to 20 bushels per acre. This can be done by the use of nitrogenous fertilizers and nitrate of soda. This demands the increase of the supply of nitrate of soda; and Sir William Crookes declares it "vital to the progress of

civilized humanity" that great discoveries shall be made in the artificial production of nitrate by the combustion of the atmosphere through the application of electricity. Otherwise, he says, "the great Caucasian race will cease to be foremost in the world, and will be squeezed out of existence by races to whom wheaten bread is not the staff of life."

Meanwhile the problem is being met in quite another way, that Sir William Crookes does not seem to be aware of, although it is being accomplished in England by the Garton brothers. And this we will quote literally from the words of Dr. Hillis, who has spent the summer abroad.

"EPOCH-MAKING DISCOVERY.

"All students of the problems of Malthus and all lovers of their kind will be deeply interested in the discoveries of the Garton brothers of England. What Darwin did for speculation these agriculturists have done for the world's food supply. Their discoveries seem to be epoch-making, and promise a new era for agriculture. A century ago, by a system of cross-breeding, Bakewell increased the weight of the average bullock by 450 pounds. Similar methods increased the size, strength, and speed of horses. In the orchard also, by cross-grafting, horticulturists took the apple and pear that were small and acrid and lent them size and sweetness. During the last fifteen years the Gartons have been experimenting upon cereals. Hitherto farmers have increased the yield of grain by fertilization or irrigation, but the Gartons double the harvest by cross-breeding. Farmers know that the spelt of Asia holds the grains of wheat so tightly that the heads break off, but will not thrash, while the ripe Fife wheat shells out in the field unless cut immediately. After many years of experiment, the Gartons have produced a variety of wheat that, after ripening, will stand for thirty days without shelling. The stalk also is so strong that it stands up against all wind and rain storms, while the yield per acre is nearly doubled. Working with barley, they have changed the barley head with two rows into a head with six rows. By crossing the English and Japanese oat they have produced a huskless oat, and made the bushel to weigh, not thirty-two pounds, but fifty, while at the same time increasing the yield. The red and white clovers have also been successfully crossed, and the red clover has been made perennial. Knowing that if they sell a few bushels to individuals, in a few years their cereals will seed the world, without any recompense for fifteen years of costly experiments, the Garton brothers are trying to sell their seeds to the agricultural departments of governments. Our own government now has a representative upon the Garton farm, investigating the new grains there so successfully grown. Scientists and practical farmers who have investigated their work believe that the food supply of the world is very shortly to be doubled. If he who makes 'two blades of grass to grow where one was is a philanthropist,' how much more is he who doubles the harvests, halving man's labor and sorrow?"

COTTON INDUSTRY AND THE LABOR PROBLEM.

MASSACHUSETTS is the home and the center of the cotton industry of the country. The cities of Fall River and New Bedford have the largest number of cotton spindles and the greatest amount of capital invested of any cities in the country. Such have been the improvements in machinery, and the operatives have become so skilled, and the Southern States have become so formidable as competitors, that over-production has diminished the selling price of goods. For some time there have been no profits in the business, and for more than two years an actual loss to the mills.

The plans that are proposed to remedy this state of affairs are interesting to the economic student. The manufacturers' committee propose and have adopted a plan for curtailing the cost of selling goods and for shutting down their works for four weeks. The spinners themselves, acting through their association, want all the New England and Southern States to pass a 58-hour law, the same as is in force in Massachusetts; and they also approve of the restriction of immigration. This plan is approved by ex-Senator (State) Howard, of Fall River. Congressman William S. Greene, of Fall River, who was assigned to a position on the Committee on Labor by Speaker Reed, hopes to solve the problem by securing the adoption of a national labor law which shall have the effect of placing all the States upon an equal footing as to hours and other conditions of labor. But, at a hearing held before the Congressional Committee at Washington last year, it was conclusively shown that in the Southern States there was a very lively opposition to any decrease in the hours of labor for cotton operatives and that to accomplish anything through national legislation would involve a long and tedious contest. Congressman Greene suggests as a remedy, therefore, "a constant, well-organized and determined agitation in the several States, with the purpose of securing local legislation which shall have the effect of bringing other States up to the high standard of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." The Massachusetts Republican Platform for 1898 has this to say upon the problem:—

"The laws of Massachusetts, passed in the interest of wage-earners, establishing short hours of labor; compulsory education for children; frequent payment of earnings; guarding, as far as practicable, by law, life and limb from the risks of machinery, and demanding the best sanitary conditions for the workshop and home, have proved wise and wholesome. If, in the industrial development of the country, they have become adverse factors in competition, the remedy is not in their repeal, but through education and the efforts of organized labor to procure the enactment of similar laws in the other States of the Union.

"The high standard of citizenship in Massachusetts must be maintained. Depending largely upon the rate of wages, it will inevitably decline when met with cheap labor. Intelligence in the immigrant, his capability of early assimilation into the body of American citizenship, are essentials to both the welfare and safety of the nation. We therefore

favor further restriction of immigration by requiring of the intended immigrant that he be able to read and write, and we confidently look for the early passage of the bill providing this educational test, already passed by the Senate, and pending in the House of Representatives."

Now the cold facts that must be met, and that will assert themselves in spite of all the subterfuges and diplomatic evasions of politicians might as well be told first as last and told frankly to the wage-earners. No possible good can come, in the long run, from deceiving one's self or misleading the wage-earners as to the real facts and the inevitable outcome.

1st. That the kind and quality of labor required in the cotton industry opens that industry to competition from the blacks of the South and the lower grades of foreigners.

2d. That the South has a great advantage in being in the heart of the cotton-raising district, thus avoiding the cost of transportation of the raw material, and the newest machinery is far superior to the old. The Massachusetts mills are equipped with the old.

3d. That these very laws of Massachusetts, so wise and humane, have become "adverse factors in competition," and there is no remedy but to let those States that have no such laws have the monopoly of those industries that require cheap labor and longer hours of labor in order to make any profit; where the time that a machine and a man works is an essential factor in cost of production, and the skill required is reduced to the minimum. If the blacks of the South are best adapted to such industries it will be a positive blessing to them compared to their present condition, to let them become producers.

4th. If the reward for wise and humane laws is the loss of certain industries, the gain is in the quality of citizenship, and the superior grade of artisans attracted to the Commonwealth, while the lower grade of operators must struggle to rise in the industrial world, and seek new kinds of labor or be compelled to seek new fields of labor.

5th. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts cannot, by legislative enactment, interfere with the laws of competition and hope to avoid friction; for any attempt, on the part of the state, to regulate and control the hours of labor will result in the reduction of wages in those industries that are dependent upon machinery, cheap labor, and long hours for profit; or, as in Massachusetts, the industries will leave the state, and find shelter where the economic conditions are more favorable. And this is just what is coming to pass in the cotton industries. To compete with others, the law regulating the hours of labor must be repealed, or wages must be reduced, or cotton mills must run at a loss. The alternative is closing the mills, and this is sure to come when it is demonstrated that there is no profit in the business. To meet these economic conditions, coöperation, to be effectual, must be not only state-wide and nation-wide, but world-wide.

Since the preceding paragraphs was put in print the plan recommended by the Committee at Fall River has been adopted by the managers of the mills. The plan is called "novel," and its purpose is to do away with local competition in the sale of the more common grades of printing cloths. That plan is to have a committee of two manufacturers to do the selling so as to avoid throwing heavy stocks upon the market at one time. The banks are interested, also, as they will make advances on stocks turned over for sale to the committee, and thus avoid forced sales for purposes of raising funds for pay rolls. A curtailment of production is also provided for.

Scarcely had this plan been consummated, when the Southern Cotton Manufacturers' Association announced a reduction of 10 per cent in wages in six large mills in Augusta and in South Carolina, whose pay rolls average \$1,000,000. The president of the association announces that this is done to meet competition in both the South and the North.

Meanwhile cotton-milling circles in Canada are all excited over the latest plans to meet competition. Such plans contemplate closing the smaller mills in Ontario, and building a monster mill to cost \$3,000,000, at Three Rivers, where the great power of the Shenwangan Falls can be utilized for cheap motive power. Then with cheap labor, such as the French-Canadians will furnish, cost of production will be reduced to a low point.

All of which goes to prove the correctness of the note as originally written. Massachusetts with its labor laws cannot compete with the South and Canada (except as protected by duty in the latter case) in the production of goods in whose cost unskilled labors enters so largely as an element.

Z. S. H.

BANKS CONSOLIDATING.

THE banking business has not, for a few years, been profitable for banks with small capital and small surplus. The time was when banks loaned on commercial character and rating; but of late years business men have found, to their sorrow, that loans are made on collateral. The ordinary merchant does not carry collateral, for his capital is all actively locked up in his business. Banks have not been able, therefore, to keep their capital and deposits profitably employed. Many banks have, therefore, consolidated; such as, the American Exchange National of Chicago with the National Bank of North America, the Hide and Leather National with the Union National, the City National and the Eliot National of Boston. Many banks in Chicago have failed; such as, the Chemical, the Columbia, National Bank of Illinois. A few private bankers have also failed,—some of them disgracefully. The general cause of loss and distrust has been falling prices. Banks have, therefore, begun to follow the example set by large productive concerns, in reducing running expenses by consolidation.

In Boston a most remarkable state of affairs exists. Under the Massachusetts laws, savings-banks are prohibited from all investments except those of a certain character. They are permitted to own stock in the national banks of the State. Hence some savings-banks, with a few insurance companies, own and control the majority of the stock in some large national banks.

That large banks with large deposits have advantages over smaller ones is evident, for they attract depositors because of their safety; and large borrowers are more readily accommodated, because the federal statutes limit national banks to a tenth of their capital stock as the maximum loan to any one borrower. This law has always been evaded by large corporations and firms by using their bookkeepers' and their clerks' names on paper. This is a very common practice; and, in fact, with such a bank as the Chemical National of New York, whose capital stock is small, it is necessary. The stock of this bank, as is well known, is 4000 on the market, or 40 times the par value. Its capital is but \$300,000; while its surplus is \$7,000,000.

But in contravention of all these considerations the proposed consolidation of banks in Boston is clearly contrary to public policy and to the interests of the minority stockholders, not to mention the employes that it will throw out of employment. If two-thirds of the stock of each bank votes for it, the consolidation becomes unquestionably legal.

As this is the beginning of bank consolidations made solely for the purpose of greater dividends, it may be well to state the facts in full. The banks proposed to be consolidated are as follows:—

Columbian National, incorporated in 1822: capital, \$1,000,000; loans, \$2,937,000; surplus, \$197,000.

National Eagle, incorporated in 1822: capital, \$1,000,000; loans, \$2,672,000; surplus, \$124,000.

Hamilton National, incorporated in 1832: capital, \$750,000; loans, \$1,981,000; surplus, \$286,000.

Market National, incorporated in 1832: capital, \$800,000; loans, \$2,083,000; surplus, \$160,000.

National Bank of North America, incorporated in 1850: capital, \$1,000,000; loans, \$2,432,000; surplus, \$243,000.

Howard National, incorporated in 1858: capital, \$1,000,000; loans, \$3,095,000; surplus, \$251,000.

Boston National, incorporated in 1853: capital, \$1,000,000; loans, \$2,050,000; surplus, \$225,000.

National Revere, incorporated in 1859: capital, \$1,000,000; loans, \$3,928,000; surplus, \$178,000.

Such a consolidation would dispense with the services of eight bank presidents, eight cashiers, and one hundred clerks. The prices at which it is proposed to take in the shares of the respective banks are as follows:—

Boston National Bank at \$99¼ per share.

Columbian National Bank at \$96 $\frac{7}{8}$ per share.

Hamilton National Bank at \$114 per share.

Howard National Bank at \$97 $\frac{1}{4}$ per share.

North National Bank at \$102 per share.

Market National Bank at \$77 per share.

National Eagle Bank at \$88 per share.

National Bank of North America at \$102 $\frac{1}{4}$ per share.

National Revere Bank at \$92 per share.

It should be stated that these values are \$12 above market prices, but in some cases below book values. Hon. Alanson W. Beard, ex-State Treasurer, was interviewed, and had this to say of the consolidation:—

“The savings-banks in Massachusetts were established and incorporated professedly for benevolent purposes—to save and to utilize the savings of the working-class. The tax by the State on the capital that is aggregated in the savings institutions is very light—scarcely one-third of the average taxation of the State.

“The accumulation of capital in the savings-banks is supposed to be controlled by men who are seeking the public good—not for their own emolument.

“The present movement, whatever may be the causes which have led to it, seems to be the exercise of a power given by this accumulation of savings-bank capital, to force the liquidation of the national banks named; in other words, it seems to me that the savings-banks interested, with the eminent banking firm which is to act as their agent, practically become wreckers of national banks.

“There seems to be no choice left to the national banks where the majority of the stock of any one bank is in the hands of the combined savings-banks.

“It is a question in my mind if the people of Massachusetts ever contemplated that, in the benevolent institution of savings-banks, the savings therein accumulated should be so combined by the savings-bank managers as to create a power tending to so disturb and revolutionize the business of the community.

“I am informed that, of the nine banks selected, not more than one or two can be called ‘weak’ banks, most of them showing surplus assets beyond the proposed price of stock, leaving handsome profits for the liquidators.

“But this matter I have thought very little about, for it seems to me that the savings-bank trust, thus inaugurated, is, in principle, far more dangerous to the business community than any other trust which has been before the public.”

The cashier of the National Bank of North America, W. S. Draper, said: “The plan is an imposition and in every way unjust. I do not know why our bank was included in the list. We are on a good financial standing, and although, with all the banks, have been seeing some

hard times, there is no reason why in a short time we cannot be paying six per cent on investments, as we used to. I am sure we have no sympathy for the plan."

The *Boston Journal* says:—

"One of the features of the proposed wholesale Boston bank consolidation, the plans for which have appeared in the *Boston Journal*, which excites some concern, is this:—

"All of these banks have a number of small customers, men of good credit but doing a limited business, who are known only at the specific banks at which they have dealt since they have been in business.

"Now, the wholesale consolidation of nine banks practically turns these men adrift. In time, of course, they can make connection with some other bank; but it will take time for them to do it, because they are not known at other banks, and until they have formed such new connections they are bound to suffer more or less in their business arrangements.

"To raise another point: Supposing that, instead of consolidating nine banks, the committee had proposed the consolidation of two or three only, this friction would have been avoided.

"The City National Bank is probably to date the most successful liquidation accomplished in Boston. The stock had sold below 70, and the last sale was 72, when the directors arranged with the Eliot National Bank, and, upon vote of the shareholders to liquidate, the forces of the Eliot and the City Bank were merged, the business successfully transferred to the Eliot, and the City Bank stockholders have received \$100 a share and still have their certificates, upon which possibly \$5 more may be paid.

"Not all the nine banks now chosen for discontinuance will liquidate so cleanly or so promptly as did the City into the Eliot.

"It is very difficult to represent accurately the state of feeling concerning this latest bank consolidation. State Street regards it with favor, but Federal Street and Franklin Street are a little warm over the topic. It is declared that no \$25,000,000 bank can be run in the interests of the merchants; it must be run as a collateral bank, which is in favor of the bankers and brokers, rather than the mercantile community.

"Bank men generally are also opposed to the plan. They say that if the savings-banks wished really to reduce the bank capital, why did they not liquidate the poorer banks rather than eight strong banks and one poor one?

"It is believed that only the officers of the North National Bank among the banks to be absorbed are in favor of the consolidation, and it is intimated that President Williams of the North will be one of the active managers of the new concern. Who will be its President has not yet been determined.

"It is understood that in the new bank, without regard to the amount

of its previous bank investments, no savings-bank will be allowed to subscribe for more than 500 shares."

The Hamilton National Bank has issued this circular:—

"It has come to the knowledge of the Board of Directors of this bank that a combination has been formed to get possession of enough of its stock to control its management and to force it into liquidation; and they have instructed their president and cashier to bring the matter to the notice of the stockholders, and to urge them, if approached with offers for their stock, not to commit themselves without consulting some one of the officers of the bank.

"The institution has an honorable record of 66 years, having paid its stockholders a good income, and having never passed a dividend. Its stock has from the beginning been a favorite investment for Massachusetts savings-banks, 53 of which now hold more than 3500 of its 7500 shares. Even at the present low rates of interest, it is paying five per cent annually, and earning more than that; and its stock is worth much more than the market quotations or the price offered by the combination."

A circular from the Boston Bank was sent out to 404 stockholders with the dividends, and reads as follows:—

"Owing to the recent action of a committee of the savings-banks in relation to purchasing the capital stock of this bank, the directors deem it their duty to call your attention to the following facts, to the end that you may be assured of the real value of your stock, and the perfect safety of your deposits in this bank:—

"Since this bank became a national bank in 1864, it has paid in dividends to October 1, 1898, \$2,262,000, an average of 6½ per cent annually.

"The amount of the surplus and undivided profits of this bank over its capital stock of \$1,000,000 is \$280,000 at the close of business to-day."

A prominent banker of Boston had this to say of the consolidation:—

"The trouble is not that there are too many banks, but that the trust companies have such an advantage over the banking institutions. It is required that the trust companies keep only a fifteen per cent surplus, while the national banks must show twenty-five per cent surplus.

"Then, too, the national banks must do the clearing for the trust companies. If the banks had kept clear of the trust companies it never would have been possible for the companies to exchange through the banks. The banks ought to have foreseen that there would soon have to be a combination of interests and fortified by combining among themselves.

"The City National Bank did see it, and made what is probably the most successful liquidation accomplished in Boston. The forces of the Eliot National Bank and the City Bank were merged, the business successfully transferred to the Eliot, and the City Bank stockholders have received \$100 a share and still have their certificates on which \$5 may be paid.

"With what stock the savings-bank people have already secured, that owned by the insurance companies will make in all cases of the banks named, I think, the required two-thirds of the total amount of stock necessary to make a movement of this kind irresistible.

"If this now proposed movement is perfected, as I have no doubt it will be, I have no idea that it will stop with nine banks. It will go on and on in consolidation till even the strongest banks will have to band together in self-defense. It is a good thing for the city, although there is the painful side—the casting out of employment men who have been in banks for years and are by this time fit for nothing else. The movement is strictly legal; there is not even a question of law concerned in it."

From this time on, we shall hear of bank combines. In Chicago, as is well known, by using the clearing-house in matters affecting all the banks in common, the names of borrowers are known to all banks, and by this means some merchants who are heavy borrowers are prevented from floating too much paper on insufficient security. The day of small shops, small banks, small industries, is rapidly passing, and the new century will witness great changes.

The national interest awakened by the consolidating of the nine Boston banks has called out startling and far-reaching questions in financial circles. A leading New York paper says that continued cheap money means the extinction of small banks in large cities. The *New York Financier* says:—

"The question of the independent small bank, located in the greater centers of population, is becoming daily a more serious one. Why this is true needs no explanation here. As the department store is slowly working the ruin of the minor merchant, so the large banks, owing to superior facilities, immensely greater resources, and ability to regulate the character of their loans, are able to absorb the highest grade of offerings, not only at a price that affords them a better profit, but also in amounts sufficient to leave but little gilt-edged business for the small institution. The primary problem that confronts the small bank is how to build up a desirable business. It is not large enough, as a general thing, to attract the larger customer; it is forced, therefore, to turn over its resources in the shape of small loans, and this process inevitably means large losses.

"The consequence is that between maintaining its organization, paying other expenses, and charging off losses, the small bank that preserves a really profitable existence and offers a safe investment, is the exception, rather than the rule. The shares of the institutions that the Boston savings-banks committee propose to liquidate are not worth as much now as they were twenty years ago, and it is a fact that the dividends they have returned to their stockholders for some time have been taken from a previously accumulated surplus, and have not been earned.

“To continue such banks means that other institutions are menaced by their existence. In Boston, where the current deposits are only about four times the amount of banking capital invested, the best remedy appears to be in the direction indicated. In New York, with a capital one-thirteenth the amount of the deposits—we are speaking now only of the national banks—there does not seem to be a superfluity of capital, but at the same time it cannot be said that the weaker banks here have a much better opportunity, or that they contain within themselves the possibility of a larger growth than those in Boston—providing always that they are operated independently.”

As these items appear since the foregoing note was put in print, they only confirm the opinion that the consolidating of banks will be the next field of operations for the Morgans and other speculators.

Z. S. H.

ARTICLE XIV.

ORIENTAL NOTE.

ANCIENT SHRINES IN NORTHERN SYRIA.

[For the sake of giving it a more permanent place in literature, we copy entire a recent extremely important communication to the *Independent* from an associate editor, who is spending the year in Syria.—Eds.]

THE permanence of Oriental manners and customs is recognized by all intelligent students of the East. In the domain of language Professor Noeldeke and other scholars see in the Arabic the best representative of an original Semitic language, which stands in the same relation to other Semitic languages that Sanscrit does to the Indo-European languages. And it is among the Ancient Arabs that the late Professor W. Robertson Smith and Professor Wellhausen have sought illustrations of primitive Semitic religion. These ceremonies have been handed down from father to son through the millenniums. Professor Smith has shown how the institutions of worship in ancient Israel rest on a Semitic basis. It is perfectly possible to hold his view without thereby invalidating the theory of divine revelation to ancient Israel.

Undoubtedly the country and the people still furnish interesting illustrations of primitive rites and ceremonies, although, according to the testimony of old people, there has been a great change in this respect since the missionaries first came to Syria. Among these, which were found in ancient Israel, was the worship of the Baalim (Judges ii. 13; viii. 33; 1 Kings xvi. 32; Hos. ii. 8; xiii. 1), the worship on high places (Deut. xii. 2; 2 Kings xvi. 4; Jer. iii. 6) under every green tree (Hos. iv. 13). Indeed, certain trees seem to have had a specially sacred character¹ (Gen. xii. 6; xxi. 33; Deut. xi. 30; margin of Rev. Ver. and Variorum Bible; Gen. xxxv. 4; Josh. xxiv. 26), and certain shrines, were alike holy to Israel as well as Canaanite from a very remote antiquity (Gen. xii. 6; Josh. xxiv. 1, 25; Hos. vi. 9, marg.; 1 Kings iii. 4, etc.).

The church historian tells us that many rites observed in the Roman Church are concessions made to ancient heathenism, just as Mohammed found himself constrained to make concessions to old pagan superstitions.

¹There is a Turkish village called Zarah in Northern Syria, where there is a very large oak-tree, which is regarded as sacred, to which people offer incense and bring sacrifices as to the shrines, although there is no tomb or shrine of any sort near it.

There can be no question that the sacred shrines of Northern Syria furnish the best illustrations of the worship on the high places which the Israelites had received from the Canaanites (Deut. xii. 2).

The observant traveler in Northern Syria is greatly impressed with clumps or small groves of trees which he usually sees on some hilltop or hillside.¹ They are commonly oaks,² and the foliage is usually quite dense. My observations were made with Mr. F. W. March, to whom I am specially indebted, and W. S. Nelson, D.D., of the Tripoli Station of the Presbyterian Mission. While traveling with them I must have seen more than a hundred such shrines. Through their kindness, as interpreters of Arabic, I was able to interview the natives of many places, representing different sects of Christians as well as Nusairiyeh and Moslems. I also received much assistance from native pastors of Protestant churches. I am also indebted to Mr. Khalil Yazzi, son of a Greek priest, to whom I read this article. His suggestions and comments are embodied in at least half the foot-notes. Indeed, I let no opportunity slip to secure information. The effort was to gather facts, rather than to collect inferences.

The first fact with reference to these phenomena, as has been stated, is that these groves are usually on some hilltop or hillside. So far as they have a sacred character they are the site of some church, or far more frequently of some shrine, commemorating some saint, either man or woman—the latter very rarely. Each of these shrines has some special designation. Among the Christian sects the term *Mar* (Lord) from the Syriac is prefixed, as *Mar Yehanna*, St. John. Among the Moslems and Nusairiyeh the term *Neby*, or *Sheik*, is employed, *Neby* (prophet) for Biblical characters, as *Neby Musa*, or Prophet Moses, and *Sheik* (elder) for Modern Saints, as *Sheik Akmad*.³ Christians who have not come under the influence of Moslems, speak of the saint in general as *qadis* (saint); while Christians who have come under that influence speak with Mohammedans, or Nusairiyeh, of the saint for whom the shrine is dedicated as the *wely* (pronounced in Northern Syria *willie*). Sometimes a cavern is found in connection with these groves as at *Minyareh* and *Beinu*.⁴

¹They are sometimes found on plains.

²Other trees are occasionally found in the sacred groves, as plum-trees, or tamarisks.

³Mohammed is styled *Neby*. Some say that *Neby* was applied by Moslems to saints before the time of Mohammed. After his time if a *Sheik* had been generous then he was honored as a *Sheik* after his death, and a shrine was raised to his memory. The Nusairiyeh use the term *Neby* of some saints after the time of Mohammed. Every village has its shrine. At *Saïta* the groves and the white shrines of the *welys* are seen from the tower of the castle in every direction.

⁴There is a cave near *Amur*, called the Cave of the Breuots. If a woman cannot nurse her babe she offers incense to the cave until the milk comes.

Second, all the sects, whether Moslem or Christian, including adherents of Greek and Maronite churches and Nusairiyeh maintain essentially the same attitude regarding these shrines, one of which Mar Jurgis, or St. George, they all hold sacred in common.¹ There are many instances where Christians and Nusairiyeh unite in recognizing the sacred character of the same shrine,² fewer where Moslems and Christians maintain the same attitude. All agree that the spirit known among Moslems, Nusairiyeh, and Christians who are conversant with Moslems and Nusairiyeh as wely, a designation which dignifies the same as Baal in Hebrew, lord, possessor; or as qadis among the Christians, is owner of the shrine and the trees upon it, which by virtue of this ownership are sacred. It was the general testimony of representatives of different sects interviewed that any one who should cut down or injure one of the trees would be killed. When asked who would do it the answer was the wely. If a tree dies and falls the wood may be sold, but the proceeds must be applied to keeping up the shrine.³

Third, all agree that any one who is in need of any sort, whether through any bodily ailment, or who desires children, may come to the saint's tomb and make his vow with the hope of receiving the special blessing asked.⁴ Often such shrine is thought to represent some speciality; Mar Jurgis is good for insanity, another for rheumatism, another for bad eyes, etc. The account of the particular manner of making the vow varies, one insisting that a man even in ill health must go to the tomb

¹ The monastery of St. George has no grove connected with it. On the other hand, the Sabbatic fountain mentioned by Josephus, which often pours forth an abundance of water for five or six hours on Friday, is thought to derive its potency from the Mar Jurgis. The account we received at the fountain, which, perhaps, represents the belief of the ignorant, was as follows: "It is customary among the Christian sects, as well as among the Moslems and Nusairiyeh, to make vows to the Spirit of the fountain, and, when the vow is paid, to bring a sheep, which is slaughtered at the fountain and eaten in a sacrificial meal. This is said to occur daily at the time of the semi-annual fairs."

² At Beit Sabat is a shrine known as Sheik Mohammed (the designation indicates that it was not the famous prophet, who was superior to the wely as God's vicar, and who is designated as Neby). It is held sacred both by the Nusairiyeh and the Greeks. Both claim the shrine and both call the spirit the wely. But the Greeks affirm that the wely appears to them as a monk. On a hill just above Meshita is the Sayadi, or Shrine of the Lady (Virgin Mary). This is held in honor both by Greeks, who are in the majority, and the Maronites. Once when the Maronites went to celebrate a sacrificial meal the Greeks were greatly excited and sought to prevent the celebration. While the contest was at its height a Greek filled the pots of flesh with ashes.

³ Others more intelligent say the man may suffer some injury, as his crops may fail, his children may die, or he himself may die.

⁴ It is said that intelligent members of Christian sects do not believe this, but it is admitted that most of the members are ignorant. The Moslems have a stronger belief in these things.

and lay his hand on it in making his vow,¹ otherwise such vow would not avail, all others affirming he could make his vow anywhere if he afterward paid it at the shrine.² So, too, there was some difference of opinion as to where the spirit of the saint might be. The general notion seemed to be that it was in heaven and appeared on occasion to the suppliant; while the servant of the Beg of a village of the Nusairiyeh, when interrogated where the spirit of the saint was, doggedly affirmed that it was in the tomb. Among the Nusairiyeh of Musulleh, green³ cloth is kept on the tomb, so that people afflicted with disease may tear off pieces and wear them around their necks until they have recovered. I also heard that white cloth placed on a tomb was used in the same way by members of the Greek church of Safita.

Fourth, while God is theoretically recognized as the source of almighty power, but as too great to be concerned with such small affairs as the ills and distempers of men, hence the necessity of the intercession of the saint, the thought of God is lost from many minds and the saint takes his place.⁴ In this connection there is doubtless sometimes occasion for Animism. At Sphene, there is a Maronite shrine of Mar Yehanna, which consists only of an ancient stone, standing on a hill under a grove, near a modern church, about three feet high by fourteen inches wide, in the shape of a panel. The other sides are triangular. A man said of the remains of incense which were in front of this stone that the incense had been offered to the wely. His expressions seemed to indicate that he regarded the wely as residing in the stone. A Moslem who was interviewed on the subject of the place where the wely was to be worshiped, said: "The spirit of the wely must be in the ground." When it was suggested to him that the soul of the saint went to heaven, he replied: "We do not know anything about heaven, so that the place where the body was is the place where you are to worship him. . . . God is almighty. . . . I ask the wely, and the wely asks God."⁵

Fifth, the mode of paying vows is essentially the same among Moslems, Nusairiyeh, and all sects, and takes on the most ancient form of sacrifices among the Semites—namely, the sacrificial meal. Incense is also burned to the saint as to the Baalim (Hos. ii. 13). The highest pay-

¹ Mr. Yazzi says he never heard of this.

² A sheik may travel about the country soliciting offerings at his shrine. Then the vow is made at the discretion of the person.

³ Various colored cloths are used among the Mohammedans, but green is more highly revered than any other color. The Koran states that the saints in paradise repose on green beds.

⁴ When they philosophize about it they say, when it is a small matter, as healing sickness, power is delegated to the saint to act, but if it is the matter of the forgiveness of sins the saint is regarded by Christians as mediator.

⁵ It is quite likely that both these men were below the average grade of intelligence.

ment of a vow is in the sacrifice of a sheep¹ at the shrine, which is then devoured by the men, women, and children who may be present. There are indeed exceptions, as a well authenticated story is told of a man from Safita desiring a son, who vowed at the shrine of Mar Jurgis that if the saint would grant him a boy he would pay for his weight in silver. This he is said to have done. He brought the baby and placed him in one of the scales, and an equal amount of silver in the other.²

Sixth, the essential elements then of ancient Canaanitish worship are usually present in all these places in Syria; the place on a high hill, commonly underneath green oaks³; the local object of worship is the saint, widely known as the wely, the same as the Baal of ancient Israel; and the sacrificial meal in the performance of a vow, in payment of some special blessing; all this shows the permanence of those Canaanitish influences which were so regnant in ancient Israel in the sanctuaries, sacred trees, the performance of essentially heathen rites by those claiming to be worshippers of the true God. If the Greek Church, the Maronites, the Nusairiyeh, and the Moslems can recognize this local cult, while claiming to worship the Sovereign of the Universe, it is easy to see how ancient Israel should not consider sacrifice offered to the Baalim inconsistent with the service due to the God of Israel (Hos. ii. 16), nor is it difficult to understand how such Baal worship in the minds of the ignorant and superstitious should entirely displace that of Jehovah (Hos. ii. 13).

In this connection it is interesting to know how the Syrian women desiring a boy bargain with the saint. At the few shrines where there are pictures, the picture of the saint is on the wall. It is protected in front with a wire screen. She says: "One piaster," and gives the towel which she has brought for the purpose a fling. If it catches then the saint has accepted her proposition, and if she has a boy she pays the piaster; but if it does not catch, he has declined it. Then she says, "Two piasters," and so on until it catches.

In visiting Karyatên, the last outpost for travelers making the journey to Palmyra, I found in the vineyard, at the rear of the house of the governor of the town, known as Feiyad, a prostrate pillar, by the side of which about midway, and close against it, is a structure of mud, about the size and shape of a straw beehive, in the side of which is a small hole, where the vessel is placed in which the oil that has been vowed is burned, when a vow is paid. The shrine consisting in this pillar is called by the Moslems Abu Rishla, and by the Christians Mar Rishla. It is in honor of a saint of the sect of the Jacobites. The pillar is thought by the Syrian priest to mark the site of an ancient church. It is sur-

¹ Sometimes a cow is killed, or more than one sheep.

² Mr. Yazzi says he saw a man from Aleppo do the same, and when the balance in which the silver mejedets were nearly tipped the scale he made it balance by putting in gold-pieces.

³ The cedars near the Zadisha have a sacred character.

rounded by a low wall, leaving an inclosure about twenty feet square. The practices in making a vow and in the payment of it among Moslems and Christians are the same. They come to the shrine and make their request; they also tie red and blue silk around the weeds in the inclosure as a sign to the saint that they want his help. Payment, as has been intimated, is made in oil, which is burned at the shrine. A sacrificial meal is also sometimes eaten at the house of the one who is fulfilling his vow.

About four hours from Karyatên, on the way to Sadad (the Zedad of Scripture, Num. xxxiv. 8) are the so-called baths of Solomon, where there are extensive ruins of buildings on a grand scale. Only part of the arches which supported the superstructure now remain. There are three places where the hot air comes out of the ground, many yards apart. One of these is in the floor of quite a room, with walls and a roof of stone. The heat is so intense that it is not possible to endure it many minutes. The other hot-air vents are in the field. One of these is a famous shrine for women who are barren and desire children, called Abu Rabah. They really regard the wely of the shrine as the father of their children as appears from a rendering of an Arabic couplet which they repeat as they go inside the small inclosure, consisting of a rude stone wall about four feet high, and take their seat over the vent in the rock, while the hot air streams up their bodies:

“O Abu Rabah!

There have come to thee the white and beautiful;
With thee is the generation,
With us is the conception.”

The teacher's wife, in connection with the Irish Presbyterian mission, at Karyatên, said she knew of two barren women who had recently had children after visiting this shrine. Rev. J. Stewart Crawford, to whom I am indebted for this information, and the rendering of the couplet with one slight change, suggested that as barrenness in Syria is often due to a catarrh of the womb, the hot air from the ground might induce conception.

When a child is born, after a visit to this shrine, it is customary to partake of a sacrificial meal, which is eaten in the shade of the vaulted ruin near by, and to which the friends of the family from the neighboring villages are invited.

At Blûdân, which is about two hours by train from Damascus, is an ancient altar to Baal, on a foot-hill of Jebel-esh Sherki, the first range of mountains parallel to those known as Anti-Lebanon. On two sides may be traced the stones of the platform of the altar. This platform must have been about twenty-five feet square, and is composed of large blocks which have been squared, which bear every indication of great antiquity. It is at least four feet from the ground on each side of the two sides, where there is a declivity. Around this altar is a sacred grove of oaks. There is said to be a family in the town of Zebedâni, further down

in the valley, who are still interested in this shrine. I could not in the short time I had at command learn their name, or how to find them. It is possible they are lineal descendants of an ancient priestly family. Two hours away is another altar consisting of the native rock which rises several feet, by a sacred grove of oak, and whose upper surface has been smoothed artificially. The first of the Baal altars is still regarded as a sacred shrine, although no ancient traditions have been preserved regarding it. It now bears the name of *Umm Sharaqif*, "Mother of Pieces," from the custom of breaking a vase near it in fulfilment of a vow. In connection with the altars to Baal it is interesting to know that the land in Syria is called among the fellahin *ard Baal* (cf. Hos. ii. 8-17, Eng. ver.), although all traditions as to the significance of this term seem to have perished.

S. I. CURTISS.

BEIRUT, OCT. 20, 1898.

ARTICLE XV.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. (Handbooks on the History of Religions.) By MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo. Pp. 780. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1898. \$3.00.

This much-desired volume is out at last, and no one will object to the increased size over that of the other numbers of the Series; for the subject fully demands it. The ordinary reader will find here everything which he wishes to know upon the subject which can be stated with any degree of certainty. The book is a model of thoroughness, comprehensiveness, and at the same time of condensation, and is supplied with a full bibliography and an extended index. As a companion to the study of the Old Testament, the volume is indispensable.

While the author is at times overconfident in his incidental remarks upon the composite nature of the Pentateuch, he is in the main fairly conservative, and his volume furnishes abundant material in support of conservative views. In the chapter upon the Babylonian Penitential Psalms, we find the following significant comment:—

“There is not the slightest trace of any approach to real monotheism in Babylonia, nor can it even be said that the penitential psalms constitute a bridge leading to such an approach. The strong hold that astrology at all times, and up to the latest periods, had upon both the popular and the educated mind was in itself sufficient to prevent the Babylonians from passing, to any considerable degree, beyond the stage in which the powers of nature were personified and imbued with real life. The penitential psalms presuppose this belief as much as any other branch of the religious literature; they merely illustrate this belief in the purest form of which, in the course of its development, it was capable” (pp. 319-320).

The contrast between Babylonian cosmology and that of Genesis will be seen in a single extract. After relating that Marduk cuts the carcass of Tiāmat in half, the Babylonian epic goes on to say:—

“The one-half he fashioned as a covering for the heavens,
Attaching a bolt and placing there a guardian,
With orders not to permit the waters to come out.’

“It is evident that the canopy of heaven is meant. Such is the enormous size of Tiāmat that one-half of her body flattened out so as to serve as a curtain, is stretched across the heavens to keep the ‘upper waters’—

'the waters above the firmament,' as the book of Genesis puts it—from coming down. To insure the execution of this design a bolt is drawn in front of the canopy and a guardian placed there, like at a city wall, to prevent any one or anything from coming out" (p. 428).

In contrast with the Hebrew Scriptures, we are told, "that the Babylonians never developed a theory of real beginnings. The *creatio ex nihilo* was a thought beyond the grasp even of the schools. There was always *something*, and indeed there was always a *great deal*—as much perhaps at the beginning of things as at any other time. But there was no cosmic order. Instead of a doctrine of creation, we have a doctrine of evolution from chaos to the imposition of eternal laws. The manifestation of these laws was seen first of all in the movements of the heavenly bodies. There was a great expanse, presenting the appearance of a stretched-out curtain or a covering to which the stars and moon were attached. Along this expanse the wandering stars moved with a certain regularity. The moon, too, had its course mapped out and the sun appeared in this expanse daily, as an overseer, passing along the whole of it. This wonderful system was the first to be perfected, and to the solar deity, which seemed to control everything, was ascribed the distinction of having introduced the heavenly order" (p. 442).

In the author's opinion, also, the Hebrew cosmology is not directly borrowed from the Babylonian, and the Elohistic and Jahvistic versions appear in the Babylonian account as well as in that of Genesis.

"That the Hebrew and Babylonian traditions spring from a common source is so evident as to require no further proof. The agreements are too close to be accidental. At the same time, the variations in detail point to independent elaboration of the traditions on the part of the Hebrews and Babylonians.

"A direct borrowing from the Babylonians has not taken place, and while the Babylonian records are in all probabilities much older than the Hebrew, the latter again contain elements, as Gunkel has shown, of a more primitive character than the Babylonian production. This relationship can only be satisfactorily explained on the assumption that the Hebrews possessed the traditions upon which the Genesis narrative rests long before the period of the Babylonian exile, when the story appears, indeed, to have received its final and present shape. The essential features of the Babylonian cosmology formed part of a stock of traditions that Hebrews and Babylonians (and probably others) received from some common source or, to put it more vaguely, held in common from a period, the limits of which can no longer be determined. While the two Babylonian versions agree in the main, embodying the same general traditions regarding the creation of the heavenly bodies and containing the same general conception of an evolution in the world from confusion and caprice to order, and the establishment of law, the variations in regard to the terrestrial phenomena must not be overlooked. According

to the first version, mankind appears as the last episode of creation; in the second, mankind precedes vegetation and animal life.

"The conclusion, therefore, is justified that the variations between the Babylonian versions rest upon varying traditions that must have arisen in different places. The attempt was made to combine these traditions by the Babylonians, and among the Hebrews we may see the result of a similar attempt in the first two or, more strictly speaking, in the first three chapters of Genesis. At the same time, the manner in which both traditions have been worked over by the Hebrew compilers of Genesis precludes, as has been pointed out, the theory of a direct borrowing from cuneiform documents. The climatic conditions involved in the Hebrew versions are those peculiar to Babylonia. It is in Babylonia that the thought would naturally arise of making the world begin with the close of the storms and rains in the spring. The Terahites must therefore have brought these cosmological traditions with them upon migrating from the Euphrates Valley to the Jordan district" (pp. 450-453).

CHRISTIAN DOGMATICS. By REV. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A., author of "Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians," etc. Post 8vo. Pp. viii, 467. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1898. \$3.00.

This compact volume will meet a wide-felt need in that it covers the whole ground of Dogmatics in style so conspicuous as to be easily read, and in thought so well considered as to command general assent; while every paragraph is introduced by such well-selected literary references as to make the volume really a treatise on Theological Encyclopedia. The author has prepared the work from the standpoint of moderate Calvinism. Among the most satisfactory portions are those which treat of God's relation to the creation, man's original condition, and the consequences of Adam's sin upon the race. It is interesting to see how completely all the truth contained in recent expositions of the doctrine of the divine immanence are included, but in proper subordination, in a simple statement of the ordinary orthodox doctrine concerning God as the Creator and Upholder of the world, who has among his attributes those of omnipotence and moral freedom. A perusal of the paragraphs in this portion of the book will do much to confirm the truth of the current saying, that, in such matters "what is true is not new, and what is new is not true." The work is deserving of wide circulation.

THE DIVINE DRAMA: The Manifestation of God in the Universe. By GRANVILLE ROSS PIKE. 12mo. Pp. xv, 378. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1898. \$1.50.

This is one of the numerous recent efforts to include all the facts of the universe under the theory of divine immanence. The volume is clearly written, and in its chapters upon sociology, under the title "The Family of God," has some very helpful statements of fact and suggestions of duty. But the author is really embarrassed, rather than helped, by his

theory. The doctrine of divine immanence as stated by him is, that God is "an infinite energy resident within the universe of realities, and by its operations producing universal phenomena. In the world thus conceived there is nothing real but mind, no force but spirit, no independent existence but God" (p. 4). If this language is strictly interpreted, it would abolish all personality but that of God. But, on page 18, we have evidence that it is not to be strictly interpreted, for, our author says, "In the human spirit God has so fully objectified his own being that man no longer exists solely as a mode of divine mind, but has passed beyond the phenomenal and become himself a substance, a thinking being, and thus reached an actual, though relative, independence." This last statement does not differ much from the ordinary doctrine of creation. Failure to keep hold of this true view vitiates most of the author's subsequent reasoning. When, for example, he comes to deal with the question of human sin, the weakness of his position cannot fail to appear, and he talks in a self-contradictory manner. While denying the existence of a spirit of evil which can thwart the divine effort for human welfare, he admits a "slowness of moral growth in humanity, and the wilfulness of souls ignorant of their true good" (p. 22). He also adds, "For his own sinfulness man is himself responsible." Just how, upon the author's theory, there can be any such thing as wilfulness in man or responsibility on his part for sinfulness, it is difficult to see. In slipping in these phrases, the author has destroyed his system, and admitted the ordinary orthodox doctrine of creation, and rendered useless the most of the remaining discussion.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SACRED THEOLOGY: Its Principles. By ABRAHAM KUYPER, D.D., Free University, Amsterdam. Translated from the Dutch by Rev. J. HENDRIK DE VRIES, M.A. With an Introduction by Professor BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton Theological Seminary. 8vo. Pp. xxv, 683. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. \$4.00.

Those who read, in the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA for July and October, 1895, Dr. Kuyper's profound and brilliant articles, upon "Calvinism the Origin and Safeguard of our Constitutional Liberties," will need but little further introduction to the author of this important treatise, and they will certainly be prepared to find it what it is—a most interesting and instructive volume. Dr. Kuyper is a magnificent leader of the evangelical forces in Holland. In him, also, the conservative friends of the Bible everywhere find a most intelligent and able coadjutor. This is the more significant and gratifying from the fact that his early education was amid the stifling agnosticism of Holland's university life, and that he was a pupil of Kuenen. But, through deep religious experiences and close association in his early pastorates with spiritual-minded Christians, he was brought out into the clearer light of evangelical truth.

The present treatise deals with fundamental principles, and is based

upon a definition of cyclopedia somewhat different from that to which we are accustomed. According to him, "Theological Encyclopedia consists in the scientific investigation of the organic nature and relations of theology in itself and as an integral part of the organism of science" (p. 54).

The volume contains a discussion (1) of the Nature and Limits of Encyclopedia; (2) of the Organism of Science; and (3) of the Conception, Regulative Principle, Method, Organism, and History of Theology. The range of the author's scholarship is wide; his knowledge of details, minute; his style, clear, and full of interesting illustration; while his reasoning carries one forward with irresistible force. We have space to notice but two or three illustrations of his positions and argument.

With great clearness he brings out the fact that faith is not peculiar to religion, but is a prerequisite of all inductive science. What, for example, would those who insist upon setting up impracticable standards of evidence in the affairs of ordinary life do with the following:—

"Even with reference to your own past, you do not doubt for a moment that the woman whom you loved as mother *was* your mother, and that the man whom you addressed by the name of father *was* your father. You have not observed your conception and your birth. Equally unable are you to prove them. And yet when there is no special cause to make doubt *compulsory*, every child lives in the glad assurance of having its *real* father and mother. And herein lies the starting-point of the power and right of *tradition*, which, though frequently mixed up with mistake and falsehood, in itself forms the natural tie which binds our consciousness *to the past*, and so liberates it from the limitations of the present" (p. 143).

Upon the question of the relation of the Scriptures to theological knowledge, the author is remarkably clear, and his discussions are most timely. While maintaining that only the regenerate can have full evidence of the authority of Scripture, and that the Holy Spirit's presence is essential to its proper interpretation, he does not thereby belittle, but rather magnifies, the importance of Scripture. "Only, however many-sided and incisive this constant working of the Holy Spirit may be, it brings no new content, . . . no increased supply of material, no enlargement of the substance of the knowledge of God. A believer of the nineteenth century knows much more than a believer of the tenth or third century could know, but that additional knowledge is ever dug from the selfsame gold-mine; and that former generations stood behind in wealth of knowledge, can be explained only by the fact, that in those times the working of the mine was not so far advanced. . . . With the fuller development of the consciousness of humanity the increase of insight into the contents of the Scriptures keeps equal step. But however far this increase of knowledge may proceed in the future, it will never be able to draw its material from any other source than from the Holy

Scripture. And it is for this reason, that for the several nations also, and for the individuals among these nations, the rule remains valid that the *substance* of the knowledge of God, which comes to us from the special principium, is *identical with the Holy Scripture*" (pp. 402-403).

The inclusiveness of the author's title is illustrated in the fact that in dealing with the instruments, factors, and forms of inspiration we have really a comprehensive treatise on the whole of that important subject. Upon the questions relating to it, he maintains a strong, conservative position. His treatment of the difficult quotations of the Old Testament in the New is especially noteworthy, and deserving of careful attention. We close by quoting his remarks upon one of the most difficult of these.

"The citation from Psalm xl. 6 in Hebrew x. 5 may still further explain this. . . . The only correct translation is: Mine ears hast thou digged, in the sense of *opened*, i.e. Thou hast prepared me for the service of obedience. For this thought the expression 'a body hast thou prepared me' would do just as well, after the rule of the 'whole for the part.' If my thumb is hurt, I can use three forms of expression: my *thumb* is wounded, my *finger* is wounded, or my *hand* is hurt. For the preparation of the ear can be put: the preparation of the body; provided both are taken in the sense that this, physico-symbolically, points to spiritual obedience, which is also to be accomplished in outward things. That in Heb. x. 5, body is taken in this sense appears from verse 9, where the exegesis from Ps. xl. 7 is used: 'Lo, I come to do thy will,' i.e. to obey. And that it is intended as the actual explanation of the 'a body hast thou prepared me,' appears from the additional words: 'He taketh away the first (the burnt offerings and offerings for sin) that He may establish the second (the complete sacrifice of obedience).' The atoning act of Christ's sacrifice lay not in the crucifixion of His body by itself, but in His *will* to obey; as it is expressly stated in verse 10: by which will (not by which body) we have been sanctified. The question whether the following, 'through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ,' does not refer back to the body in verse 5, can never be answered with certainty. Even if this inference is accepted, it can never follow from this that in verse 5 the incarnation, i.e. the providing of the body for His self-sacrifice, is meant. Rather the contrary; for the exegesis which, as we saw, makes verse 9 follow immediately upon verse 8, affirms the opposite. The undeniable fault in the translation, or at least in the copies, lent itself easily to express, nevertheless, the original meaning of the first author in Ps. xl. 6, and this accounts for the fact that in a Greek copy this Greek reading does not need to be changed necessarily to the letter according to the Hebrew requirement, but can be taken as being equal in sense and thought to the original. This would have been indeed unlawful in common quotation by *another*, but offers not the least difficulty since the *auctor primarius* of Ps. xl. and Heb. x. is *one and the same*" (pp. 451-452).

BIBLICAL APOCALYPTICS: A Study of the Most Notable Revelations of God and of Christ in the Canonical Scriptures. By MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., Professor in the Garrett Biblical Institute. 8vo. Pp. 513. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. 1898. \$3.00.

The present important treatise is a second instalment in the comprehensive plan of the author to write out his views *in extenso* upon biblical hermeneutics, biblical apocalypics, and biblical dogmatics. The high favor with which the first of these volumes, published fourteen years ago, is still held, can but be prophetic also of the reception which is to be given to this second volume. Altogether it is one of the most learned, thorough, and helpful discussions in biblical interpretation which have been written in recent times. The author uses the word "Apocalypse" as nearly synonymous with Revelation, and brings into one comprehensive view all those portions of the Bible in which a direct effort is made to engraft the ineffable thoughts of the Creator respecting both the origin and the end of things, and concerning the eternal significance of human history, upon human figures of speech. "The biblical apocalypses, therefore, are those sacred books and portions of books which contain revelations or disclosures of God's views of things. They unfold a concept of the world and of man . . . as they appear before the throne of God" (p. 12).

It follows, as a matter of course, that language must be greatly strained in the effort to make it contain these higher thoughts of God, which are as far above our thoughts as his ways are above our ways. In the explanation of the apocalypses, Dr. Terry has correctly brought back into prominence the necessary symbolism of the language used to convey the higher thoughts of revelation. He thus regards the first chapter of Genesis as an apocalypse in which he would pay little attention to the conformity of the figures to the actual facts, and regards, as of no significance whatever, the capacity of the chapter to be brought into literal harmony with the revelations of modern science. We are sorry, however, to see, that, in dealing with those eminent geologists who have asserted a remarkable parallelism between the statements in Genesis and the facts of science as recently interpreted, he uses language which is both unwarranted and self-convicting. To speak of such efforts as those of Professor Hitchcock as "pompous claims" (p. 43) is to forget the continuous tone of dogmatism which pervades his own writing throughout the book. One would scarcely suppose, in the perusal of the volume, that there could be a shadow of a doubt about the correctness of any position taken by the author. This, however, is in our opinion nothing more than a rhetorical fault; for, in the main, we believe that he has obtained the true interpretation of most of the many portions of Scripture which are brought under treatment.

Interest especially centers in his treatment of the Gospel Apocalypses and of the Apocalypse of John. With great clearness of reasoning he shows that the discourses of Christ, in the Synoptic Gospels, concerning

the "end of the world," are, so far at least as they are recorded in Mark, the best authenticated words of Christ which we have. But he views them as relating entirely to events of the apostolic age. He is not ready to allow any reference in them to a future judgment, maintaining that the symbolism is simply expressive of the magnitude of the events of that age when seen in the light of their eternal significance.

The Apocalypse of John is treated with great fullness, occupying two hundred and thirty pages; being, indeed, a continuous commentary upon the entire book, to which the previous part of the volume may be regarded as introduction. He maintains, with great cogency, the unity of the book, and that it was written by the apostle John; but assigns to it an early date—just previous to the destruction of Jerusalem. The arguments for this view and the answers to the objections are presented with convincing clearness and skill. In the interpretation of the book he maintains, however, that its direct reference is solely to the events connected with the destruction of the Jewish nation, culminating in that of their capital city, Jerusalem. He defends with great skill the theory that the number 666 in chapter xiii. 18 refers to Nero, and maintains that the millennium has already begun. "*The thousand years* is to be understood as a symbolical number, denoting a long period. It is a round number, but stands for an indefinite period, an æon whose duration it would be a folly to attempt to compute. Its beginning dates from the great catastrophe of this book, the fall of the mystic Babylon. It is the æon which opens with the going forth of the great Conqueror of xix. 11-16, and continues until he shall have put all his enemies under his feet (1 Cor. xv. 25). It is the same period as that required for the stone of Daniel's prophecy (Dan. ii. 35) to fill the earth, and the mustard seed of Jesus' parable to consummate its world-wide growth (Matt. xiii. 31, 32). How long the King of kings will continue his battle against evil and defer the last decisive blow, when Satan shall be 'loosed for a little time,' no man can even approximately judge. It may require a million years" (p. 451).

CHRISTIANITY AND ANTI-CHRISTIANITY IN THEIR FINAL CONFLICT.

By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS, author of "The Life of our Lord upon the Earth," "God's Revelations of Himself to Men," "Some Thoughts on Christian Unity." 8vo. Pp. xxii, 356. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. \$2.00.

The learned author of the most valuable Life of Christ which has been written, has, in the present volume, unfolded with great ability and sobriety his interpretation of the scriptural teachings concerning the future of the kingdom of God on earth. He believes that "the Antichrist" is yet to come, and that the present age is rapidly preparing the way for him, but he keeps judiciously aloof from fixing any time for the setting up of Christ's millennial reign. Altogether the author presents the most plausible premillennial argument which we have seen. Of special inter-

est is his representations of the tendencies of our day preparing the way for Antichrist. In his opinion, these are specially pronounced in the prevailing pantheistic philosophy of the times, and in the deification of humanity to which certain forms of evolution lead. Justly we think the author insists that the doctrine of divine immanence in man, which is pushed to the front with such vigor by the advocates of "the new theology," does not radically differ from pantheism. He is, however, willing to grant that the adoption of pantheistic views by the advocates of the new theology is unconscious, the doctrine being covered up by a vagueness of expression which defies all efforts to understand its phrases.

Another phase of this new theology is seen in the writings of Maurice and his followers, who ascribe a human element to God, asserting that the Incarnation is not "the assumption of a new, created humanity, but merely the revelation of that which the Son already possessed. And this revelation was made by the taking of a mortal body, thus bringing His Divine humanity under certain limitations" (p. 152). The object of this incarnation was merely "to show men that the eternal Divine-humanity possessed by the Son is theirs as their birthright" (p. 153). These and many other speculative tendencies are, according to our author, encouraging a pride of heart which is fatal to Christian belief. In the words of an evolutionist, "'Divinity is humanity raised to its *n*th power. . . . The individual man is partly the animal from whom we have come, and partly the God who is coming into him'" (p. 166). "Where this spirit of pride prevails, it is idle to preach the offense of the Cross. To say that man is a sinner and needs a Saviour, is pessimism, and offensive; to say that he is a god, is optimism" (p. 167). The author further, and with much reason, laments the loss of faith which is coming about through the pantheistic and agnostic views of modern literary criticism of the Bible, and through the naturalistic tendencies of modern science. In the same strain he deals with the shortcomings of modern literature, and with the socialistic theories of the day. The whole discussion is worthy of being highly commended to those who take a purely optimistic view of the world. The prevalence of these tendencies and the increased opportunities for organization afforded by modern discoveries are believed by the author to be rapidly preparing the way for "a pantheistic revolution," in which some one man shall for a short season put himself at the head of these forces, and rule not so much because of his superior ability, as because he comes to be the proper representative of the prevailing pantheistic tendencies to glorify man and exalt him in place of divinity.

THE MAKING OF THE SERMON. For the Class-room and the Study. By T. HARWOOD PATTISON, Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in Rochester Theological Seminary. 12mo. Pp. 392. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1898. \$1.50.

This is an admirable treatise upon the subject to which it relates. It is admirable for its full and thoroughgoing discussion of the topics con-

sidered; for its clear style and excellent arrangement; for its ample learning,—seen in its wealth of anecdote, homiletic allusion, and illustration; and for the literary skill with which it invests a subject, commonly reckoned dull and dry, with a deep and genuine interest. The book is, indeed, one of the most fascinating of its kind. We do not remember any treatise on homiletics more readable, or better fitted for its purpose of giving instruction, in a pleasing and effective manner, in the class-room and the study.

The book consists of twenty-three chapters. The first answers the question, "What is Preaching?" Five are devoted to the consideration of the Text; three, to the Theme; three, to the Parts of the Sermon; six, to Rhetorical Elements in the Sermon; four, to the Delivery of the Sermon; and the last one, to the Preacher and his Hearer. Each of these subjects is discussed with a fullness and particularity that leave little to be desired by the learner or the teacher who uses it for a manual of instruction.

But the volume has a more general and deeper interest than pertains to a mere manual of instruction. Because of the literary skill shown in its composition, and the wit and wisdom with which it is enriched both by the author's own thought and the wealth of thought borrowed from others, whose notable sayings he has quoted in illustration of his theme, the book may be fairly reckoned a choice work of literature. Its interest is like that of an attractive volume of essays upon the preacher's office and work. It will be read, therefore, with pleasure and profit, not only by theological students, and young ministers, but by the whole ministerial profession and by the laity. The attraction of a good story, when to the point, is something that almost everybody feels and enjoys. This book contains many such,—brief, apt, and happily told. From many examples that might be given, we give the following *cluster* contained in one paragraph: In enforcement of his own strong condemnation of what he calls "impromptu preaching," the author says: "Chalmers called such preaching 'a mere gurggle of syllables'; and when a lady praised an impromptu preacher to Archbishop Magee, saying, 'Oh, what a saint in the pulpit!' his retort was, 'And, oh, what a martyr in the pew!'" Lest the emptiness of such preaching were not yet sufficiently evident, and to hold up to scorn the foolish vanity which usually characterizes such a preacher, the author immediately follows up this story with still another story: "My Lord," a clergyman once boasted to his bishop, "when I go up the steps of the pulpit I never know the subject of my sermon"; and the bishop answered him, "No, and I hear that your congregation does not when you come down."

Professor Pattison manifestly has himself a high ideal of the preacher's office and work, and he aims in this book so to speak of them that all who read it may highly conceive of them. In this aim he is successful. Preaching, as he instructs us to think of it, is no light or easy mat-

ter. It is a serious, earnest business, demanding from those who would succeed or excel in it good powers of mind well-trained and wholly concentrated on their work under the impulse of a consecrated heart. It is too serious to permit juggling with Bible texts, to make them teach what they do not really mean, and too earnest to allow the preacher to play the jester in the pulpit.

Of such juggling he gives some amusing examples. One, where the preacher attempted to found the doctrine of immersion on the text, "The voice of the turtle is heard in the land," when blind zeal to establish his doctrine, or "ignorance," as our author charitably supposes, "led to his getting hold of the wrong turtle." Another, where the preacher addressing journalists took for his text, "They could not come nigh unto him because of the *press*." Such a use of the texts of Scripture the author justly condemns as "unpardonable." Texts so used are denominated, "accommodated texts," and because they are liable to be abused, Professor Pattison says, "It is better as a rule to refrain from the use of accommodated texts. They dishonor Scripture," etc. They offend and disgust also serious minds, and rob the preacher's message of its authority and spiritual power. The author's views upon this particular point are well summarized in the following words of the last paragraph of his book: "Avoid all flippancy, jesting, and trifling. Covet the 'blood earnestness' which characterized Bunyan and Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards and Thomas Chalmers. . . . Thus will you belong to the last of the three classes into which Archbishop Magee divided preachers: First, the preacher you cannot listen to; second, the preacher you can listen to; third, the preacher you cannot help listening to."

Other particular excellencies besides those that have been named are: (1) Each chapter is prefaced with a clear, careful summary of its contents, by which the student or reader will be able both to forecast and review its substance; (2) An unusually full and complete Index at the end. By the aid of this the reader can turn readily to anything that has especially attracted his attention in the perusal of the book; (3) Its minute and valuable practical suggestions. By means of these a man of intelligence and piety could train himself without any other instruction to be an effective preacher, or could improve his preaching in case he has grown careless and ineffective. In his Preface the author says of his book: "I trust that it may be of use to some ministers who have not taken a seminary course; and also to many more whose class-room work, receding year by year, threatens by the lapse of time and by the pressure of many duties needing their immediate attention, to become a faint and ineffectual memory. . . . No man is in greater danger of becoming formal—I will not say fossilized—than is the ordinary preacher. . . . One cure for this . . . he may find in frequently reviewing his course and revising his methods. . . . 'Still learning,' the brave words with which Michael Angelo in extreme old age faced the snows of a Roman

winter in order that he might study afresh the lines of the Colosseum, may well be the motto of all true workers, of ourselves among the rest."

This was notably the way the late Dr. William M. Taylor kept himself up to his high standard of excellence. He read, he said in his latter years, every new treatise in homiletics that appeared. There is no "dead line" for such a minister. He grows better and better to the end, uniting the wisdom of increasing experience with the freshness of youth and the dignity of age.

A. H. CURRIER.

THE PSALMS AND THEIR STORY: A Study of the Psalms as related to Old Testament History. With a Preliminary Study of Hebrew Poetry and Music. By WILLIAM E. BARTON, D.D. Vol. I.—FROM THE EXODUS TO THE EXILE. Vol. II.—FROM THE EXILE TO THE ADVENT. Pp. xii, 249 and viii, 267. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. \$2.50.

These volumes will prove very serviceable to all classes of readers. They are the product of long-continued, careful study by an active pastor who has a wide knowledge of the popular needs, and rare facility of literary expression. While evidently familiar with the latest critical discussion, Dr. Barton has not lost his balance, and is not carried away by every gust of criticism. He ascribes Psalm xc. to Moses, and thirty psalms to David. Only twelve of the psalms is he ready to grant to the Maccabean age. The preliminary chapters upon "The Use of Music in Worship," "Hebrew Poetry," "Psalms outside the Psalter," "Literary Features of the Psalter," "The Value and Method of Critical Study," and "Authors of the Psalms," are full of interesting facts and of sprightly but judicious discussion.

LA COMPOSITION DES ÉVANGILES. Par ÉDOUARD ROEHRICH. Pp. 518. Paris. 1897.

The author discusses each of the four Gospels separately, describing its characteristics and making a detailed comparison of its subject-matter with that of the others. He regards Mark's Gospel as the oldest of the four, and maintains that it was not preceded by a Proto-Mark. It is a compilation of Peter's memoirs, of sentences and dialogues collected by Mark among churches both within and without Palestine, and of a passion narration current among the churches. These were *written* sources. Mark did not use the Matthew Logia.

Our Matthew and Luke are based chiefly upon the Logia and current oral tradition. Some of their narratives, for instance those of the Infancy, may have been current in written form. Paul made Luke feel the importance of the Logia, though Paul may not have had the Logia entire.

The author does not discuss other theories, but contents himself with the presentation of his own. The results of his investigation are presented in an exceedingly attractive, intelligible form, which makes the work a good introduction to the study of the synoptic problem.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A NONAGENARIAN of Life in New England, the Middle West, and New York, including a Mission to Great Britain in Behalf of the Southern Freedmen; together with Scenes in California. By Rev. JOHN C. HOLBROOK, D.D., LL.D. Pp. 351. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. \$1.00.

Dr. Holbrook, in his long and useful career, is a most interesting example of the capacity of the native-born American to adjust himself to changing circumstances and to perform successful work in a variety of occupations. The story of his life brings clearly to view the most important historical movements of the century as they have been viewed and participated in by a pure-minded, unselfish man of great ability and constant hopefulness. It will be of profit to everybody.

THE STORY OF OBERLIN: The Institution, the Community, the Idea, the Movement. By Rev. DELAVAN L. LEONARD, D.D. Pp. 440. Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press. 1898. \$1.50.

This intensely interesting volume furnishes a most important chapter in the general history of the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Oberlin was the product of times which were fermenting with all sorts of leaven. By rare good fortune the movement was guided by an exceptionally able class of men. For well-nigh three-quarters of a century the colony and college have continued to move on with increasing influence in the lines projected by her founders, one of whom (President James H. Fairchild) has continued at the helm during the entire period. The special value of Dr. Leonard's work consists in his so presenting the general reformatory movements of the times that the numerous personal eccentricities which enliven the narrative do not lessen our appreciation of the great earnestness and general wisdom of the movement. The volume will be found to be very instructive and interesting not only to the special friends of Oberlin, but to the general student of American history.

THE COMING PEOPLE. By CHARLES F. DOLE. 16mo. Pp. 209. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. \$1.25.

Gladstone and Ingersoll went in search of truth between the covers of the Bible. Ingersoll found in this great garden noxious weeds and poisons and the most hateful eccentricities of nature, or in other words immorality, superstition, credulity, cruelty. Gladstone found flowers of fragrance and beauty, the divine mind speaking in the language of chemistry, mathematics, or in other words, love and faith and hope, the promise of immortality from a loving Father to his obedient children. The pessimist discovers what he is looking for, the optimist finds ground for his hope and his faith. Our social or industrial condition likewise awakens the different classes of minds to wails of anguish or roseate prophecies. The Rev. Mr. Dole is an optimist from deliberate choice and he has the spirit and genius to discover what is best and most hopeful in society and this he then emphasizes. He writes in a healthy and

helpful mood in a most charming style on such practical themes as the problem of the prosperous, the ideal democracy, possible revolution, the happy life. He believes that goodness must yet be victorious, for faith in the unseen demands it.

It would be a great relief in Chicago to find an ideal democracy shaping practical politics more seriously in the midst of political corruption and crime. Nevertheless Mr. Dole is right and the ideal must eventually find its fruitage in the real, for the alternative is atheism. Z. S. H.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES: A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday-school Lessons, with Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library, References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. Pp. 392. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. 1899. \$1.25.

This volume amply maintains the high excellence which has characterized the Notes of the authors' in previous years. The illustrations are abundant, and of a high order; while the maps and the index give to the volume a permanent as well as a temporary value.

THE PRINCIPLES OF PROTESTANTISM: An Examination of the Doctrinal Differences between the Protestant Churches and the Church of Rome. (Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students.) By Rev. J. P. LILLEY, M.A., Arbroath. Pp. xii, 250. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 75 cents.

An excellent, well-written, compact, and handy volume upon a subject of deep and permanent interest to the intelligent religious public.

THEORIES OF THE WILL IN THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER. 12mo. Pp. ix, 357. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. \$1.50.

A very handy and well-wrought-out statement of prevailing theories of the will from Socrates to Lotze. The author is not an advocate, but a historian, believing that, by this method, he is helping the most effectually in preparing the way for "a constructive explanation of voluntary action" (p. v).

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS PROBLEMS. By J. H. BATES, Ph.M. Pp. 141. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. 1898.

A concise and really profound discussion of the philosophical principles perverted by the advocates of Christian science, and an effective exposure of the preposterous claims put forth by its advocates.

THE PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY: An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. By JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, Ph.D., Stuart Professor of Logic in Princeton University. 12mo. Pp. vii, 203. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. \$1.00.

A brief but trustworthy statement of the main problems of philosophy. Beginners and ordinary readers will find it most convenient and helpful.

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN THE MIDDLE STATES. By HENRY C. VEDDER, Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary; author of "A Short History of the Baptists," "The Dawn of Christianity." 12mo. Pp. 355. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. \$1.25.

The growth and development of Baptists in the United States at the close of this century are the fruit of seed sown by sublime devotion and incredible toil in the earlier decades of the century. The history of this devotion is effectively told in this volume, and is as much more interesting and instructive than that of our material growth as the history of the spiritual is higher than that of the material.

ELIJAH AND ELISHA, Prophets of Israel. (Bible Class Primers.) By the Rev. RONALD G. MACINTYRE, B.D., Maxwelltown. Pp. 112. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Paper, 20 cents net.

A model biblical biography in a very convenient form.

HUMAN IMMORTALITY. Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. By WILLIAM JAMES, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University, and Ingersoll Lecturer for 1898. 16mo. Pp. 70. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. \$1.00.

This charming lecture will have special value in apologetics for the clearness with which the author presents the possibility, "that, when we think of the law that thought is a function of the brain, we are not required to think of productive function only; *we are entitled also to consider permissive or transmissive function.* And this the ordinary psycho-physiologist leaves out of his account" (p. 15).

OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS. Edited by Mr. EDWIN MEAD. Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meeting-House, Boston; 5 cents each; \$4.00 per hundred.

No. 89.—The Founding of St. Augustine, 1565 (24 pp.); No. 91.—The Founding of Quebec, 1608 (20 pp.); No. 93.—The Settlement of Londonderry, N. H. (20 pp.); No. 95.—Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania, 1700 (20 pp.).

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, Philadelphia.

GLADSTONE AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By KERR BOYCE TUPPER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo. Pp. 266. \$1.00.

ITALY AND THE ITALIANS. By GEORGE B. TAYLOR, D.D. With Maps and Illustrations. 8vo. Pp. xi, 441. \$2.00.

LONE POINT: A Summer Outing. By GRACE LIVINGSTON HILL, author of "In the Way," etc. 12mo. Pp. 320. \$1.50.

THE STORY OF JOHNIKIN. By BETH DAY. Illustrated by ELIZABETH M. HALLOWELL. 12mo. Pp. 72. 50 cents.

TWO LITTLE EVERY DAY FOLKS. By CARL FOSTER. Illustrated by ELIZABETH M. HALLOWELL. 12mo. Pp. 113. 60 cents.

WARD HILL, THE SENIOR. By EVERETT T. TOMLINSON, author of "Ward Hill at Weston," "Guarding the Border," "Tecumseh's Young Braves," "Three Young Continentals," "Washington's Young Aids," etc. 12mo. Pp. 360. \$1.25.

A. C. ARMSTRONG & SON, New York.

THE STORY OF JOHN G. PATON, told for Young Folks; or, **Thirty Years among South Sea Cannibals.** By the Rev. JAMES PATON, B.A. New Copyright Edition, with Two New Chapters and Forty-five Full-page Illustrations by JAMES FINNEMORE. Crown 8vo. Pp. 404. \$1.00.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, Boston and New York.

THE MAKING AND THE UNMAKING OF THE PREACHER: Lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, Yale University, 1898. By WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER, President of Dartmouth College. 16mo. Pp. 224. \$1.50.

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY, Boston.

HISTORY OF DOGMA. By Dr. ADOLPH HARNACK, Ordinary Professor of Church History in the University, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin. Translated from the Third German Edition by NEIL BUCHANAN. Volume IV. 8vo. Pp. xi, 353.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.

PAUL, THE MAN, THE MISSIONARY, AND THE TEACHER. By ORELLO CONE, D.D., author of "Gospel-Criticism and Historical Christianity," "The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations," etc. 8vo. Pp. xii, 475. \$2.00.

THE GOSPEL FOR AN AGE OF DOUBT. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D. (Princeton, Harvard, Yale), LL.D. (Union), pastor of the Brick Church in New York. Sixth Edition revised, with a New Preface. 12mo. Pp. xxvi, 329. \$1.25.

OLIPHANT ANDERSON & FERRIER, Edinburgh and London.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, and Other Papers. By the Rev. A. WELCH, Minister Emeritus, Whitevale United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow. 12mo. Pp. vii, 214.

THE PILGRIM PRESS, Boston and Chicago.

SERMONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS FOR 1899. By the MONDAY CLUB. Twenty-fourth Series. Pp. viii, 388. 1898. \$1.25.

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION, Philadelphia.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. By JOHN D. DAVIS, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. With many new Maps and Original Maps and Plans, and Amply Illustrated. 8vo. Pp. vii, 802. \$2.00.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY, New York, Chicago, Toronto.

JERUSALEM THE HOLY: A Brief History of Ancient Jerusalem; with an Account of the Modern City and its Conditions—Political, Religious, and Social. By EDWIN SHERMAN WALLACE, late United States Consul for Palestine. With Fifteen Illustrations from Photographs and Four Maps. 8vo. Pp. 359. \$1.50.

THOMAS WHITTAKER, New York.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE BIBLE: A Handbook of Bible Study for Schools and Classes, and for Private Reading. By the Rev. ALBERT WELLMAN HITCHCOCK, Newburyport, Mass. 12mo. Pp. 154. 50 cents.

Samuel Colcord Bartlett.

THE sudden death of Samuel Colcord Bartlett, at his home in Hanover, N. H., on the 16th of November, removes one of the most valued contributors to the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, as well as one of the ablest and most active forces which have been effective in directing theological, educational, and sociological movements in America during the last half-century. The barest record of his life's work is a lesson in itself.

He was born at Salisbury, N. H., November 25, 1817, thus falling but a few days short of attaining the ripe age of eighty-one. But that his mental vigor had not in the least failed is manifest in the articles from his pen which have recently appeared in the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, one of the briefest of which is in the present number; while another, a lengthy and able review of Rupprecht's "*Des Räthsels Lösung*," received just before his death, is reserved for the April number. As illustrating his activity, we quote from one of his last letters (October 18): "As my recent volume," he writes, "was simply on the *Veracity* of the Hexateuch, I have some notion of following it with the *Authorship* of the Pentateuch, to see if I can't make a more satisfactory and portable one than Rupprecht has done."

Dr. Bartlett was the son of Samuel Colcord and Eleanor Pettengill Bartlett, and a descendant of the eighth generation of Richard Bartlett, who came from England to Newbury, N. H., in 1635. His ancestors on his mother's side came to Newbury from Yorkshire in 1640. His grandparents on both sides were among the earlier settlers of Salisbury, and his father was during more than sixty years a trader in that town.

Dr. Bartlett prepared for college at Pinkerton Academy, Derry, N. H., and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1836, at the head of his class. He was during two years principal of the Caledonia County grammar school in Peacham, Vt., and the next year, when less than twenty-one years of age, became an instructor at Dartmouth. He then spent three years in Andover Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1842.

In 1843 he began his pastoral life with the Congregational church of Monson, Mass.

In 1846 he became Professor of Intellectual Philosophy in Western Reserve College, Ohio, and resigned in 1852 to become pastor of the Franklin Street Congregational Church in Manchester, N. H. In March, 1857, he was called to the charge of the New England Church in Chicago, and was the same year elected to the professorship of Biblical Literature in Chicago Theological Seminary, then about to open, beginning his work there in 1858, and organizing the first curriculum of the institution. This professorship he filled for nineteen years, meanwhile preaching in neigh-

boring towns and forming many churches, besides being associate editor of religious publications.

During this period he was offered and declined the presidency of Vermont University and a professorship in Andover Theological Seminary. He finally accepted the presidency of Dartmouth College in 1877, and held that position until 1892, when he resigned to engage in literary pursuits.

He had spent many months traveling in Europe and up the Nile, and conducted investigations through Sinai, obtaining data for his biblical works.

He was the author of "Sketches and Missions" (1866); "Life and Death Eternal" (1872); "From Egypt to Palestine" (1879); "Sources of History in the Pentateuch" (1883); "Veracity of the Hexateuch" (1897); and frequently contributed to the *North American Review*, the *Forum*, *Princeton Review*, *BIBLIOTHECA SACRA*, and *New Englander*, beside frequent contributions to religious newspapers.

For thirty-seven years he was a corporate member of the American Board of Missions; and for fifteen years was president of the New Hampshire Home Missionary Society, and had been repeatedly a member of the National Council of the Congregational churches, and was instrumental in settling many ecclesiastical difficulties.

He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Dartmouth College, and Doctor of Laws from both Princeton and Dartmouth.

His theological position was defined in the following felicitous statement: "I am in substantial accord with the modified Calvinism of New England, as represented by Andover Seminary in the time of Woods, Stuart, B. B. Edwards, and Park; welcoming all new light, from whatever source, upon the text, composition, or interpretation of the Scriptures, or the doctrines thence legitimately resulting; but resisting all baseless theories, and rash speculations, and, in general, declining to surrender the matured and well-established convictions of the great mass of intelligent evangelical Christians, except on valid evidence."

The following are his principal contributions to the *BIBLIOTHECA SACRA*:—

Theories of Messianic Prophecy, xviii. 724-770.

Historic Character of the Pentateuch, xx. 381-431.

Authorship of the Pentateuch, xx. 799-855; xxi. 495-550, 725-751.

Present Attitude of Evangelical Christianity towards the Prominent Forms of Assault, xxv. 152-184.

The Preaching to the Spirits in Prison, xl. 333-373.

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Higher Criticism at High-Water Mark, lv. 656-692.

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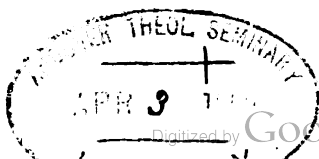
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GENESIS.

CHAPTER 1.

The creation.

1 In the ^{*}beginning ^{*}God created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was ^{without form,} ^{and void;} and darkness ^{was} upon the face of the deep: ^{And the Spirit} of God moved upon the face of the waters.

3 ^d And God said, ^{*}Let there be light: and there was light.

4 And God saw the light, that ^{it was} good: and God divided ^{the} light from the darkness.

5 And God called the light ^{Day,} and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, ^{were the first} ^{one} day.

6 ¶ And God said, ^{*}Let there be a ^{*}firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

7 And God made the firmament, ^{and} divided the waters which ^{were} ^{were} under the firmament from the waters which ^{were} ^{were} above the firmament: and it was so.

8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And ^{the} there was evening and there was morning, ^{were the} ^a second day.

9 ¶ And God said, ^{*}Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry ^{land} ^{land} appear: and it was so.

10 And God called the dry ^{land} ^{land} Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that ^{it was} good.

11 And God said, Let the earth ^{bring} ^{put} forth grass, ^{the} herb yielding seed, ^{and} the fruit tree ^{yielding} ^{put} fruit after ^{his} ^{kind,} ^{whose seed is in itself,} wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth: and it was so.

12 And the earth brought forth grass, ^{and} herb yielding seed after ^{his} ^{kind,} and the tree ^{yielding} ^{bearing} fruit, ^{whose seed was in itself,} wherein is the seed thereof, after ^{his} ^{kind:} and God saw that ^{it was} good.

13 And there was evening and there was morning, ^{were the} ^a third day.

14 ¶ And God said, Let there be ^{*}lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide ^{the} day from the night; and let them be for signs, and ^{*}for seasons, and for days and years:

15 ^{And} ^{and} let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And God ^{made} the two great lights; the greater light ^{to} rule the day, and ^{the} lesser light to rule the night: *he made* ^{the} stars also.

17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

18 ^{And} ^{and} to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that ^{it was} good.

19 And there was evening and there was morning, ^{were the} ^a fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the ^{*}moving creature that hath ^{life,} and let fowl ^{that may} fly above the earth in the ^{*}open firmament of heaven.

21 And ^{*}God created the great ^{sea-monsters,} ^{whales,} and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their ^{kind,} ^{kind,}

B. C. 4004.

a John 1. 1, 2.
b Ps. 8. 3; 33.
6; 80. 11, 12.
Acts 14. 15.
Col. 1. 16, 17.
c Ps. 33. 6.
d Ps. 33. 9.
e 2 Cor. 4. 6.
f Heb. between the light and between the darkness.
g Ps. 74. 16.
h Job 37. 18.
i Heb. expanse.

A Prov. 8. 28.
i Ps. 148. 4.

k Job 26. 10.
Ps. 33. 7; 85.
5; 104. 9;
136. 6.

l Heb. 6. 7.
m Luke 6. 44.

n Deut. 4. 19.

4 Heb. between the day and between the night.
o Ps. 74. 17;
104. 19.

p Ps. 136. 7, 8.
9; 148. 3, 4.
5 Heb. for the rule of the day.
q Ps. 8. 3.
r Job 32. 7.

s Jer. 31. 26.

6 Or, creeping.

7 Heb. soul.

8 Heb. face of the expanse of heaven.
e ch. 8. 20; 7.
14; 8. 19.

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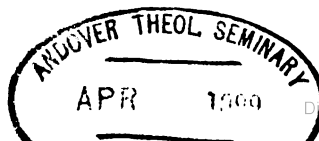
THE
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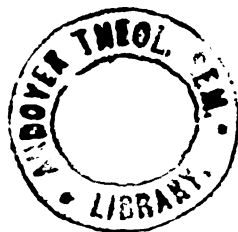
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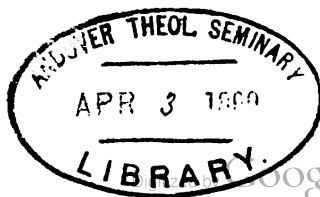
ARTICLE I.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT VER- SUS THEIR SOURCES.¹

BY PROFESSOR WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D.

THE scholars who are investigating the literary character of the Old Testament books are now arrayed in two hostile camps, the men of each camp defending a certain tradition, and attacking the tradition of the opposite camp. On the one hand, an immense majority of those who have done some independent study in the matter, provided we count pastors of churches, and persons who study in connection with the various organizations for Christian work, still hold in the main to the ancient tradition. They accept the testimony of the Scriptures concerning themselves as fact, and regard them as mainly the work of a series of well-known authors, extending from Moses to Nehemiah. On the other hand, a majority of the men who have reached the ear of the public through scholarly printed treatments of these subjects, together with their very influential and intelligent body of followers, make a large discount in their acceptance of the statements of fact found in

¹ This paper was read, November 14, 1898, before the Ministers' Association of Cleveland and vicinity. It has been deemed best to retain in print the marks of personal address that belonged to it as read.



the Old Testament, and attribute the books to a series of authors mostly unknown, beginning a good many hundred years later than Moses, and extending nearly to the Christian era. I am not here this morning to speak in the interest of either of these two encampments of men. My own position is emphatically with those who hold the older tradition, though with large variations from some of the views of some of its defenders. But I am not here to argue in favor of that older tradition as against those who reject it. I wish rather to present a matter in which I think we shall agree, provided we take pains to understand one another. If what I shall say is capable of an interpretation that favors one of the two camps rather than the other, I protest that such interpretation attributes to me a meaning that I do not intend.

As preliminary to the thing that I wish mainly to present, I hope that we shall agree on another thing, namely, that each of these camps is the defender of a tradition. In other words, the advocates of the newer set of opinions have reached a stage in which their position is just as truly traditionary as is that of their opponents. This is to be understood, of course, without prejudice. Perhaps on the whole they are neither the better for it nor the worse. They have vindicated their claim to a recognized respectable place in the thought-movements of the world. They are no longer to be counted as sporadic, exceptional, revolutionary, with the presumption against them on that account; and, on the other hand, they have no right to claim that they differ from their opponents in that their views are based on investigation, while those of their opponents are based on tradition. On both sides there are some whose views are based on investigation. On both sides there are many who have simply accepted the results that others have handed to them. And on both sides there are large numbers who have investigated in part, and in part

have accepted what others told them was the correct thing to accept.

And now, to come nearer to the subject in hand, the advocates of the two traditions agree that large portions of our existing Old Testament books were made up by the process of incorporating writings that previously existed. Some of the defenders of the older tradition have shown a horror of the phrase "composite authorship," but none of them would object to the fact itself, when properly defined. It has for centuries been a staple element in traditional apologetics, that the narrative of the books of Kings, though written as late as the exile, was composed of earlier writings by prophets who were contemporaneous with the events narrated, and is for that reason the more trustworthy as history. Plenty of commentators in past generations have recognized the fact that the song of Lamech, and the blessings that Isaac pronounced on Jacob and on Esau, and the song of Miriam at the Red Sea, and the utterances of Balaam, and the "blessing" wherewith Moses the man of God blessed Israel, and a very large number of similar passages are poems or parts of poems which the writer of the scriptural book transcribed into his work. One may object to any particular theory of composite authorship, but no one doubts that composite authorship is a fact which entered very largely into the production of many parts of the Old Testament.

This brings it about that two entirely different objects of study are presented to the student of the literary problems of the Old Testament. One of these objects is the Old Testament books themselves. The other is the sources out of which they were composed. The proposition which I wish to present to you is, that the problems are of such a nature that no one can solve them properly without taking both these objects of study into account. That is to say, if one studies the books as they stand, ignoring the

questions as to their sources, he will reach very imperfect results; and he will reach results yet more imperfect if he confines his attention to the sources, ignoring the composite whole in which we now find them. He must constantly and fairly attend to both factors of the problem, or he will vitiate his solution.

All this is patent. There is no danger that any one will disagree with me. There is danger, rather, that some one will say, What is the use of discussing so one-sided a proposition? But the proposition is not frivolous or unimportant. As a matter of fact, most of the Old Testament study that was done up to the movement that culminated in such works as the Lange Commentaries, Smith's Bible Dictionary, and McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, was done without any adequate recognition of the problem of the sources of the books; and most of the critical study that has been done since, on one side and on the other, has been marked by a tendency to ignore everything except the problem of the sources. In opposition to both these tendencies, I lay down the proposition, that the study of the sources is important, but important chiefly as subsidiary to that of the books themselves.

I. We shall best understand the matter by using concrete examples.

1. Professor W. E. Addis, of Oxford, England, has published a handsome book entitled "The Documents of the Hexateuch." In this work he prints what he regards as JE by itself, distinguishing between J and E by the use of different kinds of type. Similarly, he prints D by itself and P by itself. In short, his work is intended to be a restoration of the four documents from which he believes the Hexateuch to have been compiled.

Whether Professor Addis is correct in these restorations is one of the questions in dispute between the defenders of the two traditions. But suppose there were no question;

suppose, for the sake of the argument, that he is certainly known to be correct; suppose it to be a fact that we have here, approximately, four earlier documents (or so much of them as is now extant) which were at some time or times combined to make up our present six books; suppose this, and what follows? Does it follow that we are henceforth to lay our six books aside, and substitute for them the four recovered documents J, E, D, and P? Does it follow that the Scriptures of the future are no longer to contain the Pentateuch and Joshua, but in place of them the four digests of the original sources? Or does it follow that we are to retain the six books, indeed, but make them subsidiary to the four documents? Or, in opposition to all this, will the six books still constitute an integral part of the Scriptures, still be regarded as the object of principal interest, while the restored sources shall be thought of as mainly a help to the better understanding of the books themselves? These are the questions to which, as it seems to me, every reflecting man will give one answer, but to which our generation is, by default, giving the opposite answer.

The reason why the Old Testament is so absorbing an object of literary study is that it has a history back of it. It appealed to men in such a way that it was translated into Greek. In Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic it was widely circulated; so that everywhere it had its part in paving the way for the introduction of Christianity. The men of the Great Synagogue and their successors, the Tanaite scribes, did their work upon it. Jesus and his disciples and their opponents based their teachings and arguments upon it. It became the Bible of the church as well as of the synagogue, and is numbered among the sacred books of the followers of Mohammed. In these later centuries it has been translated into hundreds of languages, and has attracted the attention of those who study literary master-

pieces. Thus, before we at all reach the mention of its religious value, it has vindicated its claim to the possession of a unique interest. And beyond all these other claims, and in a measure underlying them, is the fact that it is a marvelous storage battery of spiritual power, and has been commonly regarded as miraculously inspired. It is these facts that constitute the reason why scholars take an interest in it. But for these things, it would not have been worth while for Professor Addis to take so much trouble to investigate the sources of the Hexateuch. He and other men of like mind have devoted, in the aggregate, thousands of years of skilled literary toil to these problems. But for the record which the Old Testament had made for itself, it would not have been worth their while to do this.

And what were the writings, so far as the Hexateuch is concerned, that have made this record for themselves? Was it the six books as such, or the four documents as such? Which of the two was it that attracted the attention of mankind so as to justify all this painstaking study? Which, therefore, is the principal object of study, and which the subordinate?

The Septuagint translators dealt with the six books, not with the four documents. The translator of Ecclesiasticus, and Philo and Josephus after him, were familiar with these writings in their present form, and not in the form of the sources whence they were derived. It was the Hexateuch, as distinguished from its sources, which molded Jewish thought during the Greek and Roman periods. It was in the form in which we now have them, and not in the form of certain earlier documents, that Jesus and his disciples and the scribes used them. The same is true of them at every stage of increasing influence since. Whatever guarantee of their inspiration any one recognizes, it is a guarantee that applies to them in the form in which Jesus knew them, and not in some earlier or different form.

Supposing the four documents to have existed as alleged, there is no reason to think that they would ever, had they remained in that form, have attracted the attention of mankind as they have done. It is the original sources as combined in the historically existing Hexateuch that have a supreme claim upon our attention, as distinguished from these sources in any other shape.

It was a commendable thing to try to trace out the sources, because any real discovery thereby made would certainly throw light on the six books. One who holds that the sources have actually been differentiated must regard that as an important point achieved, because it will help to the true understanding of the books themselves. But it still remains true that the reaching of results concerning the sources ought to be regarded as a means rather than an end; that the study of the sources does not supersede the necessity of studying the books as they stand; that the sources ought to be studied in the light thrown upon them by the composite whole; that the real end to be reached is the knowledge of the books rather than of their sources.

For twenty-three or more centuries these books have been establishing their claim upon the attention of mankind. Whether some restoration of the sources whence they were drawn can ever establish a similar claim is a matter for future centuries to determine. Meanwhile our study of the sources is for the sake of the books, and the books also present a large field for study in addition to all possible study of the sources.

2. Let us take another instance. In the recently published volume of the "Polychrome Bible" on Isaiah, issued expressly for popular use, and designed to supersede most of the helps that have heretofore been found requisite, the distinguished Dr. Cheyne has analyzed the book of Isaiah into some hundreds of fragments, which he re-

gards as the product of several successive centuries, and which he has arranged in an order entirely different from that to which we have been accustomed. In times past the book of Isaiah has been regarded as including a good many distinctly marked discourses, each a literary unit by itself, with beginning and middle and end. In Dr. Cheyne's work scarcely one of these units remains. Many of them are taken apart and assigned to different authors belonging to different centuries.

As to the validity of this piece of work, I have nothing now to say. I am not taking up a brief either for or against Dr. Cheyne. But, assuming that his differentiation of the sources of Isaiah is approximately correct, what about the relation between the sources and the book? Is a scholar who accepts Dr. Cheyne's analysis henceforth excused from further study of our existing book of Isaiah, and bound to confine his attention to the fragments which Dr. Cheyne has differentiated?

Certainly, no one would answer this question in the affirmative. The book of Isaiah to which we are accustomed is the book that is quoted by the author of Ecclesiasticus, the book that the translators of the Septuagint knew, the book with which Josephus was familiar, the book that was in the hands of Jesus and his disciples and their opponents, the book on which the first preachers of Christianity based their teachings concerning the Messiah, the book which the synagogue and the church have regarded as inspired, the book whose literary and ethical beauty attracted Mr. Matthew Arnold. It is this book itself that has appealed to human minds and hearts as being so wonderfully well worth studying, and not the hundreds of beautiful bits into which Professor Cheyne has crumbled it. It is perfectly safe to say that these literary morsels, wonderful as many of them are, would never have touched mankind as the book of Isaiah has done. Pro-

fessor Cheyne himself would not undertake to put them together again in some other form, with the expectation that the new Isaiah would reach the human race as the old Isaiah did. In fine, it is worth while to attempt to ascertain the sources of Isaiah for the sake of the light that such an investigation may throw on the book; it is intellectually suicidal to substitute the study of the sources for the study of the book.

II. I hope that I have succeeded by these two instances in placing my main contention intelligibly before you. Important as is the study of the sources of the Old Testament books, the study of the books themselves is more important. The force of the proposition will become still more apparent as we now proceed to examine some of its bearings.

1. First, its bearing on the matter of future revisions of our theories as to the sources.

Thus far I have argued on the hypothesis that the search of our generation for the sources has been successful, that the current theories as to the sources of the various books are correct. But this is a proposition that would be denied by the advocates of the older tradition. The different parts of the Old Testament here stand on different footings, and the men of the older tradition differ much in regard to particulars; but their verdict in regard to most of the restorations that have been proposed would range from "not proved" to "disproved." And very few even of the men who support the newer tradition regard the results thus far reached as positively final. I think that we are all agreed that the source-restorations of the newer tradition, as now generally accepted, are still open to a considerable degree of revision. And this constitutes a fresh reason for the study of the Old Testament books as distinguished from the study of their sources.

(1) Klostermann and others have called attention to the

fact, that the existing analyses of the sources of the Old Testament books are all premature, because they were not preceded by sufficiently careful processes of text-criticism. This point will seem unimportant to any one in proportion as he has confidence in the existing text, though it has importance enough to deserve attention. But it is a universally recognized fact, that Old Testament text-criticism depends in an unusual degree on the processes that are commonly described as conjectural. And no one is qualified for the conjectural criticism of a text, except upon the basis of a thorough acquaintance with the text as it stands.

(2) Much more important, in my judgment, so far as future revisions of the doctrine of the sources are concerned, is the fact that the current source-analyses have been made without sufficient regard to the proper literary analysis of the books as they stand. Forty years ago the process of the literary study of the books as their last authors left them was well under way, but it was mainly abandoned in favor of the processes of source-analysis, as these came into vogue. There is scarcely a long connected passage in the Old Testament, and scarcely a book, in which the final author has not left distinct marks, in the shape of peculiar syntax, peculiar strophic arrangement, recurring phrases, or other like phenomena, by which we might recover the outline of his theme as it lay in his own mind, provided we would give the requisite pains to the task. Obviously this needs to be done as preliminary to further revision of the existing schemes of source-analysis.

2. But, again, the proposition we are considering is important, because the scope of our studies of the Old Testament should be wider than that of our study of its sources.

The completed Old Testament book contains more than merely the extracts which the final authors have made from their sources. It gives us their judgment, either ex-

pressed or implied, in regard to the relations between the sources, and the proper interpretation of the sources.

In proportion as the book is held to differ from the original sources, in just that proportion does the study of an Old Testament book include much that is not included in the original sources. The men who put the sources together had a very important part in the authorship of the books. To ignore their part by paying exclusive attention to the sources is contrary to all laws of scientific procedure. This is equally true, whether we look at the matter from the point of view of inspiration, or from that of mere literary work.

(1) From the point of view of inspiration, we must hold that whatever divine authority these parts of the Scriptures may have comes in part through the men who put the sources together. Not a few writers have assumed that divine authority resides exclusively in the original sources. A single instance is sufficient to destroy that assumption. Into the fourth chapter of the book of Ezra is copied the letter that Bishlam and his companions wrote to the Persian court, slandering the Jews who were building the temple. This letter is one of the original sources of the scriptural book. It is not a holy source, but an unholy. It was copied into the book of Ezra not because it tells the truth and utters the mind of God, but expressly because it tells falsehoods, and is contrary to the mind of God. To assume that the original sources of the Old Testament books are the nucleus within which inspiration is confined is contrary to all the evidence. The holy men that spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost were as often the secondary as the primary authors of the books. To neglect the book as a whole, confining attention to the supposed original sources, is, from the point of view of the doctrine of inspiration, to neglect a part of the revealed mind of the Spirit.

(2) The case is similar from the merely literary point of view. Some of our contemporaries are accustomed to stigmatize the men who put the Old Testament sources together as "uncritical." But these men, whoever they were, critical or uncritical, constructed literary products that have attracted more attention than any other literature for from twenty-two to thirty-three centuries. How many living men are there, highly gifted critically, whose work upon other men's writings will command world-wide attention twenty-three centuries hence? These secondary authors of the Old Testament books did their work, twenty-two centuries and more ago, in such a way that hundreds of scholars now living, including the very men who count them uncritical, find it worth while to devote thousands of years of skilled study to the examination of the work they did. In view of this, it is idle to say that their judgment in literary and historical matters is not worth considering. However they may have lacked nineteenth-century culture, the fact that their work is still so thoroughly alive is conclusive proof that they were men of gifts and of sound mind. They had fountains of information which we have not. In particular, they had the whole of certain sources of which we have only the parts which they transcribed. Whatever any one may think as to the question whether they were by inspiration guarded from mistakes, or as to the degree of their trustworthiness, the statements that such men have left on record are at least worthy a deliberate examination. We owe a respectful study to the books as they left them, and not merely to the sources as they found them.

Two years ago I published some of these things in a brief article, and received some responses. On the conservative side it was asked, "Why do you find fault? Is not the kind of study you call for exactly that in which con-

servative scholars are engaged? What do you want that is different?" Well, I am glad to recognize the fact that good work of the kind advocated in this paper is actually being done, both by conservative scholars and others. The need is that this kind of study be made ten times as prominent as it has been, relatively to other forms of study. A thorough restudy of the Old Testament as it stands is a different thing from the polemical reaffirmation of traditional views and interpretations; and such a thorough restudy is the only adequate apologetic for conservative scholars.

From the other direction it was said, "No, we do not want to study the Old Testament as it stands. What we want is the winnowed Old Testament, with the chaff blown away. Now that we have separated the original sources from the later additions, we have no further use for the composite work. Out upon the man who would forbid us to sift the evidence that has come to our hands!" But I for one would not lay down any rule for Old Testament study that should forbid the student to sift the testimony. And he must sift the testimony according to his own criteria, and not according to mine. But no one as yet claims that he has discovered the sources more than approximately. And even if he had discovered them completely, he might still need the composite work. If the secondary authors had the sources entire and he has them only in part, he cannot get along without their help. He knows the sources only as parts of a whole; it is as unreasonable to refuse to interpret the parts in the light of the whole as to refuse to interpret the whole by the aid of the parts. And, finally, one ought not to forget that this is a case in which the whole has a value of its own, over and above the value of the separate parts.

Let me add, in conclusion, that I should not like to be understood as finding fault with the scholarship of the

present generation, because it has to such an extent been monopolized by the problem of the sources, to the exclusion of other study of the books themselves. Certainly, the men of the hour should attend to the problems of the hour. But we ought to take cognizance of the fact, that we have been concentrating ourselves on the problem of the hour, rather than on the problems that are perpetual. We ought to note that many of our recent works on Old Testament Introduction, the History of Israel, the History of Religions, Apologetics, Old Testament Criticism, are mainly not proper treatments of these subjects, but discussions as to the readjustments required in them in view of the opinions that have become current concerning the sources of the Old Testament. I do not know that we have any reason to be ashamed of this one-sidedness. But we ought to take account of it, and adjust our thinking accordingly. We ought to be aware that there are large and fertile fields of Old Testament study which have for some decades mainly lain fallow. And some of us ought to try to raise crops from some of these fields.

ARTICLE II.

THE TRIAL OF JESUS: ITS VALUE IN THE
FOUNDATION OF FAITH.¹

BY THE HON. F. J. LAMB.

FOR more than eighteen hundred years, odium and anathema have been heaped on the Jews, in scorn for the infamous proceedings of their rulers, in their trial and condemnation of Jesus; and, at the present day, the mere announcement of a paper or address on that subject awakens at once a lively expectation of finding in it some new fuel to feed the old hate. So I hasten to disclaim any such purpose in this discussion.

On the contrary, I am persuaded, that, rightly viewed, the record of the trial of Jesus has (in the rational apprehension of God's moral government) a function and place that exalts it into an essential and immediate connection with supreme and eternal things; so elevated and ennobling that, in their contemplation, the malignity shown by Christ's enemies in his trial and crucifixion may, for the time at least, be overlooked, if not forgotten. This function or use of that record is the very simple and yet, as Christ uses it in his dispensation, the exalted function of testimony. But it is testimony which, because of the combination into which it enters and is essentially united, becomes an indispensable part of that sure foundation on which faith—faith in God, and Christ, and the Christian religion—may be safely built and securely rested.

¹ Read before the Ministerial Association of Beloit, Wisconsin, October 18, 1898.

Lest I be thought to exalt too highly this element of evidence in connection with the process of engendering faith, I will make a brief attempt at analyzing one conception, at least, of faith:—that virtue that Christ so earnestly enjoins upon his followers. I conceive the Bible idea of faith to be not a single or simple, but a compound, virtue: compounded of belief and trust, in action; belief in some person or truth that may be trusted in; and trusting in fact in such person or truth and committing one's self to it seem to me the essential factors of the Bible idea of faith. If right in this, then we have two conceptions to deal with; namely, *belief* and *trust*. They are radically different in this: Trust is voluntary, a matter of the will. One may trust or refuse to trust as he wills. Not so with belief. Honest normal belief (such as we are here contemplating) is not voluntary, not a matter of the will; but such belief is a product, a product of testimony.

Analysis of any Bible example of faith will make this plain. Saul, fresh from participation in Stephen's martyrdom, believed Jesus was not the Christ, but an impostor, and his alleged resurrection a wicked fabrication; so he persecuted Christ's disciples. But the overwhelming evidence vouchsafed to Saul on the Damascus road when Saul saw Jesus, and heard him talk in the Hebrew tongue, produced an instant reversal of Saul's convictions; and he at once *believed* both that Jesus was the Christ and that he had risen from the dead; and Saul's *trust* in Christ and faith in him were shown to be complete, when he cried out, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do," and *did it*. Again, the woman sick twelve years *heard* of Jesus. Her verdict on the evidence she heard was, I believe, "if I can but touch his clothes, I shall be healed." She trusted to that belief, touched, and was made whole. Thus every Bible example of faith may be analyzed with the same results.

So that, before the intelligent exercise of faith, the individual must have an honest belief in the being or promise or truth to be trusted. That honest normal belief, in rational analysis, is not a matter under one's unconditional control; but, on the contrary, it is conditioned on the production or reception of evidence or information fitted to, and which does in fact produce belief in, the being, the promise, the principle, or the truth that is to be trusted. On such belief or conviction, the individual may rationally trust and act, and in so doing exercises and exhibits faith. Hence the essential necessity of evidence in the rational, intelligent exercise of faith. One of the most spiritual divines of this century has truly said, that neither God nor Christ ever required a human soul to believe anything without furnishing that soul with evidence adequate, if fairly considered, to produce that belief.

We now recur to our principal theme: The trial of Jesus. It is the consensus of Christendom, that the resurrection of Jesus is the crowning miracle of all ages (since the creation), and stands in the profoundest relation to man, because, by common consent, the resurrection of Jesus is demonstration of the truth of all the claims Jesus put forth, including his own holy and sinless life and his equality with God, and stands the supreme, divine pledge of eternal life to all who accept Christ.

"If Christ be not risen, then our preaching is vain, and your faith is also vain."

If, therefore, any research may supply in quantity or moral quality, if only a link or only a buttress, to perfect the proofs that make the resurrection of Jesus such demonstration, the quest ought not to be deemed unworthy. That the record of the trial of Jesus will be found to supply such evidence, I believe will be shown as we progress; and to point out and apply that testimony in the demonstration, in accordance with maxims and

principles that ages of experience have developed and established as essential in eliciting truth, is the object of this article.

First, then, what testimony is indispensable for proving conclusively the resurrection of Jesus; and further proving the fact adequately for all classes and conditions of men, in all ages, climes, and circumstances, and which can stand successfully against the most searching scrutiny, the keenest criticism when applying to the evidence the severest tests that the wisdom of ages and experience, in discerning between truth and falsehood, have proved worthy of adoption.

The indispensable proofs must establish:—

1st. That Jesus was dead, that his physical life was in fact indubitably extinguished.

2d. That subsequently Jesus was alive.

As this discussion is designed primarily to deal with the trial of Jesus, as evidence, connected with and essential to the inestimable value of the resurrection, I discuss the evidence that Jesus was alive after the crucifixion only incidentally, and I pass at once to consider the question, Was his death verity?

But I notice—what hardly needs notice—that the resurrection could not be a fact, and so could not be a pledge of immortality to a believer, unless the death of Jesus was beyond any question a preceding verity.

The record proof of the death of Jesus is, that the Jews vehemently demanded that he should be crucified. The record is (I quote literally):—

“And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required”; “and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.”

“Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus . . . and when they came to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him. And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost.”

“Joseph of Arimathea . . . went boldly in unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus. And Pilate marveled if he were already dead; and, calling

unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. And when he *knew it of the centurion*, he gave the body to Joseph, and he laid him in a sepulcher which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulcher."

These extracts from the record demonstrate that death was inflicted upon Jesus:—

(1) By an official public executioner ;

(2) By virtue of a death warrant ;

(3) Issued pursuant to, and to enforce, a judgment and sentence condemning Jesus to death as a malefactor ; a judgment rendered in open court, by the supreme judge and tribunal of the government then and there established, which had undoubted jurisdiction to hold the court, hear, try, and determine the case, and render and enforce the sentence.

In short, the record furnishes all the elements of official proof that Jesus was arraigned and tried as a malefactor, by a court of general and competent jurisdiction, and on such trial, judgment was rendered against him, and he was sentenced to death as a malefactor, and was executed by the public executioner, who, after inflicting the penalty of death, was called upon by the judge to make return of his doings upon the death warrant, and the executioner in his official capacity certified to the judge, that the warrant had been duly executed and that Jesus was verily dead. Much other cumulative evidence of Jesus' death, especially its notorious publicity, I pass without comment. Our special immediate interest is with the consequences of the official proofs of the death of Jesus. These official proofs, as we have seen, are so complete and conclusive in all requisites, even of form and detail, as to assure to all men, in all time, the absolute verity that Jesus' body when laid in the tomb was dead.

It is proper to note here, that, as we are examining the record in part to see if the evidence validates the resurrection of Jesus, our purpose is, to rigorously search and scru-

tinize the testimony and every aspect it presents, so that it shall be demonstrated that every objection that learning or criticism may raise, having, for any recognized reason, any seeming or presumed validity, shall be openly and honestly met and overcome, not on any technical grounds, but on the merits of the matter. At this point, therefore, I notice that a difficulty and objection may legitimately be raised by an opponent. And the objection is based on grounds that for ages have been recognized by wise men, lovers of truth, who by ample and extended experience have found those grounds indispensable in the due administration of justice, government, and affairs among men. That objection or embarrassment in the case before us arises from the very amplitude of the proofs, and conclusiveness so to speak, of the *official* testimony of the death of Jesus.

The objection or embarrassment is this:—

“Where acts are of a judicial or official nature, or require the concurrence of official persons, a presumption arises in favor of their rightfulness, and that the judgment and action decreed and executed by them officially were in every way justified. This presumption was embodied in the maxim of the Roman law, *Omne Praesumuntur rite et solemniter esse acta donec probetur in contrarium*, ‘Everything is presumed to be rightly and duly done, until the contrary is shown.’”

The principle embodied in this maxim was found by the experience of ages to be indispensable, for the welfare of mankind, in the administration of justice, and evidently took shape in the form of this maxim, at a date earlier than the Christian era, in the administration of justice, by the Roman people, whose system of laws and maxims have come down to us, and by common consent of scholars and jurists embody such wisdom as puts them immeasurably above every other system of laws developed by any other nation of antiquity. But the experience of all ages since, even to the present time, has only corroborated the wisdom, and necessitated maintaining the principle embodied in the maxim. The application of the maxim

presumes that a man acting in a public official capacity is duly authorized so to do; that magistrates do nothing causelessly or maliciously; that the decisions of a superior court or magistrate are well founded and their judgments rightly rendered. All these things, and what is implied by them, stand forever to be presumed right until the contrary is shown.¹ It is presumed that the doings of a court of record are regular and proper; that its jurisdiction was properly acquired; that its proceedings are legal and valid; that its decisions are well founded and free from error.²

The Supreme Court of the United States, in *Voorhies v. Jackson* 10 Pet. 449-472, state the rule thus:—

"There is no principle of law, better settled, than that every act of a court of competent jurisdiction shall be presumed to have been rightly done, until the contrary is proved; this rule applies as well to every judgment or decree rendered in the various stages of their proceedings, from the initiation to the completion, as to their final adjudication."

The legitimate application of this rule to the record we are examining, raises the legal presumption that Jesus was rightfully convicted, sentenced, and executed as a malefactor in due expiation of crime. Obviously while that presumption prevails, the claim of holiness or moral perfection, if not of the deity of Jesus, and all moral claims based on his life, example, and testimony, would be annulled, and the alleged resurrection would not be a demonstration of the truth of the claims made by Jesus, but they would be overcome by the presumption that he was a malefactor and an impostor. Opponents of the Christian religion have not failed to see and insist on the spirit and scope of this rule and maxim, when writing to defend the Jews from obloquy growing out of their participation in the trial of Jesus, or when opposing Christianity. An appeal to the spirit of this presumption may be found in a chapter entitled "The Trial and Condemnation of Jesus"; being Chap-

¹ Broom's Legal Maxims, 7th Am. Ed., 165-942 *et seq.*, 944-948.

² 1. Black on Judgments, Section 270.

ter III. of Book IV. of "The History of Moses and the Hebrew People," by Mr. Joseph Salvador, a learned Jew, published in France in the early part of this century.

The maxim or rule is, that the presumption in question prevails until the contrary is shown. The only way of showing the contrary to all men, in all time, was by making and preserving a full, clear record of what transpired on the trial of Jesus; and hence its supreme importance. In this connection it may be proper to notice the large space taken up by the evangelists in recording the arrest and trial of Jesus, namely, over two hundred verses. Nearly twice as much space and fullness is given to this, as to any other event or transaction recorded of Jesus, not excepting his birth and the long chapter by Luke on that event. Was not the hand of God in such elaborate preservation of the evidence?

THE TRIAL OF JESUS.

The trial of Jesus was twofold, or he passed through the ordeal of two trials: one before the Jewish Council, the Sanhedrim; and another before the Roman Governor, Pilate. Although the trial before Pilate was last in order of time, yet, because of its evidential importance in meeting the official record, out of which the presumption arises that Jesus was a malefactor, and in establishing Jesus' absolute innocence of any crime whatever, his perfect purity, I propose to first consider his trial before Pilate. But, to get the full force of that trial, let us see what was Pilate's position and attitude toward the case; what the surroundings, forces, and conditions operating on Pilate, impelling him to find Jesus guilty, if he could.

The Jews, it seems, were at that time permitted by the Romans to exercise some judicial functions and authority; for, when Pilate proposed to set Jesus free, the Jews said they had a law, and Jesus had violated that law and de-

served death. Pilate then told them to take Jesus and try him by that law.

Note that this was when the leaders of the Jews brought Jesus before Pilate to procure from Pilate a warrant for Jesus' crucifixion. The record discloses the fact, that it was nothing but Pilate's fear of the very same leaders of the Jews, and Pilate's desire to placate them, that finally, after extreme mental struggle, extorted from him the warrant for the crucifixion. In other words, the situation and surroundings impelled Pilate to find Jesus a guilty criminal deserving death, if it was possible on any view of the testimony of the case to do so. If he could by any tortured construction or conception of the evidence have found Jesus to be a wrong-doer, a corrupt or wicked person, a malfeasor, Pilate could at one and the same time, and by the same act, have quieted his conscience and satisfied his desire to placate the Jewish leaders whom he feared. Pilate's infamous act in ordering an innocent person to be crucified, may be said to be proof that he was not so morally upright, that he would not misconstrue the testimony to find Jesus guilty if he could. In other words, all these considerations conspired to impel Pilate to construe all the evidence unfavorably against Jesus, and on such testimony to find him guilty and deserving of death.

With all these forces impelling Pilate to misconstrue everything against Jesus and to pronounce judgment against him, and Pilate's capacity to do so, what does the record disclose? What on that trial is the eternal testimony of Pilate in regard to Jesus? The chief priests accused Jesus of many things, and, after Pilate had examined him, Pilate's verdict was: "I find no fault in this man."

Being informed that Jesus was a Galilæan, Pilate sent Jesus to Herod, who remanded him to Pilate, who then

"called together the chief priests and all the rulers and the people, and said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that pervert-

eth the people: and behold, I have examined him before you, and have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him, and lo, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him."

After a great uproar and clamor had been made, Pilate, willing to release Jesus, spake again unto the chief priests, but the Jews cried out "Crucify him." Then Pilate said unto them the third time, "Why what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him." Later it seems, after Jesus was scourged, and arrayed in mock majesty,

"Pilate went forth again, and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. Then came forth Jesus, wearing a crown of thorns and the purple robe. The Jews cried, Crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him, and crucify him: for I find no fault in him. Pilate also took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person."

Such, in spite of the surrounding forces and motives impelling him to a contrary decision, was the finding and verdict of Pilate, the Roman governor, as to the perfect innocence and complete vindication of Jesus. Such, too, is the verdict of the ages, concurred in by all intelligences, human and divine.

Now let us turn back to the consideration of the other and, if possible, more important instalment of the trial of Jesus, by and before the Sanhedrim. Notice that this was the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Hebrews—charged with the administration and vindication of the laws of the Pentateuch—a body of learned men, thoroughly versed in those laws. Jesus was indicted or charged before the Sanhedrim with the violation of the law against blasphemy, the penalty for which was death. This law may be conceived as a part of the laws of the Jewish theocracy, and its violation a direct offense against Jehovah (the Theocratic Head of the nation); and, as challenging the supremacy of Jehovah, it embraced the element of treason, and was probably the highest crime known to the Jewish law,

and regarded with such horror that universal custom required a Jew who heard it to rend his robe before the world in condemnation of the sin.

This was not a new charge then invented against Jesus. Jesus had said to the Jews,—

“I and my Father are one; and they took stones to stone him” (saying they purposed to stone him for blasphemy), “because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.”

The original attempt of the accusers of Jesus was to prove that he had averred, that if the temple (which occupied forty and two years in building) were thrown down, he, Jesus, would rebuild it in three days. This, if duly proved, in the view of the Sanhedrim, would prove the charge, on the proposition, that no one not possessing divine power could do such an act; and to claim such power was, on the part of the claimant, to assert himself equal with God, which was blasphemy.

While many witnesses were called to this charge, there was not sufficient agreement in their details to justify conviction under Jewish law. Wearied, and perhaps despairing of procuring witnesses to sustain the charge in the form first attempted, the high priest in desperate mood, in gross violation of the law he was administering, proceeded before the whole body of the Sanhedrim to administer the oath to Jesus, and demanded of him, “Art thou the Christ?”

In contemplation of the standard of valid testimony on which as a foundation to rest an intelligent faith, and confidence in the Christian religion, when the high priest thus called on Jesus to testify, the situation made it a supreme moment of the ages for the sinful race of Adam. The tribunal was, up to that time, the solitary one of all the world that had any apprehension of Jehovah, the God of the Bible; the Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of the Universe, the Judge of all the earth. If Jesus was an impostor; if he was not fully, completely, and verily the Word,

who was with God and was God, by whom all things were made, and without whom was nothing made that was made, as recorded by John,—then the Sanhedrim were perfectly justified in trying Jesus on the charge of blasphemy, and, on due proof, in condemning him to death. There was no indefiniteness or obscurity in the charge against Jesus. It was, that he claimed and asserted himself equal with God. Moses, overmastered for the once with the honor which God had conferred on him in empowering him to work miracles, lost his reverence for Jehovah, so far only, as to say to a rebellious host of Hebrews, “Must we fetch you water out of this rock?” That seeming disregard by Moses of his place in his relation to God and the miracle, required, in God’s judgment, a severe punishment upon Moses, to vindicate God’s honor, which Moses’ most humble and sincere repentance could not avail to avert.

Jesus knew with ample, yea infinite, fullness and clearness, exactly what the question of the high priest called for. He knew the law. He knew the heinousness of the crime involved in the act of a mere man’s asserting himself to be God or equal to God. Jesus not only knew the very point and grip of the question of the high priest, but also, that for a mere man to answer it in the affirmative would be to commit the highest and most horrible crime known to the laws of his nation—a heinous crime against the God and Father Jesus loved, glorified, obeyed, and to whom his prayers ascended always—God whose mission and work Jesus was then and there in the world to perform.

It is plain, also, that if Jesus would only answer the high priest, No, his release would follow, for that would be the intellectual and moral suicide of Jesus,—the repudiation of all he had taught and done in his mission on earth, and leave Jesus an impotent, self-confessed impostor, despised by all, and no longer to be feared or hated by

priest or Pharisee. Not only this but, if Jesus was not divine, not Deity, one with and equal with God,—God as revealed in the Bible, in Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms,—he knew it was his imperative duty to save his life by saying No, if No was the truth.

But Jesus knew also that to answer, Yes, was to assure his condemnation to death, and the infliction of the penalty. Was there no horror to Jesus in all this? Let the bloody sweat and the triple prayer of agony in Gethsemane answer.

Think you, that the few human souls in the high priest's palace at Jerusalem were the only intelligences that took in the scene? Only a few months before this, Moses and Elijah, after a thousand years' absence from earth, had come down upon the mount of transfiguration, and there communed with Jesus in regard to this very event, now transpiring, part of the exodus he should shortly accomplish at Jerusalem. And, as part of the same meeting on the mount and the same communing, came the audible word of God, the Father himself, in laudation of Jesus and his mission, "This is my beloved Son: hear him."

Can we think that the Father of this beloved Son; and the angels of God who, at an hour previous, but in that very night, had ministered to Jesus in Gethsemane to strengthen him for this terrible ordeal; and Moses and Elijah, who with Jesus had so lately contemplated this very scene in prophetic vision as shortly to be accomplished,—can we think that they were not witnesses of that supreme moment and event, burdened as it was with the question of the salvation of the race? Nay, the testimony of the record justifies the conclusion, that all the intelligences of the Paradise of God were observers in loving and reverent sympathy when Jesus,—in the focused light of the eternal past and of the eternal future, with all knowledge, and full apprehension of the infinite importance and eternal conse-

quences of his answer, as in the high presence of God, angels, redeemed souls, and mortal men,—answered the high priest, clearly, shortly, in the exact thought and grip of the question, “I am.” The act of the high priest rending his robe; his question to the Sanhedrim; and their answer, that Jesus was guilty, and had incurred the penalty of death,—all conspire to prove, beyond any quibble or cavil, that the Sanhedrim understood that Jesus did make himself to be, and insist that he was, very God, equal with the Father—the Christ the prophets had foretold—the Word who was with God before the world was, and was God. That claim was the supreme and all-embracing claim of Jesus. Was Jesus’ answer true?

This, too, depends on testimony. How could it be conclusively proved to be true to all men in all time? The enemies of Jesus in the Sanhedrim thought of that. Note their conclusion. By common knowledge they knew Jesus had said of his life:—

“No man taketh it from me.” “I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again,” and “I must be killed, and after three days I will rise again.”

His enemies reasoned, that, if this prediction should be fulfilled, it would prove Jesus divine, and his claim true, including his answer to the high priest. So, after the dead body of Jesus was laid away in the tomb,

“the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command, therefore, that the sepulcher be made sure until the third day.” “Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch; go, make it sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulcher sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch.”

In short, in legal terminology, Jesus’ enemies, after his dead body was laid in the tomb, persuaded Pilate to take the sepulcher into *custodia legis*; have it sealed by imperial Roman authority, and a military guard detailed to watch the sepulcher constantly, night and day, for the

three days, purposing thereby to be able to prove that Jesus did not rise from the dead, and to preclude any possible fabrication of false testimony that he did. Jesus' own words, as we shall see, show that his enemies in this reached the right conclusion; namely, that the resurrection of Jesus would demonstrate his divinity; that he was the Christ, and that all his claims were true.

Although Jesus' answer to the high priest was true when given, the testimony that should furnish to all men in all time conclusive proof of its truth was yet incomplete; the supreme fact that made the proof verity had not yet transpired. On the third day Jesus rose from the dead. After his resurrection, Jesus assembled his apostles to lay and enjoin on them his great commission to teach and preach his gospel of salvation to all the world, and in doing so Jesus warns and admonishes them especially of the equipment of testimony with which he had endowed them to enable them as witnesses to testify, and give evidence to men in executing the commission.

In this, note Christ's estimate of the momentous importance of the function of evidence in his plan of salvation. Not, as may be said was done under the older dispensation, does Jesus send out his apostles with merely a "Thus saith the Lord," as their equipment for conquest; but, with infinite solicitude for the salvation of men, Jesus, it seems, would present his gospel of salvation to their rational judgment for acceptance. Rightly understood, this course, adopted by Jesus, is an appeal to the most exalted idea of humanity, as made in the image and after the likeness of God himself, in capacity to judge, to weigh testimony, and render a true verdict, and so resting human submission to Christ and acceptance of his salvation on consciousness of truth itself, and not on the mere authority of a "Thus saith the Lord," however well authenticated.

The proposition, if allowable, is that, if men will exam-

ine the testimony regarding Christ, they shall know and realize the very truth, and the truth shall make them free, free to act on their own realized consciousness of the truth itself, rather than because dictated to them as by authority.

This, if apprehended aright, seems to me infinite condescension and infinite brotherliness in our Lord and Master. Accordingly Jesus, in the very act of commissioning his apostles, reiterates to them that his being killed, and his resurrection from the dead on the third day, were the fore-ordained, indubitable signs, prophesied by himself, which should conclusively prove to all men, in all time, that the person in whom those signs or tests should combine was the Christ, and that his claim was true; and in that same connection, and as part of their equipment for the great commission, Jesus furnished them, then and there, simple, easily apprehended, yet incontestable, evidence that he had risen from the dead and was alive.

"And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and blood, as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, *he showed them* his hands and his feet."

The evidence justifies the conclusion, that, in view of the supreme importance of equipping the apostles with indubitable, immediate, and actual personal knowledge of the truth, so that they could testify it to the world from actual participation, Jesus did not merely offer his person to be examined, but his invitation was, and was understood like the invitation of royalty to be, equivalent to a command; and that the apostles did, then and there, literally and in fact inspect and actually handle the physical body, wounded hands and feet, and pierced side of Jesus.

The evidence of the Apostle John (1 John i. 1-3) is:—

"That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we

have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and *our hands have handled*, of the Word of life . . . , that . . . declare we unto you."

After such express scrutiny and actual handling of the physical body of Jesus, his wounded hands and feet and side, Jesus added to the equipment of the apostles as witness the yet more (if possible) incontrovertible evidence that he was in fact and in truth alive, and his physical body then and there actually performing the essential functions of life, by asking for food, namely:—

"While they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any meat? And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. And he took it, and did eat before them. And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures. And he said unto them, Thus it is written and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. AND YE ARE WITNESSES OF THESE THINGS."

Forty days later, on his final physical separation from his apostles, and at the very moment of his ascension, as his final word on earth to his apostles, Jesus repeats the same injunction,—

"*Ye shall be witnesses unto me*, both in Jerusalem, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

How simply, yet, when rightly apprehended, how perfectly, does Jesus in these few words and acts and use of human testimony verify and make the crowning miracle of his resurrection, in evidential force and power, to be very demonstration to all men, low and high, unlearned and erudite, poor and rich, in all ages and climes, that he was Christ, and so very demonstration also of the truth of every claim put forth by him.

This scrutiny of the evidence of the trial of Jesus constitutes triumphant destruction and reversal of the stigma and brand of infamy, legally presumed to be just, which

was imposed upon Jesus by the fact and record of the judicial sentence and execution by the Roman Court. The result of the evidence of the trial of Jesus, preserved in the record duly considered, is as glorious and perfect a triumph over the logical and legal presumption of guilt, arising from that judgment, as his resurrection was over death and the grave. But that evidence and the record of it was, and must ever be, indispensable to justify that result—nothing else to rational minds could or can take its place or produce that result.

This brief review of the three intimately related, momentous facts of Christianity—the Trial, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection of Jesus—must always awaken in a believer a strong and deepening sense of devout gratitude to God, that in his wisdom he has, in the record of those events, as well as in his dealing with mankind through the ages, furnished and preserved to sincere and honest souls ample evidence for human belief in him and all his counsels, promises, and warnings, so that we may trust them all, and thereon as a sure foundation our faith may safely build and securely rest.

ARTICLE III.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF WEALTH.¹

BY THE REV. CHARLES C. MERRILL.

SECOND PAPER.

III.

THE Christian, then, is not to have his heart set upon wealth, but still he is not to separate himself from it. Under such circumstances, what is he to do with it?

In general, it may be said that he is to look upon his actual possessions or his capacity for acquiring wealth as a trust, not at all as belonging to himself or subject to his own disposition. This principle of stewardship is taught in the parable of the talents or pounds (Luke xix. 11-27; Matt. xxv. 14-30²). Although the reference here is not to wealth alone, that is certainly included; and the teaching regarding it is, that men are not to consider it as their own, but as entrusted to them by a Master, who will hold them to strict account for their manner of using it. This is also the basis of the parable of the Unrighteous Steward (Luke xvi. 1-8), where it is distinctly implied that the dis-

¹ The following books are referred to by the names of their authors only: Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology* (Eng. trans. 1895); Meyer, *Commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Eng. trans. 6th German edition; always under the passage cited); Plummer, *International Critical Commentary on Luke*; Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (Eng. trans. from third revised edition); Ederheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (8th Ed. Longmans); Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Eng. trans. 1894).

² The question as to whether these are renderings of the same or different parables does not concern us here: for our present purpose their central teaching is evidently the same.

ciples of Christ are like the steward in one respect, at least; in this, namely, that the goods they handle are not to be thought of as their own, any more than he had a right to regard as belonging to himself that portion of his master's property over which he had been set. He was only a steward; and they are only stewards. The passage concerning faithfulness in the use of the unrighteous mammon which seems to be a comment on this parable (Luke xvi. 9-12) likewise suggests that men are to manage their property not as possessors, but as trustees. By their faithful service in this capacity in the lower order they are to show their worthiness of a similar position in the higher realm.

The chief reason for the truth of this principle is, of course, the fact that this is God's world, that everything in it belongs to him, since through him it all came into existence and he has made over his rights in it to no one. The psalmist was giving utterance to no mere poetic fancy when he said, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein" (Ps. xxiv. 1). But another reason why a man should look on the wealth he may happen to have as not his own, is that he has come into possession of it as a member of society, and without its aid his gains, if any, would have been much smaller than they now are. To say nothing of the protection which one receives from the national, state, and municipal governments, for which the amount paid in taxes is by no means an adequate compensation, there are the various inventions of modern civilization, which have added immensely to, if they have not made possible, the entire creation of the wealth of countless individuals who had nothing to do with making them; there is the marvelously intricate system of business credit and confidence, which has been built up slowly by years of toil and sacrifice on the part of many thousands, and which alone makes possible modern business enterprises; and there is the immense accumula-

tion of this knowledge of nature and her laws, of men and their characteristic needs, of which a man must take advantage if he would amass wealth. The debt to the past is incomputable; and the debt to the present is likewise beyond measure. Therefore no man who has at all a sense of justice or fair dealing can assume that the wealth which the law acknowledges to be his, really belongs to him either as a whole or in large part, to be used just as he pleases.¹

But not only is the wealth which we may actually now find ourselves the possessors of to be considered a sacred trust, but the gift or capacity for money-making and business enterprise also must be used, not to acquire wealth for one's own selfish interests, but in the service solely of God and his kingdom. It is plainly as creditable and praiseworthy to employ such a talent in such a way, as it is to use a talent for public speaking, for teaching, for authorship, in a manner that shall advance the reign of righteousness and love in the world.

Two observations may be made on this general conclusion.

First, it can be said that if we accept this principle of trusteeship, the old rule of tithing (e.g. Lev. xxvii. 30-32) no longer holds. For if we give one-tenth to God, it is implied that the other nine-tenths belongs to ourselves; whereas, it is true that *ten-tenths—all* we possess—is his, and we have a right to keep none of it back. The precept for tithing was undoubtedly laid down because people could not be taught all at once that their entire property was God's, and if they could be made to feel that a part of it belonged to him, they might then gradually come to see that it was all his. Nor is this method of education to be considered entirely obsolete, probably; it may be necessary to train some Christians of our time in this way, since they are now not at all prepared to accept the complete

¹ See Gladden, *Tools and the Man*, pp. 96-107.

idea of Christian stewardship. It remains true, however, in spite of this possible restriction in application, that the right Christian principle is nothing less than an acknowledgement of God's ownership of, and entire claim to, all our possessions, all the money or wealth in any form which may come into our hands.

The other remark to be made has to do with the way men should regard their business pursuits, in view of this principle of stewardship. If it is God's property that we are handling, which he has entrusted to us for a purpose, then it is evident that in carrying out that purpose we are doing God's work. Dr. Brownson's definition of wealth, that it is "communion with God in the material world" is, therefore, not an untrue one. It follows, also, that the common endeavor to abrogate the distinction between the sacred and the secular pursuits and occupations is justified to this extent, namely, that the man who is engaged in a legitimate business or who is amassing wealth by just and lawful methods, recognizing constantly his responsibility to God and continually guiding his action with the welfare of his kingdom in view, is doing God's service just as much as, for example, the Christian minister who is faithfully fulfilling the duties of his office; and the time which a man spends in attending to his business, or in engaging in his regular occupation, if his purpose and aim are in accord with God's will, is time devoted to his Father's service as much as any hour he may spend in public worship or private devotions. We are, however, warned by Jesus' driving the buyers and sellers and money-changers from the temple (Mark xi. 15-17 and parallels in Matthew and Luke; John ii. 13-17) that the distinction which has been formerly made between the sacred and the secular is not to be entirely done away, although it may be advisable to use different terms. For this incident clearly suggests that there can be a mixing up of worship and commerce, of at-

tention to the spiritual and occupation with the material, which is altogether wrong.¹ Amid the conditions of our present modern world, which have such a tendency to draw one away from the higher ideals of his life and the service inculcated by Christ, a man must have a time and a place, when and where he shall, apart from all material and business concerns, come face to face with his God, and catch once more a clear vision of the truth by which he must save his life from everything that is sordid and of the earth, earthy. When there are so many temptations to unfaithfulness in his allotted task, the Christian steward must gain strength to overcome them through personal communion with his Father in heaven.

IV.

The Christian man is to look upon his wealth as given to him as a sacred charge; he is simply a trustee. The question may be now put, How shall he administer his stewardship? To what uses, more definitely, shall he devote his wealth?

Our first answer is, that he shall employ it for his personal development.

Before considering the passages which bring out this thought in specific relation to wealth, we ought to notice that the development of one's own personality is, in general, a fundamental principle with Jesus. This is certainly the suggestion of the first of the two great commandments of the law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," etc. (Mark xii. 30=Matt. xxii. 37). A man is required to love God in this way, because only by connecting his personality with that of God and becoming united with him in loving fellowship, will he attain anything like complete self-realization. "By making the love

¹ Observe that these men were carrying on an entirely legitimate business; it was the *place* where they were carrying it on that was at fault.

of God the fundamental law of his life," Beyschlag says,¹ "a man procures his own true and lasting good, he helps his own personality to its free development and eternal perfection." This principle is also implied in the second of these commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Mark xii. 31; Matt. xxii. 39). Self-love is not forbidden here; indeed it furnishes the measure for love to others, and, as Dorner says,² "Self-love in the Christian is the principle of progressive self-culture." The supreme importance to a man of attending to his soul's development, is shown, too, in the passage already referred to in another connection, "What shall it profit a man," etc. (Mark viii. 36-37 and parallels in Matthew and Luke).³ And, finally, we might notice in the Sermon on the Mount the words, "Lay up for yourself treasures in heaven" (Matt. vi. 20), or, as Luke has it, "Make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not," etc. (Luke xii. 33). The reference here must be to the building of a character which shall continue forever, to the development of a personality which meets God's approval. In a similar vein are the words "rich toward God" (Luke xii. 21), which mean, as Wendt⁴ points out, "to have riches which in some sense is deposited with God."

When we come to the special application to wealth of this principle of self-realization, we should remember, first, that the two passages last mentioned are immediately connected in our Gospels with the discussion of men's relation to earthly goods, and they seem to suggest that one of the ways by which we are to "lay up treasures in heaven" and "be rich toward God" is by the right use of these material things. But our main attention ought here to be given to the parable of the Unrighteous Steward (Luke

¹ Vol. i. p. 125. ² *System of Christian Ethics* (Eng. trans.), p. 449.

³ Cf. p. 151 above. ⁴ Vol. i. p. 215 note.

xvi. 1-8). If we entirely discard an allegorizing interpretation, attempts at which have caused the wide disagreement over the meaning of this parable, and try to get at the central thought, it becomes clear that the primary reference is to such a use by a man of his wealth that it shall conduce to the development of an eternal character. The only analogy between the unscrupulous, dishonest steward and the Christian which does not involve us in insuperable difficulty, is this: that as the steward in handling his master's goods had regard at the given moment for his future welfare and sought to provide against the day when his present position should fail him, so the Christian in this present world is to employ what is entrusted to him (especially wealth) in such a way that his future well-being after death shall be established. At first thought, this might seem like pure selfishness; but when we remember that to have regard for one's future well-being is nothing more or less than to make one's present life pure and holy and loving, and to build a character now and here which shall stand before God in the world to come, we see that only a proper and divine self-love is taught. The simple suggestion of the parable, then, is that we are so to use our wealth that we shall develop our personalities in a God-like way, and attain the fullest self-realization.¹

It is in connection with this use of wealth that the question concerning the rightfulness of private property most naturally arises. The individualist and the socialist each supposes that it favors his contention. On the one hand, it is claimed that our present industrial system makes personal development in any true sense impossible for innumerable individuals. The material conditions of life are such that any effective attention to their higher well-

¹ Helpful hints on this parable, from a modern point of view, and giving some support to the interpretation set forth above, will be found in Wendt, Vol. i. pp. 235, 123, 138; Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Vol. ii. pp. 252 f.; Plummer.

being on the part of these people cannot be expected. Their bodies, minds, and spirits are degraded and stunted in their development, by the terrible necessities of the struggle for bread and butter. And so far as their having any margin of income, by the use of which they can cultivate their better and more generous impulses, this is simply preposterous; they can never at all know the luxury of being able to help materially in the self-realization of others, except, perhaps, in some small degree, in their own families. Everything with them is necessarily low and sordid. Such a condition of life is, of course, not denied to be the fault, in many cases, of the individuals themselves; but, with a much greater number, the cause is laid at the door of the inexorable economic conditions amidst which they are compelled to live their lives. In addition to this arraignment of the modern industrial system, it is maintained that a better substitute is found for it in the system of collectivism or state control, by which there will be opportunity for personal development on the part of a larger number, and for the fostering, too, of higher and nobler qualities.

On the other hand, it may be held that the institution of private property is a necessity to the development of the individual. The qualities nourished and brought to fruition in the necessity of gaining a sufficient livelihood for one's self and one's family; the discipline of the daily task; the self-control, persistency, good judgment, courage, independence, energy, industry which are developed in the pursuit of wealth; the impulses of generosity and benevolence and the steady settled purpose to serve other men, which result from the expenditure of wealth in their behalf—all these are qualities that form a part of the mature, complete, and well-balanced personality. It is difficult to see, says the individualist, how they can be developed without the right to possess private property.

That Christianity cannot give a categorical answer to either the individualist or the socialist and declare one or the other entirely right or entirely wrong seems very evident. Jesus was distinctively a social philosopher of neither type, and it appeared not at all to be his aim to attack or support directly any existing social order.

In favor of the contention that Jesus was a communist, and therefore can be declared to have had socialistic tendencies, it may, of course, be said that he and his disciples had a common purse, and that there was a community of goods in the early church at Jerusalem. No deduction of this kind, however, can be made from the first fact, since convenience and economy would both suggest a common treasury as the best means of providing for the physical needs of this company of itinerant preachers. As to the community of goods at Jerusalem, it is now becoming clear that communism in the modern sense of the word cannot be discovered there. The statement twice made that they "had all things common" (Acts ii. 44 b; iv. 32 c) must be interpreted in each case by the context. This, in the first instance, shows that there was no taking possession of individuals' property by the community, but each person voluntarily contributed to the common need the proceeds from the sale of his own property (ver. 45). In the second instance, it is stated, not that private ownership was done away with, but that "not one of them *said* that aught he possessed was his own" (ver. 32 b). That each individual was not required to give up his wealth follows from Peter's remark to Ananias (Acts v. 4), "Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" The reason why Ananias and Sapphira were condemned, was not because they had failed to lay the entire proceeds of the sale at the apostles' feet, but because they had brought only a part when they pretended to bring the whole (ver. 4, 8, 9). We ought to observe, further, that this commu-

nity of goods did not become general in the early church, and seems to have been given up in Jerusalem itself; else, how could Paul say that "it hath been the good pleasure of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the *poor among* the saints at Jerusalem"? (Rom. xv. 26.) Therefore, this sharing of wealth among the early Christians in the city where the church was founded would suggest brotherly love and Christian kindness in the use of wealth, on a basis of private ownership, rather than modern socialism.¹

But while Christianity as such does not definitely favor either individualism or socialism, it furnishes the supreme and decisive test by which each system must stand or fall, namely, its effect upon that complete self-realization which Christianity claims for every man, in connection with a like progressive self-development on the part of other men. In a letter written some twenty years ago,² James Russell Lowell said of democracy, that it was "of itself no more sacred than monarchy. It is Man who is sacred"; and the same truth needs to be reiterated in the midst of our economic and political discussions to-day. The present industrial system is of itself no more sacred than would state socialism be, if we had it; competition is no more to be revered than coöperation—it is man alone who is sacred, his advancement, his education, his attainment of the proper end of his being.³

¹ Cf. Weizsäcker, *History of Theology in the Apostolic Age*, Vol. i. pp. 55-56; Mathews, *Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 152 f.; Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, chap. i.; Martin von Nathusius, *Die Mitarbeit der Kirche an der Lösung der Socialen Frage*, pp. 276 ff.; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 67, especially footnote 2.

² To Joel Benton. See *Letters*, Vol. ii. p. 159.

³ Cf. R. E. Thompson, *Divine Order of Human Society*, p. 137: "From a Christian point of view we must always regard questions of property as subordinate to the interests of persons. If private property be recognized at all, it must be in deference to that higher expediency which has its end in the ethical development of mankind. Man is not made for it, but it for man."

When the different plans for the organization of society are brought to this test prescribed by Christianity, it is unquestionable that its insistence upon the worth and perfection of the individual looks toward the justification of private property, in some real form. Modern writers on Christian ethics seem agreed that without private ownership the best personal development is impossible. Says Martensen for example:¹ "Without personal possession, a personal life, properly so called, is utterly inconceivable. Every individual needs a certain amount of the things of this world to call his own, to dispose of, and to which, as his extended temporalities, he bears, so to speak, a proportion. Without such property the individual personality cannot attain its proper development." And Nathusius,² writing on the relation of the church to social questions, maintains that, "because he is a part of humanity, which depends upon him for its preservation and progress, and because he can fulfill his duties toward humanity better the more he broadens the scope of his personality in acquiring property,—therefore a man must acquire property." "Christian society must recognize it as one of the conditions of its existence, that its members develop capacity through the possession of property."³ A true Christian position is expressed in the words of the Apostle: "Let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have whereof to give to him that hath need" (Eph. iv. 28). And again: "If any will not work, neither let him eat" (2 Thess. iii. 10).⁴ In these verses private property is certainly suggested as the basis of a man's moral and physical well-being.

¹ Christian Ethics. Special Part, Second Division, Social Ethics, p. 157 (Eng. trans. 1892).

² Die Mitarbeit der Kirche, etc., Zweiter Buch, 48.

³ Stahl (quoted by Nathusius, p. 281) goes so far as to call property, "Material for the revelation of human individuality."

⁴ For comment on these passages, cf. Beyschlag, Vol. ii. p. 225.

In connection with these statements, however, it should be observed, and it does not at all lessen their force to observe, that Christian men should be dissatisfied with any existing industrial system which does not afford to the greatest number possible the opportunity and the incentive to acquire private property. For such should be the privilege of every man who shows himself worthy of it.

V.

Granting, however, that the wealth which comes into our possession, should, in part, at least, be used for the developing of our personal characters, and that this furnishes in some degree the moral justification for its being legally recognized as ours, a further question of great importance remains: How shall we use the goods entrusted to us so that they shall aid in our self-realization?

First, we should provide a physical basis for our lives. It is obvious that one of the duties of the Christian is self-preservation. Every man owes himself his own livelihood.¹ He is entitled to use his income, first of all, to obtain such food, clothing, and shelter for himself and those who are entitled to look to him for support, as shall enable him and them "to sustain life during the normal period and at the normal degree of vigor."² The expenditure for such support of life may be called necessary and under ordinary circumstances is entirely justifiable. As to further expenditures for what may be called physical decencies, comforts, and luxuries, they obviously cannot be ruled out altogether, since these objects frequently have an important place in the attainment of self-realization. It is in the midst of comfortable and luxurious surroundings that many of the

¹ Cf. Smyth, *Christian Ethics*, p. 334. This is a clear implication of the passage in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us day by day our daily bread" (Luke xi. 3; Matt. vi. 11).

² Phrase used by Mackenzie, *Introduction to Social Philosophy*, p. 304.

finest personalities in our civilization, whose influence in behalf of true progress is beyond compute, have been developed; without such an environment, we may say, they would not have been possible. But such a use of wealth must be for clearly moral ends, that is, the moral purpose must never be lost sight of; and due regard must always be had for the personal development of other men, which is no less important than our own welfare.

In the second place, it is a Christian man's duty to employ wealth in the service of his higher development. He has a right to grow as an intellectual and an æsthetic being, to have his aspirations for knowledge and for beauty satisfied, so far as consistent with other interests, since it is a narrow view of things which does not recognize the place of these elements in the progress of civilization and the spread of the kingdom of God. But here, too, the expenditure must not be selfish; the personality must be enriched and enlarged, not only because that is what it was made for, but also in order that it may render fuller service to mankind. That Jesus countenanced the use of wealth in these realms is suggested by his marked and definite approval of what seemed to some a clear waste, when Mary anointed his feet with the precious and costly spikenard (Mark xiv. 3-9=Matt. xxvi. 6-13=John xii. 1-8). No one could maintain that this was a strictly necessary expenditure, and Judas' contention that it would have been a means of saving suffering among the poor was undoubtedly correct. But in plain opposition to these literalists, Jesus asserted that this was a service for friendship, that it was a natural outgrowth of personal devotion, and that money spent for such a purpose was not necessarily wasted.¹

But the supreme use of wealth in personal development is for the promotion of one's moral and spiritual well-being,

¹ Cf. a sermon of Dr. T. T. Munger on this incident, *Freedom of Faith*, p. 109.

for the growth of those qualities of generosity, benevolence, and kindliness which are the fairest flower of a noble character. This is probably the real meaning of Jesus' remark in connection with the parable of the Unrighteous Steward, "Make to yourself friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles" (Luke xvi. 9). In other words, as the steward of unrighteousness provided for his future well-being by using his position to benefit his fellows, so do you strengthen your personal character by employing wealth in behalf of other men. This also seems to be the truest application of the words in Luke vi. 38: "Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give into your bosom." The large return which is to come to a man from a generous expenditure of his possessions for others must be chiefly in the form of the enlargement and growth of personal character which results from it. It is here to be noted, then, that while the use of wealth for the sake of others has a greater purpose than simply its effect upon one's own life, still this latter result forms a necessary element in the effort to develop one's personality through the rightful disposition of his possessions.

That the growth in character which is possible in connection with a Christian expenditure of wealth is not confined to the man who has a large amount to use, but that in great degree it has little to do with the size of his income, follows, in part, at least, from Jesus' comment on the Widow's Two Mites (Mark xii. 41-44=Luke xxi. 1-4). In regard to her contribution he seems to have intended to say, that, because of the spirit with which she gave, it stood for as much, in the sight of God and in the formation of her character, as if she had cast into the treasury an incomparably greater sum. It was worth illimitably more than the large gifts of the rich on that day, because

her motive and intention were of such supreme value. The man with a small income who expends it in accord with the requirements of Christian stewardship cannot perhaps hope for the same reward in development of character from the use of wealth which his richer brother receives, since to some are given five talents; to some, two; and to some, one—"to each according to his several ability" (Matt. xxv. 15). But in some respects his achievement will be as great, and in every way it will be as abiding and permanent, and will certainly win as glad a "well done" from his Master. The question is not, how much we have; but how we spend what we have.

It has been shown that wealth may aid in personal development; we should also remember that wealth may retard it. If a man allows avarice and greed to control him in his acquisition of the means of living or in the amassing of wealth; if he becomes extravagant and profligate in expending his income for physical sustenance, and the regard for intellectual and æsthetic development is really intellectual and æsthetic selfishness; if undue willingness to part with his goods, on the one hand, makes him a miser and paralyzes his soul, so that it becomes a question whether he has one, and thoughtless and mistaken alms-giving, on the other hand, makes him a mere sentimentalist with no moral vigor or backbone,—it were better for the man whose wealth produces any of these characteristics in him if he had never had a dollar which he could call his own.

VI.

When a man is trying to meet the claims of Christian stewardship, the second great use to which he will put his wealth is to promote the personal development of other men. This is not placed second because it is deemed less important or essential than the first; for it is perfectly evident that the expenditure of one's goods in each of these

ways must be closely connected in thought and in action with their use in the other. We have already pointed out, that, in order to employ wealth for his personal development, one must be generous in his expenditures for others.¹ It can now be said with equal truth, that the man whose own personality is not developed by the proper use of wealth can do little to help his fellow-men with it. Both interests and needs must be kept in mind, and either is neglected only at the dire peril of the other.

The precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Mark xii. 31=Matt. xxii. 39) means, of course, that we should care as much for the personal development of other men as we do for our own, that we should not attend to our own self-realization at the expense of the self-realization of others. The general application of this principle to wealth is made in the words, "Give to him that asketh thee" (Matt. v. 42=Luke vi. 30; cf. Luke vi. 38). Here the obligation to place our wealth at the disposal of others' needs is stated in strong terms, and it is so stated in order that the impression made by it shall be a vivid one. There is to be no withholding on account of selfishness, no refusal to give because our heart is set upon the goods our neighbor needs. It is claimed, indeed, that the verse means more than this, that it is to be taken literally, and that Jesus would have us give indiscriminately to all who ask, whether deserving or not, whether really needy or not, whether or not more harm than good will be done. But such a rule would be contrary to the true spirit of Christianity, which holds a man responsible not simply for intentions, but also for results; not only for the promptings of emotion, but also for the decisions of the intellect. It is a narrow and wrong view of love to our neighbor which does not include in it the choice, not so much merely of his temporary pleasure, as of his supreme good, and the en-

¹ Cf. above, pp. 253 f.

deavor with all our powers—reason as well as conscience and affections—to achieve that good. Failure to recognize this simple truth has brought it about that, “while Jesus sought not the amelioration, but the regeneration, of the individual and society, charity has for centuries been too often the palliative of sin and the deadener of conscience. If patriotism has been once the last refuge of a scoundrel, charity has been a thousand times the hypocrite’s price of heaven.”¹

But while we must refuse a wrong application of the principle of aiding in the self-realization of others, we must also strenuously insist on its right application. To guide one’s actions by this right application is infinitely more difficult than to guide them by the wrong. It is not easy for perhaps the majority of Christians in our day—so strong is the hold of Christian humane feeling on our civilization—to turn away from the sight of any kind of suffering without trying to alleviate it, even though the person aided is a fraud and a sham, and their giving him assistance is doing its part in promoting the existence of such a class of human parasites. The course of action which is really unselfish, and which comes from deep-seated springs of love, is that which may refuse to help many cases of seeming external need, but which expends wealth lavishly in the effort to make men self-sustaining and to discover and remedy the cause for so much distress and suffering. This is the course of action to which Christianity calls every one, and which it urges with the utmost emphasis. Let it not be supposed that less is to be given, because one gives thoughtfully and wisely instead of spasmodically and accidentally; rather the drain upon one’s income is likely to be greater, and the drain upon one’s total resources will be largely increased. Jesus’ principle means that our wealth

¹ Mathews, *Social Teachings of Jesus*, p. 139. On the harm of indiscriminate giving, cf. Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, p. 224.

is absolutely and wholly at the disposal of the truest and highest good of our fellow-men, and we are to use it for that end with the most entire generosity and freedom.

We will now notice some of the specific applications of this principle.

A man should help his fellows by means of his business, or in his necessary daily work to obtain a livelihood. That is, in his effort to obtain wealth, he should keep other men's interests in mind. The nature of the occupation or vocation in which he engages should be such that it shall not injure, but promote, the real welfare of mankind. He should aim to produce, or to aid in the production of, such articles as have a wholesome and beneficial tendency for the total life of men. No one is acting at all in accord with the Christian conception of wealth, who is occupied with a daily task which cannot be justified on ethical as well as economic grounds. And if present economic conditions seem to make necessary the employment of multitudes of human beings in occupations which only serve in the long run to injure their fellows, then these conditions should be changed: for it must be held, on the basis of Christian ethics, that every man is entitled to earn his own living in such a way as shall conduce to the well-being of mankind in general.

In connection with this use of wealth we ought to consider the duty and the privilege of the employer. His position is not simply that of the man who is earning his own livelihood and is under obligation to earn it in a way not injurious to other men. It is for him to afford others the opportunity of earning their living under such circumstances as shall aid the development of their personalities. He is to look upon his employés as human beings with eternal destinies to work out, and he is bound to use his capital and business talent in such a way that he shall, so far as he can, help this self-realization. There

is plainly no better way to use wealth, aside from the economic advantage of employing capital, than by giving others, through work, an opportunity to provide the necessary material basis for their lives, and by making it possible for them to develop their personalities in the right way. This is the great obligation of possessors of large wealth and of those who have charge of business enterprises—to see, so far as possible, that their business is so conducted as to benefit the lives of the men who play a necessary part in it.

A detailed discussion here would lead us into the large question of how an employer should treat those who work for him. It will suffice, for our present purpose, if we notice the plain suggestion of Jesus, that injustice or dishonesty in the gaining of one's wealth, a failure to recognize the rightful human claims of those who have been utilized in it, will not be at all atoned for by a charitable or benevolent use of the wealth thus won, or by any amount of pious righteousness. He bids his disciples "beware of the scribes . . . which devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers; these shall receive greater condemnation" (Mark xii. 38, 40=Luke xx. 47). He pronounced a woe upon the Scribes and Pharisees because they relied upon their building the sepulchers of the prophets and garnishing the tombs of the righteous, as a basis for congratulating themselves on their superior goodness (Matt. xxiii. 29). It was after contact with Jesus and under his influence that Zaccheus, instead of giving all his goods to feed the poor, retained a part of them, apparently in order that he might restore fourfold to those from whom he had made dishonest exaction (Luke xix. 8). The writer of the book of James is therefore speaking in a true Christian vein when he says to the possessors of ill-gotten wealth, "Behold the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out: and the

cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth" (James v. 4).

The danger thus suggested is a peculiarly subtle one, and rich men living at all times in the history of the world have been sadly liable to lose their souls through it. Christian people are also likely to have their eyes blinded to injustice and wrong-doing on the part of those who hold large wealth, because of the beneficent use they make of a considerable portion of the amount thus gained. But such conduct and feeling are diametrically opposed to all the spirit and teaching of Christ, and are wholly repugnant to any Christian conception of wealth.¹

It should also be here observed that an extravagant expenditure for mere luxuries and utter superfluities is not to be justified on the ground that they afford employment to those who would otherwise be unemployed, that such a use of wealth creates business, and business is *par excellence* the boon to the workingman. That employment is thus furnished for many men and women and the necessities of life are in this way made possible for them is not to be denied. But this does not at all prove that wealth is thus wisely expended. For the extravagant and ostentatious expenditure of wealth is one of the chief means by which the class feeling and the feeling of discontent are created and fostered. The injurious effect upon those who thus throw away their money and allow themselves to be pampered is also not to be forgotten—they are becoming useless, if not dangerous, members of society. Finally, the wealth which is thus wasted on selfish whims might be expended in far wiser directions; as, for example, in public works, which are needed everywhere,—such as playgrounds, parks, libraries, good roads, etc. By using wealth

¹ Cf. an article in *North American Review*, Vol. cliii. p. 661, entitled "The Three Philanthropists," by Col. R. G. Ingersoll, which, while of course not written from any Christian standpoint, nevertheless pointedly illustrates this abuse of wealth and its corresponding right use.

for such purposes, as many men will be employed, their time will be more profitably and wisely spent, and the general public will be more largely benefited.¹

We pass on now to consider that use of wealth which generally goes under the name of benevolence—the succoring of those in suffering and need by means of our surplus wealth (not capital), the assistance of worthy individuals to get a start in life, or the giving of money for beneficent objects of various kinds.² We have indicated that in earning his livelihood, or acquiring wealth, a man ought to have positive concern for the interests of others. Now we notice that some part of every man's income should be devoted to the needs of his fellows—that the luxury of giving for others should be denied to no one. In an ideal world we can conceive there might be no necessity for devoting money to others' wants, although even there some means must be provided for the growth of altruistic feeling; but in our present world, where misfortune and sin are so omnipresent, there is a universal obligation to share one's wealth or income with other men whom we can help with it. This includes not merely the assistance of individuals who come within our pathway or whom we seek out, but also the enthusiastic, generous initiation and support of missionary and philanthropic enterprises of the best sort.

It is a fact worth our attention that Jesus and his disciples seem to have had a fund from which they gave to the

¹ Cf. E. L. Godkin, chapter on "The Expenditures of Rich Men," in *Problems of Modern Democracy*, p. 311 (republished from *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1896).

² It might be noted here, though not immediately suggested by the above, that one reason why so many men are employed at tasks which almost necessarily dwarf their manhood and make impossible any true self-realization, is because there is such a demand for the goods thus produced. Destroy this demand, and these injurious occupations will, to a large extent, cease. Hence a Christian man should not expend his wealth for those articles, the labor to manufacture which harms the people who engage in it.

poor (John xii. 6), and that it was apparently customary for them to help in a financial way those whose condition demanded it (John xiii. 29). Jesus and his disciples could hardly be said to be in a condition of affluence,¹ but in the midst of their own comparative poverty they did not put outside their reach the privilege of helping others poorer than themselves.

One could almost wish that Jesus had been more specific in his directions regarding the use of wealth for others, since, as Dr. Gladden says,² "It is the hardest thing in the world to do good with money." He has, however, made clear one way in which money should not be given, that is, with ostentation. When we make a gift we are not to "sound a trumpet" before us,—that is, cause our action to be noised abroad and everywhere known,—but our rule is to be, "let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth" (Matt. vi. 2-4). As Meyer suggests,³ this is a proverbial expression for entire freedom from claiming anything like self-laudation. It means that there is to be no previous calculation as to the effect a gift is to have upon one's position or standing among his fellows, but it is to spring from a spontaneous and genuine desire to be helpful.

The manner of much of men's giving would surely be changed if this precept were more widely followed. Bequests and gifts with the apparently primary aim of perpetuating one's name through some hospital or library or other public building would cease. There would be a greater helpfulness in benevolence when the desire to make a big display became less. For it is often the quiet, almost unknown, perhaps entirely anonymous gifts which accomplish the best results. Indeed, the other kind of giving is hardly benevolence at all; the purchase of renown or fame through the bestowal of wealth for a philanthropic purpose

¹ Cf. above, p. 157. ² *Ruling Ideas of the Present Age*, p. 160.

³ On Matthew.

is simply a business transaction. It is the motive behind the act which always determines its character and generally the good that it does.

Leaving this negative standpoint, the positive principle should now be definitely stated, that in all a man's use of wealth for other interests than his own, in the whole of his benevolence, the controlling aim should be to help men to help themselves, to aid them, as has been said, in attaining self-realization. This applies to our dealing with individuals—let every gift to every person to relieve temporary or permanent need be bestowed in such a way that robust manhood and a strong and noble character shall be developed in him, instead of every strong and heroic quality in him being weakened, as is often the case. Let nothing be done for him which he can do for himself; but first of all let him be given an adequate opportunity to work out his own salvation. The same end should be kept in mind in the bestowal of large gifts for educational institutions, hospitals, libraries, churches, and the like. Let such enterprises be commenced, and continued, and always managed, for the primary purpose, not of encouraging dependence and parasitism or of even making these possible, but of giving individual men and women and children a greater incentive and a better opportunity to disclose the divine image within them.

This is simply the Golden Rule as applied to the use of wealth. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (Luke vi. 31=Matt. vii. 12) does not mean that we are to obey every foolish and selfish whim and desire of our neighbor, which we can imagine him to have because of our own similar disposition; but it shows that what in our thoroughly sane and rational moments we conceive to be our own supreme welfare, this we should strive to help other men to achieve. The question, therefore, in making a gift to another man, is not simply, Should

I want this, if I were in his place? but, Ought I to want it if I were in his place, would it be for my real interest to want it and to have it? Strict, thoroughgoing, and earnest obedience to the Golden Rule, thus interpreted, would revolutionize much of men's giving for Christian and philanthropic purposes, and would increase its efficiency a thousand-fold.

CONCLUSION.

It only remains to call attention, by a brief summary, to the fact that the path along which we have traveled in our study of the Christian conception of wealth has been a steadily progressive one, and that the successive steps reveal a harmonious whole.

First, it was necessary to get a true estimate of these material goods, to rate them at their real value. And we found them to be of no intrinsic worth whatever; they are to be regarded as wholly beneath a man's seeking on their own account. One's affections are to be entirely separated from them.

This attitude toward wealth would naturally suggest that the Christian is to leave wealth entirely one side in his life-purposes, that he is not to run the risk of becoming a prey to it. But we saw that Jesus never taught, by word or example, such an asceticism, and that the problem is not to be solved in this way.

How, then, is it to be solved? On what principle is a man to handle his possessions and expend his income? On the principle of stewardship; as a trustee. He is to hold them as a loan from God, from which the best possible returns will be expected.

The question now arises, In what way are these returns to be secured? What investment of his property does God wish? The answer was twofold.

It is first to be employed in aiding one's own attainment

of perfection of being. On this basis the institution of private property must justify its existence, and we found that Christianity's strong emphasis on individual character seemed to give it support.

Communism and socialism thus being set aside, in their extreme form, at least, it was possible to show that each man could rightfully use his wealth for self-preservation, for the development of the intellectual and æsthetic nature, for moral and spiritual well-being.

The second part of the answer as to the more specific uses of wealth demands its expenditure for the welfare of other men, either as individuals or in society. This is to be done both through one's ordinary and necessary business or occupation, and through regular and special giving, with a solely benevolent purpose in view. The simple aim should always be to increase for each individual whom we help the opportunity to achieve under the best circumstances his own life-task.

If this is, in some true, though inadequate, sense, the view of wealth which Christianity would have adopted in the life and thinking of men, is there not sufficient reason and inspiration in it to elicit its acceptance as a working theory by every one who really desires the coming of the kingdom of God which Jesus taught?

ARTICLE IV.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES AND DIVORCE.

BY THE REV. NOAH LATHROP, A.M.

IN all matters of morals and law, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of correct teachings. The Bible is the text-book of Christian doctrine and morals, and the basis of Christian civilization. What therefore it enjoins or permits is of inexpressible importance to the framer of church canons and the enactor of civil statutes.

As the social fabric is based almost wholly upon the domestic status of the people, marriage cannot be too sacredly guarded. The danger lies altogether in the opposite direction. Our inquiry therefore is, What do the Holy Scriptures teach on this all-important subject?

It appears plain from the nature of the institution, as well as from Scripture teaching, that marriage was intended to be permanent, *indissoluble except by death*. At its institution it was said, "A man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife." The Christ, in commenting upon it, adds, "And they twain shall be one flesh. . . . What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." The apostle Paul also teaches in substance the same doctrine.

When men live according to this divine ideal, "*Marriage is*," indeed, "*honorable in all*." Of it we may say, with one of our sweetest Christian singers,—

"Thou art the nurse of virtue. In thine arms
She smiles, appearing, as in truth she is,
Heaven-born and destined to the skies again.
Thou art not known where pleasure is adored,

That reeling goddess with the zoneless waist
And wand'ring eye, still lingering on the arm
Of novelty, her fickle, frail support;
For thou art meek and constant, hating change,
And finding in the calm of Truth-tied Love
Joy that her stormy raptures never yield."

It is found, however, that in this, as in some other relations of life, some refuse to fulfil the duties incident thereto. The Scriptures indicate what, in such cases, church and state may do in the premises. "The law [that is, the civil code and church canon] was not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless, . . . for whoremongers, for . . . any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine."¹

What sins put asunder what God hath joined together? What is the province of church discipline, and what should the civil authority do, when such sins are committed? The civil authority is "*the minister of God to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.*"²

Many interpreters believe that Jesus settles these questions definitely, fully, for all possible cases, and for all time. They assume that he treats the subject exhaustively, and that there is only one sin that can break the marriage bond. To this view we object, as *unwarranted by either reason or Scripture*. Jesus did not act as legislator, or civil administrator, or even as a framer of church canons; but only as teacher and saviour. In one instance at least he directly refused to act as "*judge or divider.*"³ "This passage," says Alford, "may show the essential difference of the two offices of Moses and Christ."

We are told that adultery only can dissolve the marriage bond, and that this is in accordance with the declarations of Christ. The Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal churches take this ground, and forbid their clergy to "solemnize marriage in any case where there is a divorced wife or husband living; but this rule shall not be applied

¹ 1 Tim. i. 9-10. ² Rom. xiii. 4. ³ Luke xii. 13-14.

to the innocent party to a divorce for the cause of adultery, nor to divorced parties seeking to be reunited in marriage."¹ We admit, of course, that adultery dissolves the marriage bond; but it is unfortunate, for the advocates of the above view, that neither Moses as legislator nor Jesus as teacher anywhere gives us to understand that adultery is *in any case a ground for divorce*. If, therefore, Jesus limits divorce to one sin, *adultery is not that sin*.

The Jewish law under which Jesus lived as loyal citizen, which he came not to abrogate but to keep,² is clear and explicit in reference to adultery, and the invariable penalty attached to its commission was death to the transgressor;³ while in Job we are informed, that in his day it was considered "*an iniquity to be punished by the judges*."⁴

With the law of Moses, Jesus (so far as he expressed himself upon the subject) agreed. We have an illustrative case. A woman was brought before him of whose guilt there seemed to be no question. Her accusers say, "Moses in the law commanded that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou?"⁵ Mark the import of his answer. Moses gave you a good law. You who have kept his law fully, may begin the execution of the penalty. The remains of conscience in the accusers, not lack of sanction by Jesus, stopped the proceedings.

"*But does not our Lord say, Whosoever shall put away his wife except it be for adultery?*" Many seem to think he does. I have been asked the question more than once, and in some cases by ministers of prominence in the church. The answer of course is, No! *Nowhere in the book!* Strange that men read into a document what it does not contain, and then try to explain it, rather than ascertain what it does say and, if authoritative, conform

¹ Discipline of Methodist Episcopal Church, ¶ 39.

² Matt. iii. 15; v. 17-18. ³ Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22.

⁴ Job xxxi. 9-12. ⁵ John viii. 3-10.

their creeds thereto. Both the scope and the meaning of the Lord's words seem to have escaped many interpreters, and church dogma has been substituted for sound exegesis.

The Pharisees presented Jesus this problem: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?"¹ It was a question by Jews to a Jewish citizen of some note as a teacher, as to what was lawful under their statutes. "The question agitated by the Jews was not for what causes occurring after marriage is divorce justifiable, but for what reasons existing prior, but discovered subsequently to marriage, may a man put away his wife. It was with this last inquiry only that they came to Christ, and to this, therefore, is his answer applicable."² The answer is clear and explicit, and goes to the foundation of the marriage relation, showing its sacredness, and also just what was lawful according to the Jewish statute in such cases made and provided. We may paraphrase his answer thus: "Have ye not read, that in the beginning God made man male and female (positive and negative, counterparts, bivalves), for this cause a man shall leave his father and his mother (from whom he grew), and shall cleave to (*literally be glued to*) his wife; so that they are no more two but one? Therefore (the bivalves being united, the boards from different trees glued into one piece), what God hath so cemented together, let no man break apart."³

The Jewish law of divorce reads thus: "When a man hath *taken* a wife, and *married* her, and it come to pass that she find no favor in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her; then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife." A further provision is, that "if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, . . . or if the latter husband

¹ Matt. xix. 3. ² Asa Mahan, *Moral Philosophy*. ³ Matt. xix. 3-6.

die, . . . her former husband . . . may not take her again to be his wife."¹ In other words, "*Divorced parties seeking to be reunited in marriage were, under Jewish statute, specifically forbidden.* Other laws show us, that, though a woman with a bill of divorcement in her hand might lawfully become the wife of another man, she might not become the wife of a priest, as he was directed to marry no woman, except *a virgin of his own people*, or a widow that had a priest before."²

The two parts to the marriage ceremony need to be carefully considered, also the force of the phrase "and it came to pass,"—the *taking* (in betrothal) and the marriage proper. Often a considerable period elapsed between these events; in the case of Jacob it appears there were seven years. The phrase "and it come to pass" evidently implies something discovered after marriage. The Pharisees were not agreed as to the scope of the phrase "some uncleanness" in the law. One school held that it was of wide range, covering anything that might be displeasing, i.e. every cause; another, that it referred only to acts of unchastity. We have seen that it could not refer to adultery, as its punishment was provided for by another law.

When a virgin was betrothed, her chastity was pledged. When her marriage took place, if it was found that she had not maintained her chastity, there was open to the aggrieved husband, by the court practice, either of two courses. He might expose her before the judges of the people, and cause her to be put to death; or he might "write her a bill of divorcement." The law was, however, so framed as to carefully guard her from hasty and unjust accusation. If the man on consummating his marriage falsely brought an evil name upon a woman of Israel, saying, I married this woman and found her unchaste, he was

¹ Deut. xxiv. 1-4.

² Lev. xxi. 7, 14; Ezek. xliv. 22.

to be heavily fined, publicly chastised, and compelled to keep her as his wife all his days.¹ That the law did give such discretion is illustrated in the New Testament by the case of Joseph and Mary. They were betrothed, but the marriage had not been consummated. He was led to apprehend that she had been unfaithful. "Being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example," by having her stoned,² he was minded to avail himself of the other alternative by writing her a bill of divorcement.³ While meditating upon the matter, he was divinely informed, that in her case was to be fulfilled the prophecy of the ancient Scripture, "A virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son."⁴ He therefore proceeded with the marriage.

Two things are now clearly apparent: 1st. Adultery was punished by death; 2d. Unchastity of a betrothed virgin discovered after her marriage was the only ground for divorce so far as Jewish statutes provided, and so far as the teachings of Christ treat upon the subject, and to this view his answer to the Pharisees exactly corresponds. The distinction between adultery and fornication is carefully maintained, as it was in the statutes of Moses and is in the law language of to-day. The Greek word used by Christ is, so far as I can ascertain, never used in the LXX, the New Testament Greek, nor in classic Greek to mean adultery. It is descriptive of unchaste conduct of unmarried persons only. He who, says the Saviour, puts away his wife, except it be for unchastity prior to marriage, and marrieth another, commits adultery, because he is still in fact and law a married man; and he who marries one thus illegally divorced commits adultery, because he takes to himself one who is still in law a married woman. "Our Lord here indicates no new law. He does not even restore

¹ Deut. xxii. 13-21. ² Deut. xxii. 23, 24.

³ Deut. xxiv. 1. ⁴ Matt. i. 18-25; Isa. vii. 14.

the old one. He simply *declares* what has always been the law of God."¹

"Now it by no means follows, as a necessary consequence, that because but one form of crime committed before marriage justifies the party offended against in seeking a divorce, that but one form perpetrated after its consummation justifies the same thing."² This will appear the plainer when we reflect that "*Jesus [only] began to do and to teach*"; that he had many other things to teach which they were then too immature to receive, but that, through the teachings of the Spirit, he would later lead them further on, and "*guide them into all truth.*"³

Through Paul and other writers, inspiration gives us other matters, so that we have a PROGRESS OF DOCTRINE unto the close of the New Testament canon. This very question, Marriage and its dissolution by sin, was treated by Paul in answer to the church at Corinth. Some years ago a writer in one of the great church weeklies undertook the task of harmonizing Paul and Jesus on the principle, That "an obscure text must not be so interpreted as to contradict a plain one." The principle is good, but has no application here; for, studied without preconceived opinions, one is not plainer than the other, and there appears no contradiction. "SPEAK I—with an apostolic and inspired authority, supplementing what THE LORD has in express words said. It is a very mistaken perversion of the apostle's words which imputes a mere human authority to his injunctions, in contrast with the Lord's words. His real antithesis is between the Lord's *recorded* words, and his own apostolic words given by the Lord's inspiration."⁴

Reading the passage entire, we learn that a Christian may not desert an infidel companion who is willing to

¹ Whedon, Matt. xix. 9. ² Mahan, Moral Philosophy.

³ Acts i. 1; John xvi. 12-13. ⁴ Whedon, 1 Cor. vii. 10-17.

abide faithful to the marriage relation. But suppose the infidel deserts the Christian; what then is the state of the case? "*A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases.*" "Obviously, therefore, the only meaning is, that though the Christian may not dissolve the marriage tie, the infidel may."¹ Many of the older expositors, as Calvin, Grotius, Rosenmuller, Luther, and Zwingli, and many moderns, as DeWette, Meyer, Alford, Wordsworth, Pope, Raymond, and others, agree in this interpretation; while Dr. Hodge, one of the greatest theological writers of the age, explicitly says: "If the unbeliever is not willing to remain, the believer in that case is not bound, i.e. bound by the marriage compact. In other words, the marriage is thereby dissolved. This passage is parallel to Romans vii. 2. The apostle there says, a wife is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth; but, if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. So here he says, a wife is bound to her husband if he be willing to remain with her; but, if he deserts her, she is free from him. That is, wilful desertion annuls the marriage bond. . . . Why does death dissolve marriage? It is because it is final separation. So is desertion. . . . As adultery is a crime, so is desertion; and both should be punished."

The deserted one then is free. The deliberate, wilful deserter *is dead to the deserted*, and the faithful is as free as though the other were *literally dead and in the grave*. Can there be any righteousness or propriety in a church canon or civil statute forbidding the full legal divorcement of the innocent from the guilty? No more than there would be in a law forbidding a widowed spouse the right to bury the dead out of sight and seek a living love. Should it be said, Paul treats of a case in which one party is a Christian and the other an infidel, the answer is, Paul

¹ Whedon, ver. 15.

also says, The Christian who neglects to provide for his own "is worse than an infidel."¹ Certainly it will not be held that he has rights greater than the infidel!

It seems clear that neither Jesus nor Paul is treating the subject of marriage and divorce in an exhaustive manner, but each a phase of the subject referred to him by inquirers, and each under different conditions. These, therefore, are sample or specimen cases under the general law. If there be any other crimes that, like these, outrage justice, they also would unquestionably outlaw the guilty and free the innocent. What then is the law? It is the same as the law in any other case of flagrant wickedness. The able writer already quoted states it thus: "It is a universal principle in respect to all law, human and divine, that when an individual wantonly tramples upon a given law, he forfeits all claims to the protection of that law, and to the interests which it was designed to promote. No reason can be assigned why the law of marriage should be an exception to this principle."²

Judge Hiram L. Sibley, of Ohio, argues this proposition: "*That adultery, desertion, or any other acts of husband or wife which, like them, would plainly and palpably defeat the essential ends of marriage, and deny to the innocent party and to society the rights of marriage, if its obligations were held indissoluble, may righteously be recognized by the church, and made by the state, a cause for divorce from the marriage bond.*"³ He further argues, "If Christ, and by parity of reasoning St. Paul, was stating the law of divorce simply with reference to the case before him, then, as Bucer . . . says, it seems a wickedness so to wrest and extend the answer of either as to make them a law of absolute limitation, instead of examples which clearly show the application of a great truth, that acts which, like these, *violate the primal law of marriage and defeat*

¹ 1 Tim. v. 8. ² Asa Mahan, Moral Philosophy. ³ Italics his own.

its objects, are valid cause for divorce. Who, for example, in the face of the intelligence and conscience of Christian civilization, can stand up and say, that a pure and innocent wife whose husband is confirmed in the habit of beastly intoxication, shall not only be legally bound for life to such a body of death; submitting to drunken abuse and peril to person and life incident thereto, but also be compelled by him to bring into being congenital idiocy, or some other monstrosity, moral or physical, of alcoholism?" Who indeed could? Can any one believe the purity-seeking Jesus ever sanctioned a principle fraught with conclusions so dire?

Judge W. J. Gaynor, of the Supreme Court of New York, made a few years ago the following decision: "A wife may well refuse to live with a husband addicted to the drinking habit to the extent shown, and she may avoid the degradation of her body by such a husband, and has also the right to be apprehensive of the physical health of children that may be conceived under such circumstances." "It was claimed by the friends of the husband, that, unless the wife could show absolute physical cruelty toward her on the part of her husband, she could not lawfully refuse to live with him, however much of a drunkard he might be."¹ The Judge, however, took a different view. We believe the decision of his Honor to be both scriptural and legal. The drunken debauchee should be forever prohibited from marrying again. Indeed, all such as wantonly trample upon this fundamental law of society, should be given to understand that they have committed HIGH TREASON AGAINST HUMANITY, and forfeited not only the benefits of the marriage law, *but of liberty itself*. They will cease then to intrigue to be freed from one bond, seeing they cannot form another. It is the too easy method of dealing with transgressors, rather than the number of

¹ Quoted from Law Journal, by New York Voice, Jan. 23, 1896.

causes for divorce, that is chargeable with the condition of society so deeply deplored by patriot, philanthropist, and Christian.

Adultery was in the ancient day parallel in penalty with murder, because it was parallel in its enormity. *It is no less a crime to-day.* Whatever penalty, therefore, Christian legislation finds it should visit on the murderer, it should also visit on the adulterer.

Because of wrong interpretation of the words of Christ, many shifts and concessions have been made. It would seem, however, that, if the interpretation be sound, the exceptions must be immoral. The only one we will now allude to is that of divorce from bed and board, but not from bond. "As long ago as the Duke of Norfolk's case, a famous state trial, an English bishop said, The distinction betwixt bed and board and bond is new, never mentioned in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient church. Lord Stowell speaks of it as casting the parties out in the undefined and dangerous character of a wife without a husband, and a husband without a wife! . . . The historian Bancroft, as punishing the innocent more than the guilty! While Mr. Bishop, the greatest legal writer upon the subject, justly characterizes it as a policy by which the injured, in mockery of redress, is kept under all the burdens of matrimony, and cut off from all its benefits."¹

Several things appear clear in the light of our investigations. Among them are these:—

1. The Holy Scriptures recognize adultery as one of the highest crimes that can be committed, but they nowhere mention it as a ground for divorce from marriage. Therefore those who claim that Jesus limits divorce to that crime speak without warrant.

2. Jesus was not a civil legislator, administrator, or judge, but, as Dr. Hodge says, "leaves the punishment of

¹ Judge Sibley.

. . . crimes to be determined by his disciples in their civil capacity." He was not even a formulator of church canons, but only a giver of great general principles.

3. The subject of divorce is not exhaustively treated by any teacher or writer of Holy Scripture, but two specific sins are mentioned which vitiate and dissolve the marriage bond,—one by Jesus, showing the scope of the statute of Moses; another by Paul, indicating Christian liberty in cases of desertion,—and these evidently are examples which show the application of a great general truth, that he who presumptuously despises, tramples on law, forfeits the benefits and protection of law. The principle is indicated in many places in Scripture.¹

4. We have found the bed-rock principle of justice and truth whereon to found ecclesiastical and civil legislation upon this vexed question.

¹ Ex. xxi. 14; Num. xv. 30; Heb. x. 26-29; 2 Pet. ii. 10-13.

ARTICLE V.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DAMASCUS VISION
UPON PAUL'S THEOLOGY.

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD I. BOSWORTH.

PUT into the form of a query, the subject reads thus: What change in theological views was necessitated by Paul's vision of Jesus, and by what processes of thought was the change made? Two considerations make this an important subject; namely, the influence of the Pauline theology upon Christian thought, and the relation of Paul's theology to his personal religious experience.

Paul's theology has been a mighty force in the development of the church. His ways of putting things have been more influential, even than those of Jesus, in shaping theological phraseology, though probably not in shaping the expression of individual Christian experience. Even now, when the popular cry is "Back to Christ," the Pauline theology is fascinating the newer scholarship; and some of the best work that has ever been done upon it has been recently produced. The revulsion from Paul, which is expressed in some cases by the cry "Back to Christ," is a revulsion from an unconscious misunderstanding of Paul; and the outcome of the closer scrutiny which the Pauline literature is now undergoing will probably be such a clearer understanding of Pauline thought as will result in a new lease of its influence. The reason for this is not far to seek. It is evident that a body of literature so increasingly influential in the world's thought and life as that which we call the New Testament, must have come into exist-

ence by the plan of God. The production of this literature was also evidently left, in the providence of God, to the apostles. The miraculous character of Rabbi Saul's conversion, and the simple fact that he wrote more of the New Testament than did any one else, except his associate Luke, make it evident that he was appointed of God to do this great work.

Further, it is becoming more and more evident, that the literature of the New Testament, so far as it is not history and biography, was produced out of the inspired experience of its authors. These letters of Paul contain the thoughts that he, as a busy missionary, had preached through and through, over and over, to many audiences for many years, before he finally put them into the form in which they have come down to us. They were born of a long and unique experience, inspired and shaped by the Holy Spirit. Now Paul seems to have had larger experience, than did the other apostles, in presenting the gospel to irreligious men. Others worked largely among the Jews, the religious specialists of their day. Paul was the apostle to the irreligious Gentile world. His experience led him to put the gospel into the literary form in which he had effectively presented it to irreligious men. It follows, therefore, that the minister of to-day, who is to be so largely occupied in presenting the gospel to irreligious men, must take large account of the Pauline literature. It is true, then, that the influential character of the Pauline thought, and its close relation to the Pauline experience, make it important to study that experience in its various aspects. In this experience there is no more important event than Paul's significant interview with Jesus near Damascus.

The first step in the prosecution of the present inquiry is to settle upon certain points as fundamental in the Pauline theology, and then to reproduce as accurately as possi-

ble the Pharisaic views held by Paul upon these same points before his interview with Jesus. We shall then be in a position to consider the processes of thought by which he passed from the one to the other, and the influence in these processes of the interview with Jesus. Several things that might be separately discussed, are assumed at the outset. The first is, that Saul was a Pharisee. We know, from his own statement, that his father, grandfather, and probably his ancestors still further back were Pharisees. "I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees" (Acts xxiii. 6). He was a conspicuous figure even among the young Pharisaic enthusiasts that flocked to the Jewish capital. "I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. i. 14). It is also assumed, that the older portions of the Talmud, especially where their statements are corroborated by allusions in the New Testament, are a trustworthy source of information for the reconstruction of Pharisaic theology; that the book of Acts is a reliable historical source of information; and that at least such Pauline epistles as are used in this discussion are genuine.

CONTRAST BETWEEN PAUL'S PHARISAIC AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

It is necessary first to state briefly certain positions in the Pauline theology that may properly be regarded as fundamental, and to place over against them the views held by Saul the Pharisee upon the same points. Four such have been selected for the present discussion, though such selection is not intended to imply that there may not be others equally important.

1. The first of these is the Pauline view of law. Law, whether in the form known as the Mosaic law, or in the form of the instinctive imperatives of the moral nature, is

designed by God not to serve as a sufficient means for attaining righteousness, but as a means of revealing sin. The language used by Paul in making this point is characterized by a nervous intensity suggestive of the fierce opposition which provoked it. Although Adam's sin introduced sin into the race, still at a later period God gave the Mosaic law for the purpose of making man's sinful disposition reveal itself in an increased number of overt transgressions. "Through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, . . . and law came in beside, that the trespass might *abound*" (Rom. v. 19, 20). The presence of the fatal ailment, sin, would not be duly recognized in the moral nature, were it not for law, which tempts it into active expression. "I had not recognized sin (*τὴν ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ᾔγνων*), except through law: for I had not recognized coveting, except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet'" (Rom. vii. 7). The immediate effect of law is not to bless, but to curse. "They which be of faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham. For as many as are of the works of the law are under a curse" (Gal. iii. 9, 10). God never intended law to serve as a sufficient means of obtaining righteousness, as is evident from his declaration, made long ago through the prophet, "Now that no man is pronounced righteous by law in God's sight, is evident: for, the righteous shall live by faith [Hab. ii. 4], and the law is not of faith" (Gal. iii. 11, 12).

What different statements would have been made by young Rabbi Saul, if he had been questioned on a Jerusalem street-corner as he was returning to his lodging after the daily session with Gamaliel! That which was most characteristic of Pharisaism was its exaltation of law. The following statements are taken from Weber's "Die Lehren des Talmud":¹ God's reason for creating the world was

¹ A third edition has recently appeared under the new title, "Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud."

to have a place where the glorious Mosaic law might operate. Israel became God's people by accepting the law on Mt. Sinai. The possession and practice of the law give Israel an indestructible holiness of character, and make it a congregation of saints among the nations.¹ God gave the law as something by the study and fulfilment of which men might gain sufficient merit to constitute them righteous.² When Adam realized that his descendants were destined for Gehenna, he ceased to beget offspring; but when it was revealed to him that the law was to be given as a means by which men might become righteous, he began again.³ That this Talmudic exaltation of law as a means of gaining righteousness characterized the Pharisees of Paul's day is amply shown by the Pauline argument upon the subject.

2. A second fundamental position in Pauline theology is closely connected with his view of law. It is his view of "righteousness." Righteousness is attained by that attitude of mind called faith. Faith in this sense is used by Paul to describe an attitude toward a person. To have faith in a person is to believe him to be what he represents himself as being, and to treat him accordingly. Faith in God, or in God manifested in Jesus, consists in believing that Jesus is what he represents himself as being, namely, Christ of God, and rightful Lord of all men; and in treating him as such, namely, surrendering the whole being to him in loving obedience and trust forever. He who takes this attitude of faith is "righteous"—*δικαιος*—what he ought to be, so far as his present state is concerned, in his relations to God and men. Furthermore, when he takes this attitude of faith, God treats him as lovingly as though he had always been in this state; or, in other words, forgives all the sin of his past life, and takes measures to keep him righteous in the future. This, briefly put, is Paul's

¹Weber, p. 50. ²*Ibid.*, pp. 252-253. ³*Ibid.*, p. 253.

great doctrine of righteousness through faith,—or justification by faith, as it is more commonly though less happily described. This view finds distinct statement in such passages as the following: "Abraham believed God, and it [namely, his believing God, his faith] was reckoned unto him for righteousness"; "But to him that . . . believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness" (Rom. iv. 3, 5).

The Pharisaic view of righteousness, which Paul at one time held, was profoundly different from this. To the Pharisee's mind, righteousness was a state of rightness in the sight of God which could be attained by a certain number of external acts of obedience. One's acts of obedience to individual commandments are items placed to his credit, and *vice versa*. No one is ever sure on which side the account exceeds. A single obedience may save; a single disobedience may destroy.¹ A man's account can be closed at any minute. Satan is constantly his accuser, and he lives in constant fear of Gehenna.² Alms-giving has great value as righteousness. A certain man at death reckoned up the alms he had given during his lifetime, and, finding the amount too small to make him reasonably sure of righteousness, gave away the half of his estate to make the matter certain.³ Whether or not all this is the oldest Talmudic tradition, it agrees in spirit with the Pharisaism depicted in the New Testament. The rich young member of the Sanhedrin asked Jesus to specify some good thing the doing of which should guarantee him righteousness sufficient for his entrance upon the eternal life of the Messianic kingdom (Matt. xix. 16). In the picture which Jesus drew of the self-righteous Pharisee, he made the man rest his conviction of positive righteousness upon his Monday and Thursday fastings and his scrupulous tithing of all his income: "I fast twice in the week; I give tithes

¹ Weber, p. 270. ² *Ibid.*, p. 273. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

of all that I get" (Luke xviii. 12). It was Jesus' different conception of righteousness that brought him into sharp and fatal conflict with the Pharisees. He taught with bold unreserve, that, unless the people had some better kind of righteousness than that practiced and advocated by the Pharisees, they would never enter the kingdom of heaven (Matt. v. 20).

3. A third fundamental position in the Pauline theology is his view of the significance of the Messiah's death. It is in view of the death of Jesus Christ that God reckons faith to be righteousness, as Paul puts it, or that a penitent man's sins are forgiven, as we more commonly express the same thought. "Christ Jesus, whom God set forth to be a propitiation through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of his righteousness at this present season; that he might himself be righteous (*δίκαιον*), and pronounce righteous (*δικαιοῦντα*) him that hath faith in Jesus" (Rom. iii. 25, 26).

The death of the Messiah was a thought entirely foreign to the Pharisaic theology of the first century. "The Messiah's work, the redemption of Israel from foreign rule, the establishment of Israel's dominion over the nations, and the revival of Israel as the people of God, was to be accomplished, according to the old Palestinian-Jewish theology, without being interrupted by the expiatory suffering and death of the Messiah."¹ The New Testament confirmation of the supposition that this was the popular view appears most conspicuously in the fact that the death of Jesus plunged his disciples into the deep sorrow of a disappointed hope. The death of the Messiah had no place in their conception of Messiahship. Since, then, the Pharisees had no thought that the Messiah would die, there

¹ Weber, p. 346.

was, of course, nothing in their theology corresponding to Paul's view of the significance of his death.

4. A fourth fundamental position in the Pauline theology is, that any man is granted the privilege of having his faith in Jesus Christ counted as righteousness without connecting himself with the Jewish nation or subjecting himself to its law. A Gentile may become a Christian without first becoming a Jewish proselyte. This thought is so generally recognized as running all through Paul's writings, that there is no need of special citation to prove it Pauline.

The Pharisaic view as presented in the Talmud represents the Gentiles as absolutely shut out from God and the plan of his kingdom. They have fallen away from the service of God to the service of the flesh. In the service of the flesh they have lost human nature, and have been transformed into animal nature, so that they are morally and physically unclean.¹ God cannot speak through the conscience of the heathen, since they know no law. The Holy Spirit is taken from them; and, if they should repent of their sins, they would receive no forgiveness.² The New Testament corroboration of all this is the fact that even the apostles themselves, during the first months, or more probably years, after the resurrection, had no idea that Gentiles could become Christians. It required supernatural enlightenment to persuade Peter that even a devout Roman officer like Cornelius of Cæsarea, who worshiped Jehovah, and was familiar with the history of Jesus, could have the privilege of believing on Jesus, and be admitted into the kingdom of God. When the leaders of the church in Jerusalem heard Peter's apology for his conduct in the house of Cornelius, they exclaimed in amazement, "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life" (Acts xi. 18). Such was the attitude of Rabbi Saul, the

¹ Weber, p. 64. ² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Pharisee, before he received his appointment as the Apostle to the Gentiles.

It has become evident, that the views held by Paul the apostle upon these four fundamental points of his theology are either diametrically opposed, or entirely foreign, to those held by him upon these same points when he was an unconverted Pharisee.

INTERVIEW WITH JESUS.

Before attempting to trace the process of thought by which he changed from one set of views to the other, and to note the influence of the interview with Jesus upon this process, we have need to consider the young Pharisee in the period just preceding this interview.

His first appearance in history is as a persecutor, taking an eager and conspicuous part in the killing of a prominent Nazarene named Stephen, and we must endeavor to understand Saul's state of mind at this time. Jesus was known to him as a man whose views of righteousness and religion had been so different from those of the Pharisees that he seemed irreligious. In several fundamental particulars Jesus had flagrantly failed to conform to the Pharisee's conception of a righteous man. He had not fasted twice in the week; he had not kept himself from the contaminating society of the submerged tenth; he had seemed to encourage Sabbath-breaking; and he had attacked the interpretation of the Mosaic law promulgated by the great rabbis. And yet he had claimed to be the Messiah, and had deluded many people into believing that he was. The awful curse of God, however, had rested upon the blasphemous pretender. He had hung naked for six hours upon a cross, between two brigands, derided by the populace. He had suffered the form of death that to the Jewish mind was reserved for the peculiarly accursed,—“Cursed is every one that hangs on a tree.”

The movement had not died out with the execution of its leader; for his followers had maintained that he had risen from the dead, and, with an ignorance to be expected of uneducated men, had advanced the absurd view that the prophets had predicted a death and resurrection of the Messiah. The meetings of these fanatics were held in one of the colonnades of the Temple area called Solomon's Porch, and therefore the Sadducean priests, the natural custodians of the temple, first took cognizance of the new movement, and punished its leaders. No decisive action, however, was taken until a man named Stephen began to present the new movement in some of the Jerusalem synagogues. A charge was brought against him that was peculiarly calculated to enrage all classes of society. He was charged with being a persistent ranter against the law, so sacred to the Pharisees, and with having made the anarchistic threat, so blasphemous in the estimation of the people, that the beautiful and holy temple would be destroyed. The defense made by Stephen before the Sanhedrin shows the following to have been his real attitude. He knew, as did all the Nazarenes, that Jesus had predicted the overthrow of the temple. He had, however, gone beyond the position of the Nazarenes, in that, while perfectly loyal to the law and the temple ritual, so long as they existed, he had come to see that they were not essential to true religion, and that, after the destruction of the temple, and the alterations in the Mosaic law necessitated by the cessation of temple worship, instead of having a new temple they would be able to get on very well without a temple, as they had been able to do before the law was given or the temple erected. The fact that Stephen, "full of grace and power, wrought great wonders and signs among the people" (Acts vi. 8), made him an exceedingly dangerous advocate of such irreligious views. It is not strange that an intense Pharisee like Saul should have felt himself bound to extirpate this

mischievous depreciation of the law and the temple that was ruining an increasing number of his countrymen. Many years afterward, Paul said of his state of mind at this time: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. And this I also did in Jerusalem; and I both shut up many of the saints in prison, having received authority from the chief priests, and when they were put to death, I gave my vote against them. And punishing them oftentimes in all the synagogues, I strove to make them blaspheme, and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities" (Acts xxvi. 9-11).

In this headlong course of persecuting frenzy, Saul was abruptly stopped. A little distance from Damascus, as he and his company, after several days of riding, were nearly at their journey's end, under the hot noonday sun there suddenly descended upon the terrified company a blinding light that threw them all to the ground. After a moment all but Saul rose, and stood, dumb with terror (Acts ix. 7). The attendants heard a sound emanating from the brightness. To Saul the sound was a human voice, speaking Aramaic words. From it he learned, to his horror, that this blinding glory clothed the personal presence of the Nazarene Jesus. The irreligious pretender, upon whom the awful curse of God had rested in the shameful death of crucifixion, stood quietly before him in the quivering splendor of Messiahship. The fierce persecutor received his first order from the lips of the Nazarene, "Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do" (Acts xxii. 10). He instantly started to obey, but found himself groping in darkness: "And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus" (Acts xxii. 11). There is no need to discuss here the various theories regarding the real

nature of this appearance; for it is Paul's own conception of it that we are at present concerned with, and there is no doubt that Paul conceived it to be such an appearance as might be classed with the appearances to the disciples during the weeks immediately following the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 8).

Three days he sat fasting in the darkness; while two thoughts burned themselves into his soul, that never after left it. One was that of guilty humiliation for having actually persecuted the church of God. Years afterward, under the shadow of this same humiliation, he wrote, "I am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God" (1 Cor. xv. 9). The other thought was one of passionate gratitude to the Messiah. He was not merely allowed to go unpunished, but was actually admitted to a great career of service. Years afterward he said, "I thank him, . . . even Christ Jesus, our Lord, for that he counted me faithful, appointing me to his service; though I was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious" (1 Tim. i. 12, 13). As he sat in darkness, he felt friendly hands laid upon him, heard a voice calling him "Brother Saul," bidding him in Jesus' name come out from the darkness and be filled with the Holy Spirit. Something like scales peeled from his eyes, and he looked up into the face of a fellow-Nazarene, a converted Pharisee like himself (Acts xxii. 12). At once in the Damascus synagogues he began to advocate the Messiahship of Jesus.

After a short period of synagogue preaching he went away into Arabia—probably to some place in Arabia Petræa, not far from Damascus. There is no certain indication as to the length of time Paul spent in this region, nor as to his purpose in making the excursion. He may have spent at least several months there, and it may very well have been a period of some significance in the development of his theological views.

PROCESS OF CHANGE FROM PHARISAIC TO CHRISTIAN
THEOLOGY.

The way is now prepared for a direct consideration of the intellectual processes through which Paul's mind was logically forced by his acceptance of the Messiahship of Jesus. It is sometimes maintained that there was little or no development in Paul's thought after his conversion. He is supposed to have considered carefully beforehand all the theological consequences that would follow the acceptance of Jesus' Messiahship, and to have accepted them as soon as he was convinced of Jesus' Messiahship. Had he recorded his views at that time, we should find them to be those that have come down to us in his epistles.

It is, of course, true that Paul regarded the Nazarene movement as inimical to the interests of true religion as represented in his mind by Pharisaism; otherwise he would not have persecuted the Nazarenes. He knew that Jesus' conception of the religious life had been different from that of the Pharisees. It must, therefore, have been clear to him beforehand, in a general way, that the acceptance of Jesus' Messiahship would involve the abandonment of some views he was then holding. It seems improbable, however, that Paul had thought the situation through with any careful attention to detail. The simple fact that God had so conspicuously cursed Jesus in the crucifixion, must have made it seem entirely superfluous to follow out in detail the logical consequences of admitting his Messiahship.

The fact that Jesus is represented, in Acts xxvi. 14, as saying to Paul, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad," may indicate a restlessness of spirit previous to his conversion, but a restlessness due, as will be shown later, to another cause than a growing suspicion that Jesus was the Messiah, and an unwillingness to take theological po-

sitions clearly foreseen to be necessitated by the admission of Jesus' Messiahship.

His statement, in Gal. i. 11, 12, that he was not taught his gospel in catechetical classes, or by the other apostles, but that he received it through revelation of Jesus Christ, is sometimes thought to indicate a wholesale delivery of all his theology to him at his conversion. But this statement in Galatians does not necessarily mean that there was no development in his thinking after his first recognition of Jesus' Messiahship. Certain things did at once become clear to him, as will soon be suggested, but he had many revelations from Jesus Christ. He went up to Jerusalem long after "by revelation" (Gal. ii. 2), and, in 1 Cor. xii. 1, he speaks of "visions and revelations of the Lord" as though they were not unusual in his experience. The gospel through revelation, therefore, may have come to him through various revelations. It may certainly be assumed, also, that God in his revelations would utilize intellectual processes of thought, rather than act in entire independence of them.

Granting, then, that there was a development of thought in Paul's experience, shaped by the Spirit of God, and affected by distinct revelations from Jesus, let us endeavor to trace it. The two thoughts habitually uppermost in an educated Pharisee's mind would be the two closely related thoughts of law and righteousness. There is evidence that even before Paul's conversion he had felt dissatisfied with the result of his effort to gain righteousness by observing the law. His outward conduct was exemplary, and in accord with the interpretations of the law generally current among Pharisees; so that he could later say of himself at this time, "as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless" (Phil. iii. 6). There was, however, one of the ten commands that a conscientious Pharisee had not sufficient ingenuity to relegate wholly to the do-

main of external conduct. This was the commandment against coveting, and this commandment he found himself failing to obey. Something, we know not what, the young rabbi coveted. In his statement in the seventh chapter of Romans, regarding the purpose of law and the futility of attempting to secure righteousness by means of law, he apparently draws upon his own personal experience: "I had not known sin, except through the law; for I had not known coveting, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet; but sin, finding occasion, wrought in me through the commandment all manner of coveting" (vss. 7, 8). He may have started for Damascus in this troubled frame of mind, with a conscience accusing him of coveting, and producing in him a keen sense of God's displeasure because of his persistent disobedience to the law. This use of the law was God's way of goading him on to the abandonment of Pharisaism; and to this Jesus may have referred when he said to him, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad." Whether this be so or not, certain it is, that as soon as Saul recognized the Messiahship of Jesus, he had to admit that Pharisaic law-keeping failed to secure righteousness. It at once became evident to him, that those who were keeping the law most zealously, namely, himself and his fellow-Pharisees, were the greatest sinners he knew. Their devotion to the law and their boasted nearness to God had not kept them from the awful sin of murdering the Messiah and his faithful adherents.

One other thing at once became evident to Paul. He discovered that the acceptance of Jesus as Lord and Christ brought him peace. Just at the time when he found himself unable to keep the Mosaic law, and in consequent distress of mind; when the impracticability of law-keeping as a means of gaining righteousness and peace was being forced upon his unwilling mind, he found that believing in Jesus as Lord and Christ did bring such peace as his

Pharisaic mind knew very well could come only from being right with God, that is, from righteousness.

Doubtless for a time he rested content in the joy of his new experience, without attempting to analyze it or draw conclusions from it. The joy and novelty of his new discovery, that Jesus was the Christ, filled all his mind. The record of his first preaching in the Damascus synagogues gives no hint that he had any other message than that usual among the apostles at this stage of their thinking; namely, that Jesus was proved by his death and resurrection, of which they were witnesses, to be the Messiah. "He confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is the Christ" (Acts ix. 22).

Before very long, however, three of the four points we have already designated (pp. 280-286) as fundamental in the Pauline theology must have been definitely forced by all Paul's previous education upon his attention.

1. The first took the form of the question, What is the holy law of God, which we have so long revered, really for? Paul probably gained his idea of the purpose of the law (cf. p. 292) from his own experience with the law; and in his own experience, as we know from the seventh of Romans, the law had been serviceable in making him see how great a sinner he was. Not all the early Christians had this experience. There were converted Pharisees who were just as reverently devoted to the law after conversion as before. When Paul returned from his third missionary journey, there were many thousands among the Jews of them that had believed, and "all zealous for the law" (Acts xxi. 20). That which led Paul to take so different a view of the function of law from that taken by the majority of converted Pharisees must have been, as has been said, his own divinely appointed experience of its effects upon himself. This logical process may have been complete within a few months after Paul's conversion. Perhaps during his so-

jour in Arabia the Spirit of God carried him through the intellectual processes by which he reached this conclusion. The earliest documentary evidence of this view is in the synagogue address at Pisidian Antioch, where he speaks depreciatingly of the Mosaic law as a means of securing righteousness, saying, that whoever believes on Jesus can be justified from all things, as he could not be by Moses' law (Acts xiii. 39); but there is no reason to suppose that the thought was new to him at that time.

2. In close connection with the above must have arisen the question, What constitutes a man righteous? How soon after his conversion he was led by the Spirit to reason upon his experience, and reach the conclusion that faith constitutes a man righteous, we cannot tell. A prominent theme in rabbinical discussion was the righteousness of Abraham. As Paul turned back again to the familiar history of Abraham, one sentence appealed to him in a new and startling significance, and became ever after prominent in his discussion of faith-righteousness: "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness" (Gen. xv. 6). That which constituted Abraham righteous, and gave him the peace consequent upon righteousness, was his unreserved yielding of himself in trustful obedience to Jehovah and his promise. It was just such yielding of himself to Jesus, God's Messianic vicegerent, in trustful obedience, that had given Paul such peace as could come only from righteousness.

If we accept the early date of the Epistle of James, and regard it as addressed to Jewish Christians of the Diaspora, there is evidence that Paul had already preached his doctrine of faith-righteousness among James' readers. The much-discussed paragraph (James ii. 14-26) in which James cites the case of Abraham, as an illustration of the fact that faith without works does not constitute a man righteous, is best explained upon the supposition that

James was trying to correct a misunderstanding of Paul's preaching.¹ The doctrine of faith-righteousness was one very easily misunderstood, as is evident from the pains Paul takes to guard against such misunderstanding in the Epistle to the Romans (chap. vi.). Very likely in the early years of his preaching he had not realized the danger of being misunderstood, and did not guard his statements as carefully as he had learned to guard them some fifteen or twenty years later, when he wrote Romans. The region where Paul had been preaching before the earliest date that can be assigned to James' Epistle, is Syria and Cilicia, to which region Paul fled after his disappointing fortnight's visit in Jerusalem (Acts ix. 30; Gal. i. 21). As early as this period, perhaps about the year 40, Paul was preaching the truth, that faith constitutes a man righteous. It is entirely possible that James had heard this doctrine from the lips of Paul himself during the two weeks when Paul preached in the Jerusalem synagogues on the occasion of his first visit to the city after his conversion, and just before he went to Syria and Cilicia, for James was in the city at the time (Gal. i. 19). We know, too, that Paul was then laboring under the delusion that he could bring his old Pharisaic associates in the city over to the new movement (Acts xxii. 18-21), and this line of thought is one that he might naturally be expected to present to Pharisees, interested as they were in theories of righteousness.

3. Another question which Paul must have raised in the early years of his Christian experience was, Why did the

¹ He even cites Paul's favorite proof-text, which had been used so freely in Paul's preaching: "What doth it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith but have not works? Can that faith save him?" "Was not Abraham our father pronounced righteous because of works, in that he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar? Thou seest that faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect and the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. . . . Ye see that by works a man is pronounced righteous, and not only by faith."

Messiah die? It was enough for him, as for Peter and the other apostles, in their first surprise at so unexpected a fact as the Messiah's death, to find that such a death and resurrection were actually foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures. In the apostolic discourses, as they are recorded in Acts, there is no distinct mention of the death and resurrection of the Messiah except as a fulfilment of prophecy identifying Jesus as the Messiah. Only in Paul's address in Pisidian Antioch is there a possible allusion to a connection between the Messiah's death and the forgiveness of sin (Acts xiii. 38). Their reverence for the Scriptures led them to rest content for a time with the thought that the prophecy of an event in Scripture was ample reason for the occurrence of the event.

To Paul's mind, the crucifixion of Jesus had long been one obvious, *prima facie* objection to the Messiahship of Jesus, which made it unnecessary to give the question of his Messiahship any serious consideration. Now that he was convinced of his Messiahship, he must before long have asked himself, What was the necessity for the death of the Messiah that led God to order it, and foretell it in Scripture? The answer to this question he seems to have found in the system of bloody sacrifice prevalent among the Jews. The sacrificial system, doubtless, had large significance in the thought of the Pharisees that lived before its abrogation at the destruction of the temple. Paul had probably always believed that an unrighteous man, in drawing near to God, must be penitent and bring an offering. To be sure, he had very possibly regarded penitence and sacrificial offering as meritorious acts that earned righteousness, and as unnecessary for some men. He had, however, been profoundly convinced by his Damascus vision that he and all his Pharisaic colleagues were unrighteous men. As he gained a truer idea of what righteousness really was, he saw that there were no men in all the history of the

race, not excepting even Abraham and David (Rom. iv. 1-8), against whom a charge of unrighteousness could not be brought. It then perhaps began to dawn upon him, that the death of the Messiah was a colossal sacrifice offered for the whole world. In Romans, after elaborately proving the unrighteousness of the whole world, he introduces the death and blood of Jesus as *ἱλαστήριον*, or "propitiatory," evidently having in mind the sprinkling of blood upon the mercy-seat, so often called *ἱλαστήριον* in the Septuagint.

But why should a sacrifice be necessary, in order to bring the penitent sinner into right relation to God? This deeper question Paul does not discuss. The nearest approach to its discussion is in Rom. iii. 25, where he asserts that the death of Jesus has a propitiatory value, enabling God to act righteously in pronouncing the man of penitent faith to be righteous; but even there he does not raise the deeper question, of how it enables God to act righteously in so doing. There is in Paul's full recognition of the fatherhood of God, and of the perfect revelation of the Father in Jesus Christ the Son, material for an attempt at an explanation of the way in which the sufferings of Jesus serve to secure the penitent sinner's forgiveness, but Paul nowhere gives such an explanation. He simply asserts a necessary connection between such suffering and forgiveness. To an adequate discussion of this subject, there is requisite a fresh investigation of the original idea that underlay Jewish sacrifice; of the Pharisaic conception of the rationale of temple sacrifice, which may, conceivably, have been quite different from that which originally prevailed; and of Paul's view of the sacrificial system after his conversion.

4. It remains to trace, if possible, the process of thought by which Paul came to see that a Gentile could enjoy the privilege of having his faith in Jesus Christ reckoned righteousness without precedent or subsequent connection

with the Jewish nation and Jewish law. All three accounts of Paul's interview with Jesus make it evident that he knew, at the time of his conversion, that he was to be connected with some great movement of the Gentiles toward the kingdom of God. The turning of a great number of Gentiles to the Messianic kingdom of God was not foreign to Jewish thought,¹ but such were to enter the Messianic kingdom by becoming Jewish proselytes. Paul's earliest conception of his mission to the Gentiles was probably, that through his instrumentality large numbers of them would enter the kingdom of God by way of Judaism. A number of years, perhaps eight or ten, seem to have passed before Paul saw that his mission to the Gentiles was to be of another sort. If Paul had invited uncircumcised Gentiles into the kingdom of God before his year with Barnabas in the Jewish-Gentile church at Antioch, Luke would surely have mentioned it; for the unmistakable purpose of the book of Acts is to show the steps by which Christianity passed out from the Jew to the Gentile. It is significant, too, that in Paul's summary of his experience as a preacher, Luke makes him speak of his preaching to the Gentiles as though it were chronologically latest: "I declared both to them of Damascus first, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the country of Judæa, and also to the Gentiles that they should repent" (Acts xxvi. 20). In the Antioch church Paul found uncircumcised Gentiles living consistent Christian lives. About that time or a little earlier he also learned that God had poured out his Spirit in approval of uncircumcised Gentile believers in the house of Cornelius of Cæsarea.

Paul's spiritual history had probably prepared him for these revelations. He had already ceased to think of the Mosaic law as an eternal, unchangeable thing of glory to which all lives must conform. Its function was not to

¹ Weber, p. 368.

serve as a means of securing righteousness, but to show men how unrighteous they were, and to make them cast themselves in faith upon Jesus Christ as the only available way of attaining righteousness. If Gentiles could be made to realize their unrighteousness in some other way, it was unnecessary to subject them to the law. When Paul talked with one and another of the Gentile members of the Antioch church about their religious experience, he learned from them that, before ever they knew anything about the Jewish law, their consciences had, in the main, accused and excused them in accordance with the principles of the Jewish law. To be sure, these Gentile Christians in Antioch seem all to have been synagogue-Gentiles, that is, Gentiles who, though not circumcised, had been regular attendants upon the synagogue service and had conformed to Jewish law in the few particulars necessary to make their presence in the synagogue tolerable. It may be that only later, in the crisis through which Paul and Barnabas passed in South Galatia, at Pisidian Antioch, when they left the synagogues, and in some other building, apart from all connection with Jewish worship, preached directly to Gentiles uninfluenced by Judaism (Acts xiii. 44-49)—it may be that only then did Paul come fully to see that there was absolutely no distinction to be made between Jew and Gentile in the presentation of the gospel.

A man's personal prejudices are the last things to change. They remain after the theories that produced them have been given up. A man in India may give up the positions that logically necessitate the caste system, and yet be slow to see that the caste system itself is an impropriety. Peter saw theoretically that there was no difference between Jew and Gentile before he was ready, in the social life of the Antioch church, practically to admit and stand by all the consequences of that position. So it may well be, that the perfect equality of the uncircumcised Gentile wholly un-

touched by Jewish influence, with the Jew, so far as his right to the gospel is concerned, was the last truth to which Paul was led by the Holy Spirit and by revelation.

There is another fundamental position in the Pauline theology, the genesis of which cannot here be discussed, but which may be mentioned in the hope that some one of you¹ will be led to its investigation. It is this: Death, the effect of sin upon the spirit and body of all men, is overcome, in the case of the believer, by the indwelling spiritual presence of Jesus. Paul teaches that the effect of sin is death, and that death is a blight upon the whole of a man. As it affects his spiritual part, it consists in separation from God's Spirit. As it affects his physical body, it consists in the phenomenon ordinarily called death. Death is overcome in the believer by the indwelling Spirit of Christ; for such indwelling restores spiritual union with God, and guarantees a better body than the one that perishes. Paul's views on this subject before and after conversion were not so diametrically opposed as those upon the subjects we have discussed, and they were probably more largely influenced by the thought current in the Christian church at the time of his conversion. But here, too, Paul's experience furnished him with new material for his theology. His experience with the glorified body of Jesus in the Damascus vision probably gave him his conception of the glorious spiritual body to be possessed by believers, of which he makes so much in his eschatology; and his experience of companionship with the Christ, who ever after that Damascus interview dwelt in Paul ready to burst forth with all his glory in the twinkling of an eye, had much to do in shaping his doctrine of the indwelling Spirit, which has thrilled the heart of the church as could nothing but a statement of truth born of experience.

¹ Delivered before the students of Oberlin Theological Seminary.

ARTICLE VI.

PROFESSOR PARK'S NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY.

WITH LETTERS FROM PUPILS AND FRIENDS.

PROFESSOR EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., LL.D., was forty years editor of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA. His ninetieth anniversary, December 29, 1898, a very noteworthy occasion in itself, has been made memorable by his pupils and friends, who sent to him a great number of letters of respect and congratulation, and more than a hundred of them intended for publication. These letters exhibit Professor Park's system of theology as judged by its fruits in three generations. They very largely represent expert and even eminent opinion. If space permitted, we should like to publish the entire list of this remarkably rich and satisfactory collection of testimonies to the intellectual and spiritual value of Professor Park's presentation of New England theology when applied by his pupils in the churches to the holy of holies of the religious life and to the practical problems that have confronted them in all parts of our nation. We are allowed to make the following extracts, which may appropriately find place in a great quarterly of which he was one of the founders.

Professor Alexander V. G. Allen, D.D., *Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.*:—I should like to be counted among those who will take the occasion of the anniversary of your birthday to offer you their tribute of gratitude, reverence, and affection. Although I

did not belong to the same household in the common faith, yet when I went to Andover I was received as kindly as if I did, and there was no discrimination. The year during which I attended your lectures was most memorable to me, as it has ever since remained

most fruitful in my life. It was the first time I had come under the influence of a great living teacher, and I honor myself when I say I was aware of my privilege, and that though anticipating great things, the reality was greater than the anticipation. It is good for a young man to come reverently and in a docile spirit when he has such an opportunity; to cultivate devotion and admiration; not to criticize but to receive in glad submission. A great part of our best training comes through admiration of the teacher. It was your signal gift and rich endowment to be such a teacher as to command the unbounded devotion of your pupils. Such a teacher comes but rarely, a gift of heaven, yet also the result of ages of preparation. Such a teacher in theology you were to us, unexampled in the power of creating a deep interest in the subject, giving us an insight into the many fine and subtle distinctions of theological inquiry, giving to us also a firm grasp on essential things, opening up the vast range of the field to be explored, and then impressing our minds so powerfully and vividly with the form and eloquence of the presentation, that each lecture left its indelible stamp on the mind and each succeeding lecture was eagerly anticipated as a great and blessed privilege. Of course no teacher expects to hold his pupils forever to the letter of his teaching. But the spirit of it, the method and the stimulus, will always abide. So has your influence remained with me and with so many hundreds of your stu-

dents, nor can I express too strongly the gratitude I feel for what you have done for me. These living memories of such a rare, such deep and intense personal influence, invaluable for intellectual and spiritual motive power cannot perish or be forgotten. When those who experienced its charm and power have passed away and can no longer bear their testimony, yet the tradition will continue to live of a unique spell once exerted which has become an integral part of our American and Christian heritage.

This personal force which we were proud to think we monopolized as students has been manifested in other ways for which to be grateful,—in eloquent sermons now printed in books, recalling to the memory the unwonted impression at the moment of their delivery; in the devotion to Puritan ideals issuing through years of toil in learned contributions to the history of New England theology; in that enduring and monumental work for the history of theological literature, the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA. These we commemorate with pride, but these also belong to the larger world. The student cherishes with a peculiar devotion the image of the teacher, under whose magic utterance he was wakened to the significance, the scope, the human fascination of divine theology.

President John Henry Barrows, D.D., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio:—There is no book in my library with whose contents I am

more familiar than your volume of "Discourses." I am full of pride as an American that our country has produced a great theologian, who is also a man of letters.

James L. Barton, D.D., Secretary of the American Board:—I believe Professor Park is to-day the most affectionately remembered and broadly revered theologian and teacher in this land or any land. We all honor ourselves by uniting in sending our congratulations to this most distinguished preacher to preachers and teacher of theologians, whose life and efforts are built into the best life, teachings, and thoughts of the past and present generations.

Rev. E. Blakeslee, D.D., of the Bible Study Union, or Blakeslee Graded Lessons:—There is one side of Professor Park's character to which I presume most persons are strangers. I mean his fondness for children. I had a family of three little girls before going to the Seminary. We occupied a portion of the house next to Professor Park's. The little girls, who were all under nine when we left Andover, became very fond of Professor Park, although they never ceased to regard him with great awe. . . . Their regard for his wisdom was seen in some comments that their mother overheard when one of them was struggling with her Sunday-school lesson. Somehow between her and the eldest there came up a discussion on the doctrine of the Trinity which the younger one declared she

could not understand. The older one calmly informed her that she need not be troubled about that, for "even Professor Park did not know all about it!"

In his regard for little children Professor Park showed his loving nature, and I used to think, listening to his lectures, it was his loving nature that made him a "reformed Calvinist" instead of a "strict Calvinist."

Rev. George N. Boardman, D.D., ex-Professor of Systematic Theology in Chicago Theological Seminary:—I have not found that recent authors have developed any elements of doctrine of unquestioned worth beyond the range of thought to which we were introduced in our Andover days. It seemed to me then that the system of Christianity was shown to stand on a firm foundation, and if the foundation was firm then, the system stands secure now. I still turn to the notes taken in my student days for suggestions and arguments concerning the faith delivered to the saints.

Rev. A. H. Bradford, D.D., Montclair, N. J.:—I especially remember and prize many conversations, when a few of our class were invited to your house for evening talks. One conversation on immortality I remember with peculiar vividness. It marked an epoch in my thinking on that subject. My dear Professor Park, I can wish for you, when the earthly years have ended, no richer blessing than the

realization of the opportunities and possibilities of that immortal sphere which you made so real to your students during that evening of the year 1869.

Rev. James Brand, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio:—There have been three kindly men whose influence abides with me through the years, who have helped my own life, and to whom I owe an immeasurable debt—Theodore Woolsey, Charles G. Finney, and Edwards A. Park, and the greatest of these is Park. . . . When, in after years, I returned to Andover to be your pupil, you, beyond all other men, opened to me the mysteries and inspirations of theological thought and gave to me those conceptions of the greatness of God and the glory of the divine government which have been the undergirding of my faith and the inspiration of my preaching for thirty years.

Rev. M. Burnham, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.:—Professor Park has helped shape my thought and direct it in the contemplation and presentation of the great themes of the gospel. Many of his definitions of truth have grown upon me during these years in the ministry. The inspiration of the Scriptures; the great fact of the atonement by Jesus Christ; the relation of the human will to the Divine will; God's agency in man's salvation and man's agency in his own salvation; the necessity for the work of the Holy Spirit;—in all these and kindred themes he helped

mold and direct my thoughts, and aided moreover in my spiritual experiences. I owe much of any success I may have attained in the preaching of the gospel to my dear old teacher, Professor Park.

Rev. L. T. Chamberlain, D.D., New York City:—Your continued and personal friendship when I was a student in the seminary striving to understand the truths of God's holy word; your personal and valued aid given to me in my pastoral life and work; your personal sympathy tenderly assured to me, in the hour of bereavement; all this has made me your grateful debtor in such degree as words cannot express.

Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D., President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor:—I am not indulging in fulsome eulogy and I am not detracting from the power of other great teachers when I say that I believe your influence over many of us was of a different character from that of any other man with whom we ever came in contact.

Rev. L. H. Cobb, D.D., Secretary Congregational Church Building Society:—Not one among all the teachers I had in my college and seminary course stimulated me more than Professor Park. His course of lectures were considered by multitudes at that time as models. They have been invaluable to me in all the years since I graduated. They made clear many points connected with the theolog-

ical system that I have not found as well stated in any other treatises. In my judgment he did much to mold the thought of the time of his greatest activity and put his mark on the men he instructed, as comparatively few teachers do.

Joseph Cook, LL.D., Boston Monday Lecturer.—In his lectures on theology, Professor Park's constant and crowning characteristics seem to me to have been these seven: His exact adherence to the scientific method, his lucidity in definitions and distinctions, his acuteness, massiveness, comprehensiveness, and unflinching biblical soundness of thought, with a majestic spiritual elevation of tone. At the last analysis, the controlling principles of his system of thought were, on the one hand, *Reverence for proof, or Clear ideas at any cost*; and, on the other hand, *Obedience, the organ of spiritual knowledge*.

When vagueness and self-contradiction are expelled from infidel, agnostic, or unevangelical schemes of thought, they are riddled castles. It was the emphasis which he placed upon definition and coherency which made Professor Park's methods of discussion fatal to countless erroneous contentions in philosophy and theology old and new by exposing their incurable vagueness and ineradicable self-contradictions. [Mr. Cook's letter is published in full as an article in the *Independent* of January 12 on "Professor Park and his Pupils."]

Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D., LL.D., Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.—Blessings be upon your venerated head is the fervent prayer of one who has, for almost half a century, felt that he knew you. As I learned more of your labors for the gospel, for pure orthodoxy, for learning, for anything which benefits man, I have felt drawn to you by cords of love. May the blessing of the Most High God rest and abide upon you, and may your life on the earth be spared many years!

Professor Albert H. Currier, D.D., Oberlin Theological Seminary.—John Knox is said to have "tuned" the pulpits of Scotland because "he struck the keynote to which all that is best in the preaching of Scotland has been harmonious and true." So to you belongs the great honor of having "tuned" for a generation through your influence on your pupils, the pulpits they have filled East and West throughout our broad land. For this they and their churches are great debtors to you.

Professor Joseph L. Daniels, D.D., Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.—I want to thank you as a representative of that vast army of Phillips Academy boys who received their first, and no doubt life-long, impressions of the sublimity and grandeur of Scripture truth by listening to your eloquent sermons in the Seminary chapel. To come under the spell of a great preacher, to receive the truth from the lips of a master was no small part of

the three years' education and inspiration which I recall with delight, as I renew my mental and moral awakening at Andover.

Rev. Lysander Dickerman, D.D., *New York City*.—I want to congratulate you on your length of days, but still more on the excellent work you have done. I believe no other man ever lived who accomplished so much for exactness of definition and usage in theological terms.

W. F. Draper, Andover, Mass.—In looking back upon the leadings of Providence I esteem it a special blessing that I have been privileged for so many years to be so pleasantly associated with so helpful and inspiring a leader, especially in connection with the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA for thirty-four of its forty Andover years.

Rev. A. E. Dunning, D.D., *Editor of the Congregationalist*.—Hundreds of men who are shaping and guiding public opinion in these stirring times have been largely equipped for their work through your service. Their labors are yours also. You sit in your easy-chair on Andover Hill, and preach and create systems of theology, and administer the affairs of the churches, and manage colleges and universities, and edit newspapers, and carry on great missionary societies.

President Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D., *Yale University, New Ha-*

ven, Conn..—Although I cannot claim the honor of having been one of your pupils in my student days, I have my place among the great brotherhood of university-educated men who have long recognized your leading position as a theologian and as a teacher of your chosen science.

Rev. S. H. Emery, Taunton, Mass..—The first time I set eyes on your dear face was in the year of your graduation at Brown University with the highest honors, where your father had been professor, and your entrance on theological study at Andover, with Stuart, Woods, and Porter.

Professor J. L. Ewell, D.D., *Howard University, Washington, D.C.*.—The clear, profound, and evangelical instruction which I was permitted to receive from you thirty years ago, and the kindness and cordiality which you have always shown me in all the years that have intervened have won my ever-growing love and respect.

Rev. James H. Fairchild, D.D., LL.D., *ex-President of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio*.—Your words have reached me throughout the years, often bringing illumination and inspiration. Thus you have had a wide circle of pupils, whose names do not appear on your class roll. The general result of these many years of illumination is that our statements of Christian doctrine have constantly become

more reasonable and satisfactory; at the same time the spirit of theological discussion has been greatly improved. The words orthodoxy and heresy have lost their malignant charm. We cannot be mistaken in the belief that your own wise and effective and long-continued labors have greatly contributed to these improved conditions.

Professor George P. Fisher, D.D., of Yale Theological Seminary :—My thoughts run back to the days which I spent at Andover where the supreme attraction to me was your lectures on Theology, which excited so great interest as well by their masterly ability as by the felicity of language and of manner which marked the delivery of them. But even the lectures do not appeal to my recollection with so potent a charm as does the memory of interviews with you under your own roof and of the many delightful walks which, through your kindness, we took together over the hills and along the banks of the river. The attraction of your conversation, in which wit and wisdom were mingled in a form so captivating to a youthful student, is the most engaging of all the reminiscences of my life at Andover. Of course I do not forget your eloquence in the pulpit and your services to literature. It is quite common for a man of your age to hear the wish expressed that he may "live to be a hundred,"—as if there were a feeling of indifference as to whether or not he would survive that limit. When this hackneyed wish was ex-

pressed to old Dr. Routh of Magdalen College, when he was not far from that landmark, he answered that he had lately heard of the death of a Nonconformist minister at the age of one hundred and five, "and," he added, "I want the Church to beat."

President F. W. Fisk, D.D., LL.D., Chicago Theological Seminary :—It seems to me that I have known you always. When a student in Phillips Academy I heard you deliver your inaugural address, at your entrance on the professorship of Sacred Rhetoric, in the Seminary chapel before a crowded and delighted audience, among whom were many men eminent in learning and in station; but none of them, I am sure, listened with more absorbing interest than my fellow-students and myself.

Since that day throughout all these intervening years, you, as preacher, theologian, editor, author, and friend have had no small influence on my thinking and life, for which I am grateful.

Rev. Addison P. Foster, D.D., Secretary for New England of the American Sunday-school Union, Eastern Editor of the Advance :—My theological studies were, like the Ancient Gaul of Cæsar's Commentaries, divided into three parts. They began at Williams College under Dr. Mark Hopkins in his Saturday morning classes on the Westminster Catechism; they continued at Princeton under Dr. Charles A. Hodge; they concluded—so far as

ante-ministerial work was concerned—under your teaching at Andover. The combination was unusual and peculiar. On the whole I think it was advantageous. Dr. Hopkins laid the foundations; Dr. Hodge put up the walls; you roofed the building in and built the arching dome. To be sure there had been some contentions between the builders; but, after all, their great fundamental principles were the same, and it was not difficult, by removing a bit of scaffolding here and there, to get a shape-ly and unified structure.

alas!
F.H.F.

Professor Frank Hugh Foster, D.D., Pacific Theological Seminary, Oakland, Cal.:—Your teaching and labor put into our pulpits from Maine to California that generation of able men, now beginning, also, to fade from our midst, who bore for many years the chief burdens of our ministry, who led the work and who gave a unity of belief, of aim, and of method to Congregationalism which made it the definite and powerful instrumentality for good which it has been.

Rev. D. L. Furber, D.D., Newton, Mass.:—Nothing in the study of homiletics ever impressed me so much as your making plans of sermons in the presence of the class, —and such plans. I think Professor Phelps would agree with me, for he says the study of the art of planning sermons is worthy to rank with the study of psychology.

With Professor Phelps you made a hymn-book which our churches

would be using now if the tunes had been satisfactory.

In theology you gave us what you believed with heart and soul was the truth, in distinction from all other systems of belief. This enabled you to arouse the enthusiasm of your classes. Besides this, you kindled many a mind by personal private interviews in which young men, touched by your kindly interest in them, complimented by your courtesy, and encouraged by your swift appreciation of whatever in them was praiseworthy, found new visions of usefulness opened before them. In this way the power of the lecture-room was redoubled as the influence of a preacher is redoubled by his work as a pastor.

President George A. Gates, D.D., Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa:—There can be few satisfactions of human life equal to that which is yours. It rests upon the consciousness that your contribution to human thought is living on in the minds of thousands of your pupils. Your endowment of spirit is perpetuating itself into these years of your age and beyond the possibility of your own life. Your gift of consecration to high ambition and holy choice grows richer and wider in the lives and work of those who honor and revere you.

Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston:—In common with all New England, and in a just sense the whole country, I owe a tribute of

respect and reverence to the acute intellect and the inspiring personality that in the offices of teacher, preacher, and writer have done so much to perpetuate our best traditions, and to stimulate two generations of students to profound and progressive thinking upon the greatest of all themes.

Rev. George H. Gould, D.D., Worcester, Mass.:—I can almost say of Professor Park as the German poet Wieland said of Goethe, "Since the morning I first met him my soul has been as full of Goethe as the dewdrops of sunshine!"

And now after forty-five years of putting his teachings on trial—using his theological system as the working hypothesis of my ministry—I find no part of that "system" that modern light and experience have antiquated—or forced me to abandon as inadequate to the magnificent *present-day* work of preaching to lost men the "Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God!"

Rev. John M. Greene, D.D., Lowell, Mass.:—No uninspired mind has influenced my mind so much as yours. I have read with admiration and profit all your articles printed in the *BIBLIOTHECA SACRA*, and, I think, all the books you have published. Your *Memoir of Nathaniel Emmons* is the most charming, the most nearly perfect piece of biography, I have ever read. Your work in rescuing from oblivion and embellishing by your own genius the lives and works of the New England Church Fathers

entitles you to immortal gratitude and love. Your influence in promoting sound learning and evangelical religion in our colleges, as well as in our theological seminaries, has been preëminent.

Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., South Congregational Church, Boston, Mass.:—Pray count me as one among the thousands of friends who are eager to thank you for the service you have rendered to the world."

Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., ex-President of Roberts College, Turkey, and Middlebury College, Vermont:—Although I am not one of your Andover students, yet I have always rejoiced to sit at your feet as one of the ablest of our evangelical faith, and I therefore claim to join the "Andover boys," old and young, in the congratulations of the day.

God has given you to reach with faculties undimmed your ninetieth birthday, and through more than sixty years to stand firm for the truth on Andover Hill. For this we offer devout thanksgiving.

In 1836, only sixty-two years ago, while a student in Bangor Theological Seminary I received from an Andover student and friend a very urgent invitation to come and hear Professor Park's "Inaugural." He was the rising star, and I would never regret having made the effort to hear him.

I reached Andover Hill in season, but the house was packed full to overflowing. I had traveled

250 miles by steamboat and stage to hear an inaugural. An open window not very high invited consideration. Some things lying around suggested a staging, and with some rails from a neighboring fence it was speedily and noiselessly constructed. We mounted it carefully, and heard every word of the address, enjoying what the great audience could not enjoy—the most perfect ventilation. The last word uttered, we removed the staging, restored the rails, and no action for trespass followed. The address was pronounced profound, witty, and brilliant. My admiration was unbounded.

I thus saw the opening of a long and distinguished career which has known no faltering steps.

Your name will be held in reverence and love so long as Andover Hill shall endure.

Professor Samuel Harris, D.D., of Yale Theological Seminary:—I retain a distinct and vivid remembrance of many sermons which I heard you preach in the Seminary chapel, and also in Boston at the anniversaries, then held there every spring. Your preaching was certainly the most impressive and powerful that I have ever heard.

Professor J. M. Hoppin, D.D., of Yale Theological Seminary:—I recall the wonderful criticism of sermons in the class-room, when you took the sermon to pieces, leaving not one stone upon another, and then built it up again with the same stones, if they were good ones,

so that the criticism was not destructive but constructive and encouraging. And your own preaching was a source of inspiration, combining solid thinking with a chastened imagination.

Dr. Alvah Hovey, ex-President of the Newton Baptist Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass.:—Very few, outside of your nearest friends, can have felt a higher admiration for your character and work than myself. Every subject which your pen has touched it has adorned and made more interesting to others. I have particularly enjoyed your teaching in respect to the person and work of our Lord Jesus Christ, and your always reverent handling of the Sacred Word. I rejoice to send you this token of my love, this *pignus amicitiae*; and may the evening of your life be illuminated with the foregleams of immortality.

Rev. William S. Hubbell, D.D., Bible House, New York City:—Personally I owe Professor Park a debt which I can never repay for the help received from him as my instructor, adviser, and friend. One of my classmates stole away from the Seminary chapel, on a certain Sunday, in order to hear Professor Park at Lawrence. The student was called to account for his absence, inasmuch as Professor Park had observed him in the congregation. "I went to hear you, sir," replied the culprit, "because Professor Phelps advised us to embrace every opportunity to hear the great living models of pulpit eloquence."

Samuel Johnson, Esq., Boston:— I know that many will refer to the work that you have accomplished, and to the influence that you have exerted; but I think that there is nothing greater than to have made those around you feel as if you were their friend.

Rev. Arthur W. Kelly, Associate Editor of the Christian Endeavor World:—I cannot close this long letter without a word as to my personal debt of gratitude. Looking forward with pleasure to the thought of sitting at your feet, I never expected any privilege other than what came to all students. I used to look with envy at those of higher classes whom I saw walking with you, and without a suspicion of the opportunity that was to come to me. It will always be pleasant to recall those associations with your home where I spent six years after leaving the Seminary. I shall always highly value the experience which I gained there in connection with my labors on the proof-sheets of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA and of your volume of "Discourses." The thought of having had such advantages is humiliating in view of the little I am doing, when I ought to do so much in return.

Professor George Trumbull Ladd, D.D., Yale University:—My obligations to you are not confined to the excitement of my thoughts and studies in theology, by the work of the class-room. It was your generous encouragement which gave me the first opportunity, while yet

a student in the Seminary, to try myself in the matter of research and publication. For this you opened to me the columns of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA. I have written many thousand pages since then, but never anything with more zeal, industry, and profit,—to myself at least.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts:—Allow me to join with hosts of your friends and scholars in offering you my hearty congratulations upon reaching the age of fourscore years and ten, in possession of your faculties (including your wit), and high in the regard and affection of thousands throughout the world.

Although I am in the line of succession of those "Lord Bishops" from whom your predecessors fled, I am also one of your scholars. Whatever taint of episcopacy is found in me must be laid at your door.

Such a day as you celebrate, however, throws into the shade all ecclesiastical questions and theological differences and brings us to the common ground of fellow-sinners, who through Christ's blood and resurrection are trying to be fellow-saints.

Rev. George R. Leavitt, D.D., Beloit, Wis.:—I had two greatest teachers. Dr. Mark Hopkins was one. You were the other. When asked to compare these I have said, "It is not necessary to compare. Both were superlative. Often we lose superlatives by compari-

son. Dr. Hopkins was famous for the Socratic question. In that famous Middle lecture-room I learned the power of analysis. "Analysis conquers all." I shall never cease to be thankful for the teaching of that room, for the prayers, for the impression of a personality that has so shaped all my intellectual and religious life. When I left Andover I put my "Lectures" among my "elbow" books. I have rarely taken them from the shelf. I found that they were in my mind, so thorough had been the teaching. What a preachable theology, in all these troublous times,—so reasonable, so biblical!

Rev. A. McKenzie, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.:—You have the right to much content with a life whose "indefatigable hours" have enriched the world for many generations.

Professor John Wesley Merrill, D.D., Concord, N. H.:—With the class of 1837 I sat for one year delighted at your feet. Though you were younger than I by seven months and ten days, you seemed to me to be almost out of my sight in all intellectual and moral attainments. I am amazed at what you have accomplished. It must have been with divine help and unrelaxed toil. I owe you a debt I can never repay.

Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., United States Consul at Jerusalem:—Gladstone and Park are two names that

for many years I have associated together, and I have wondered which would be called first.

Both these men are in the highest rank of leaders, of whom the last part of the nineteenth century seems to be productive of few.

Rev. Charles Perry Mills, Newburyport, Mass.:—Other students saw you in the class-room and heard you from the pulpit; mine was also the rare privilege of spending four or five evenings a week with you for the year 1879-80, reviewing unpublished manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards, which I had studied during the day under your direction. My soul was among lions. During those memorable evenings I saw Jonathan Edwards and Edwards A. Park together. So history will group you in the development of New England theology. No third figure of sufficient significance has yet earned the right to stand in that setting. By reason of this personal association with you in the privacy of your home, my sentiment toward you is more than admiring appreciation of mind; it is warm regard of heart. Fervent is my prayer that the ageless Father in heaven may crown you with blessings not limited to number or time, as fervent as was your prayer at my ordination which has been a lasting inspiration to my ministry.

Professor George Mooar, D.D., Pacific Theological Seminary, Oakland, Cal.:—Those were eager days. Our minds were kept so

alert. The Themes we studied took on greatness. The outlines between theme and theme grew sharp. The terms of our thinking got exact definition. The consistency of doctrines with each other was made a virtue. We were not afraid to have a system in our faith, we were rather led to shun the weakness of not having one. It was made plain to us that there was progress in Theology, but a progress which conserved the past. There was a subtlety of discrimination, but not of such sort as to tempt us to forget that these teachings were to be preached; indeed, they were phrased so that they might be preached. We heard them uttered by your lips before congregations that never lost the power or charm of the utterance. We read them as restated and defended in notable papers in the weighty journal then under your editorial care. We noted the wide range of literature which you could so readily and pithily lay under contribution, while we could not fail to admire those critical memorials in which you magnified to us the life and the product of the Edwardean Theologians of an earlier day.

Rev. James O. Murray, D.D., LL.D., *Dean of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.*:—All through these years your name has been among our household words. My affection for you has grown with my experience of life, and my only regret is that I cannot call and tell you how deeply I appreciate what by your kind interest in me and

mine, and by your teachings, you have done for my life.

Rev. W. A. Nichols, Lake Forest, Illinois.:—I have enjoyed more than I can express the account of your birthday as published in the *Congregationalist* last week.

In age I am eight months your senior. One of the last things I did under your instruction was to write a dissertation on the life and work of the great Jonathan Edwards. I commenced my paper with the words "Edwards, the greatest of the sons of men."

Rev. E. N. Packard, D.D., Syracuse, N. Y.:—It is almost three decades since I sat in the benches and heard you lecture with unequaled power of logic and splendor of illustration. . . . The main outlines of the system of theology which you taught have never been abandoned by me. I have not found them antiquated nor powerless in presenting the gospel to men.

Rev. Charles Ray Palmer, D.D., New Haven, Conn.:—We gratefully remember the skill, the patience, the kindly yet unrelenting earnestness, with which you endeavored to call forth from us the best powers that were in us; the tact with which you taught us to think for ourselves, to think independently and constructively, and then to formulate and defend our opinions like men; the invigorating atmosphere of your lecture-room, and the intellectual uplift we experienced from your instruction, and

from your discourses from the pulpit.

Professor George H. Palmer, LL.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.:—It is said you are ninety years old to-day. Almanacs always disregard truth. To me you will always be the vigorous man, who, untouched by time, superintended eternal things in my Seminary days. But the mendacity of the almanac gives me one privilege. I can now without fear speak the honor which those days did not allow me to express.

It eases my mind to confess the great debt I have always owed you as a teacher. Born into a mystic age, and full of philosophy and poetry myself, I was not able at that time to accept in full your exact and strenuous system. But I was not allowed to remain in vague and idle dissent. You summoned me to active thinking and forced me to decide whether I did or did not agree with what was said. So your energy revealed to me both the subject and myself. And something like this must, I think, have been effected in all your hearers. Light as your touch always was, with wit and playfulness abundantly summoned to your aid, you made every man feel that the subject was a tremendous one and that everything else in life must be counted secondary to its understanding.

That is the triumph of the teacher. I doubt if you have ever received praise enough on that score. Your pupils were all impassioned, for or against you. Nobody was

listless. Nobody thought the things we were talking about of little consequence. If I could secure that result, I should care little whether I lodged my own belief in my pupil's mind. I should know I was putting powerful beliefs of his own there and saving him from negations and vacuity.

This influence of yours has attended all my life. A fortunate circumstance it was that, destined to be a teacher, I was able at the very outset to study under a master of the beautiful art. Better indeed than any of the modern "training in Pedagogics." I experienced what it was to be nobly taught; and when in later years I have slipped down myself into cheap teaching, I have always been penitently aware of what I was doing. Your work has made these stings of conscience possible, and I profoundly thank you—the greatest teacher I have ever known.

Rev. J. H. Pettee, Missionary of the American Board to Japan:—More than once have I been able to get the better of keen-witted doubters and that worst of all known classes among hair-splitting, disputatious foemen—Buddhist priests—by quoting some argument or illustration learned in your old lecture-room on Andover Hill.

To give a single example. I used with great effectiveness on one occasion your striking illustration of the way God's sovereignty and man's free will may seem to meet and yet not collide. Two trains traveling at a high rate of speed on roads at right angles to each other

pass the junction at the same instant but without collision, because the track of one runs high above that of the other.

My opponent was not only silenced but convinced, and shortly after publicly proclaimed himself a Christian. He later became a preacher of the truth.

Rev. A. H. Plumb, D.D., Boston.—I remember my student life at Andover for two things above all; the pressure of Professor Park's preaching on my conscience, and the light his lectures gave. In that light it has been a joy for me to labor forty years in the ministry of Christ with an increasing sense of grateful obligation to him who first helped me to see religious truth in its harmonious relations, and with increasing satisfaction in the views his instructions enabled me to take.

Rev. C. H. Richards, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Your words and work have borne more fruit than you can possibly imagine, and I rejoice with others in the blessing God has given through you to the world.

Rev. L. S. Rowland, D.D., Lec, Mass.—It was my privilege to be at Andover in the days of its greatness, when the Middle lecture-room was the cynosure for theological students from all over the land. I am glad to number myself among those who, while not altogether blind to the changes of thought in recent years, still main-

tain our fealty, in the main, to the New England theology as taught to us by its greatest exponent. We have found it to such a degree scriptural, intelligible, and preachable that we cannot doubt it expresses the substance of the faith delivered to the saints.

Mr. Charles Wesley Sanderson, Musician and Artist of Boston.—One Saturday evening in May, at my room, in Andover, a distinguished company was gathered. Ralph Waldo Emerson was your guest for Sunday. He had just given his lecture on "Art" at the town hall.

Other of my visitors on this occasion were Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Professor Phelps and his daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Buck, Mrs. and Miss Edwards, Joseph Cook, Mrs. Annie S. Downs, with you and Miss Agnes. At about half-past eleven Ernst Perabo was begged to play his own transcription of the great triple concerto of Beethoven for Mr. Emerson. When midnight was near the pianist hesitated before the last movement of the opus. At this pause you remarked, "It is getting very late, Mr. Emerson," who immediately replied, "Professor Park, there is no lateness." Mr. Perabo consequently finished playing the work to the evident satisfaction of our transcendental guest.

Rev. A. F. Schauffler, D.D., New York City.—How I enjoyed your brilliant lectures words would fall

to set forth. They were always a delight and a joy, and the memory of them comes back to me like a refreshing breeze from the wide sea. Of all the renowned men under whom it was my privilege to sit, two stand forth as mountain peaks of beauty and glory. One was President Mark Hopkins and the other your own dear self.

Rev. G. R. W. Scott, D.D., Newton, Mass.:—For all the impulse and direction your teaching and interest have given to my life I owe you my heartiest thanks. Your advice and help in solving for me some difficult problems in critical times have made me your debtor to the extent that I can never hope to repay you in any true measure, save by a fuller expression of my love, which abides in fullest strength.

President L. Clark Seelye, D.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.:—Although you have outlived the *odium theologicum*, you can never outlive the respect and affection of those who have had the privilege of your instruction and the joy of your society.

Your sermons, your lectures, your friendship are among the most precious experiences of our lives, and the longer we live the deeper is our gratitude for all that you have been permitted to do for us and for the world.

Rev. Judson Smith, D.D., Secretary of the American Board:—You have lived to see great changes in all departments of human life

and activity, nowhere greater than in the systems of thought and philosophy which prevail in the religious world. But you have not seen the gospel waning, its glory sinking into eclipse, or its truths losing their place of supreme power in men's hearts and lives; neither have you contributed anything to the forces which would tend to unseat the gospel in the reverence or love of mankind. Great as your service was in the chair of theology for a full generation, and few in these or any times have wrought a greater work, it seems probable that your greatest service has been rendered by the spectacle of your unswerving loyalty to the Word of God, deepening with your widening knowledge and growing years, becoming more unchangeably fixed in the midst of ceaseless changes and strange defections and an insufferable pride of knowledge that have marked the closing decades of the century.

Rev. C. M. Southgate, Auburn-dale, Mass.:—As a little Academy boy I sat in the old chapel pews, and while groaning at the perpendicular back emphasized by a projecting cornice, wondered and trembled at the sermons whose very words I can recall in part to-day. I chose my seminary largely for the sake of the unrivaled instruction and stimulus which made famous its chair of systematic theology; and the bound volume of my notes lay on my study desk when I got word this birthday was to be kept. My life would have been poorer and weaker but for

you, and it is fit that I should send you my thanks and love in fullest measure.

Rev. S. L. B. Speare, Newton, Mass. :—When I have wished for an example of undivided consecration to duty; of an enthusiastic elevation of the ministry of Jesus as the one coronal privilege; of an appreciation of theology as the all-comprehensive, profound, and ennobling science; of preaching as the grandest exercise of a devout and qualified mind and heart; of the pastorate as a field angels might covet, and of the pulpit as the most exalted station known to earth, I have only had to recall your life-work as I have been privileged to observe it for nearly fifty years.

Rev. H. A. Stimson, D.D., Pastor of the Manhattan Congregational Church, New York City :—I look back to the happy years in Andover in my student days as having shaped and inspired my life, and to no one is that due as to you. . . . In some small degree you are living in such work as I have been permitted to do.

Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y. :—I wonder whether, of the many who will write to you in anticipation of your birthday, there can be any—there certainly cannot be many—whose personal remembrance of you goes back over so long an interval as mine. I shall not quite

count myself "an old man" for two or three years to come, but a vague premonition of it comes to me when I remember that I first met you nearly seventy-two years ago, in the early summer of 1827, while, I think, you were teaching a select school at Weymouth Landing. Our acquaintance at that time was not intimate, as I was a child of six years, and you towered before me in the seemingly unapproachable sublimity of nineteen: but I remember you, in the south parlor of my father's house, and a few words from you, published not long since, showed me that you had not forgotten it. When afterward you came to Braintree as colleague pastor with my father in 1831, I, being then a confident boy of ten years, of course knew you much better, and, according to my apprehension of things, was able to measure you, mentally and morally, with great correctness. Then, when a Freshman at Amherst in 1835, during the year of your professorship there, we were again in the same house, and daily at the same table, and I used to listen admiringly to the animated talk between you, Bradford Homer, Mr. Osmyn Baker, and the others, and think how grand it would be now and then to put in a word, if I only dared! Then, at Andover, in 1841 and after, I began occasionally to say something for myself, as I have been doing pretty constantly ever since when we have too infrequently met! It's a long acquaintance and friendship to recall, my dear friend, and it is very sweet to me to remember that

though we haven't always agreed in opinion, no cloud has ever dimmed the shining serenity of our friendship, and that I may now freely acknowledge the vast debt of grateful obligation on my part to you, for the fine inspirations, the noble incentive, the undecaying vigor of conviction and purpose, which you have largely and constantly helped to put into my life.

Rev. George E. Street, D.D., *Philips Church, Exeter, N. H.*—The first time I saw and heard Professor Park was in the Centre Church, New Haven, in the autumn of 1854. It was at the ordination of Rev. Geo. P. Fisher, as preacher of the College. I do not recall his text, or the subject of his discourse, but from my perch, as a Freshman in the gallery, I took in a scene that is still very fresh in my memory, the majestic form and brow of the preacher, his impressive utterance, his long periods and eloquent climaxes, which held the great body of ministers and professors below spellbound until the going down of the sun.

What I witnessed that day drew me to Andover some years later for theological study. For the first year we saw him no nearer than the Seminary Chapel pulpit where he greatly overawed us by his occasional sermons. How dramatically he brought "Pilate," "Peter," "Judas" before us in those great studies of his artist pen. But his crowning effort of that tragic year of 1861 was his discourse on "The Imprecatory Psalms," or as we

theologues patly called it, his "Through Baltimore sermon," in which the fire of the patriot blazed from his prophetic eyes in terrible fashion. But for the sickening reports from the seat of war our Middle years would have been a succession of delights as we came into close range of our great professor in the lecture-room. As it was, he turned the war into a fertile source of illustrations of the sublime themes he handled there. We looked forward to each day's lecture as to a feast which, once missed, could never be made up by copying from a classmate's notes; because they lacked the charm of presence, and the play of humor, and the solemn hush that came over our spirits under the application of some mighty lesson of the subject in hand.

Dr. E. E. Strong, *Editor of Missionary Herald, Boston*:—How clearly the elements of power in the gospel of Christ were unfolded to us in your lecture-room.

Rev. A. C. Thompson, D.D., *Boston*:—The thought of the noble army of missionaries now in the field, many of whom were once your pupils, is enough to rejuvenate the oldest man living. The fourscore and ten years of your life have witnessed the fulfillment of all the pledges in the ninety-first Psalm, including the climax "With long life will I satisfy him and show him my salvation."

President Charles F. Thwing, D.D., *Western Reserve University, Cleve-*

land, Ohio.—Two men on Andover Hill had a large share in my education; the one was Samuel H. Taylor in its beginning, and the other was Edwards A. Park, near its close. Both of them aided me in training me in discrimination and in weighing evidence. The world acknowledges Professor Park to be a great theologian. I wish to say that I think he is a far greater educator.

Archdeacon C. C. Tiffany, D.D., New York City.—You have lived in the age of the great scientific marvels, but you have been guided to something diviner still than to dwell amid the folds of His outer garments, which the laws of matter wear, even to beholding the brightness of His countenance as disclosed in the face of Jesus Christ.

You have sought to interpret the heart and the mind thus evidenced and you have stimulated many to like search and like disclosure. That is the great concern of life to be conscious, amid whatever sense of limitation or defect, that one has stood for the highest things.

Professor L. T. Townsend, D. D., Washington, D. C..—In view of the approaching ninetieth anniversary of your birthday, accept the congratulations of your Arminian pupil whom, in 1859-62, you came near making a Calvinist.

In recalling those delightful days. I feel that I am more indebted to you in many ways than I can now express.

Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, Hartford, Conn..—I became your pupil in circumstances to me memorable and calculated to bring me, in a peculiar manner and degree, under impression of your teaching and your personality. I passed from a life of over three years in camp in the Army of the Potomac into your lecture-room. I had, by my prolonged, foregoing fast, a boundless appetite for the feast there dispensed. What a feast it was to me you can never know. Day after day, the whole winter through, I fed upon it, mind and spirit; and the taste and nutriment of it are with me still.

Rev. Kinsley Twining, D.D., The New York Independent.—The churches owe you a delightful debt for defining and vindicating a method of theological thought of which I can say that I have found no better for the church, nor one which has more Pauline authority to commend it. It is a method which has never failed, and was never more signally useful than now in pulling our churches happily through the great controversies which are a divinely appointed part of their warfare on earth.

Rev. A. J. Upson, D. D., Glens Falls, N. Y..—When I was Professor at Auburn Seminary, 1880-87, we discussed distinguished preachers, and found your "Life of Dr. Emmons" so inspiring and so useful that in behalf of the students helped, I thank you.

Rev. S. H. Virgin, D.D., Pastor of the Pilgrim Church of New York City:—I am glad that the Lord is taking a long time "to prepare a place for you," assured that when it is ready, it will be wonderfully alluring and full of glory. . . . Preaching last winter a series of sermons on the Atonement, I read once more with the old feeling of satisfaction and delight all your lectures on that sublime theme.

Rev. Cornelius Walker, D.D., late Dean and Professor of Systematic Divinity and Homiletics, Theological Seminary of Virginia:—Although not having the pleasure of knowing you personally, yet, for a long time, I have known you, in your work and influence. As one, like yourself, retired from work, I appreciate your feelings on this your anniversary; and tender you my heartfelt congratulations and good wishes. May God's blessing be with you now and for the rest of your earthly course! Then, while there will come rest doubtless, there will also come endless and blessed work, heavenly employment and occupation. Trusting to meet and know you there, I am, very truly and sincerely yours in Christ.

Rev. William Hayes Ward, D.D., Editor of the New York Independent:—But my chief debt to you is for putting me on six months of good hard work on one single matter of biblical investigation. You asked me, when some three years later I returned to Andover, to

write an article for the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA on the textual criticism of 1 Timothy iii. 16. That work taught me the value of original research. It made me feel the importance of adding something to the knowledge of the world. It was to my mind the beginning of such a method of study as is pursued now in the university seminar, such a work as one would do for a Ph. D. degree. That six months of labor was perhaps epochal in my life as a student, and for the suggestion you gave me of the subject and for the encouragement you gave me in the work, I want now to thank you most heartily.

President William F. Warren, D.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.:—It is more than twenty years since I last addressed you a letter: but I need not tell you why. Sometimes souls so well understand and enjoy each other that the daily sense of fellowship has little need of words. You have not seen me in your study more than once, I suppose, in thirty years; but in thought I have visited it oftener than I have my bank. . . . The other day, in the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám, I encountered these words:—

Oh thou who didst with Pitfall and with Gin
Beset the road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with Predestination round
Enmesh me, and impute my Fall to sin!

Immediately I thought of you, and of your gallant tilt with Professor Hodge of Princeton, in the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, of 1851-52.

Rev. E. B. Webb, D.D., Pastor Emeritus of Shawmut Congrega-

tional Church, Boston.:—He is a philosopher and a rhetorician, but he never loses sight of the fundamental truths of sin and salvation. He teaches the benevolence of God, but never a benevolence that is indifferent to moral distinctions. He teaches the love of God, but never that shallow love that huddles the righteous and the wicked together through the same narrow gate. Holiness, government, sovereignty, majesty, belong to the God he preaches. And the *atonement*, the blood of Jesus Christ which cleanses from all sin, is the glorious truth which he exalts into highest prominence. His sermons, in any and in all respects, are models that the young men of to-day would wisely study.

Rev. J. W. Wellman, D.D., Malden, Mass.:—Much as I have prized the instructions and personal influence of other professors, I have been still more indebted to you for whatever educational preparation I had for the sacred work of the Christian ministry.

Rev. E. M. Williams, Yankton, South Dakota:—You have long since outgrown Andover, and of recent years it can truly be said that New England cannot contain you. For where your influence abides, where men fondly remember you, where they speak your name with gratitude and honor, and hold your teaching in reverence and recall your kindness as an inspiration, there you live and act and sway men still.

Rev. Lyman Whiting, D.D., Charlemont, Mass.:—On Wednesday, October 7, 1835, in company with John W. Ray, R. S. Storrs, and one or two others, I went to you for examination in Latin anent entering Amherst College. We met in the President's room of the chapel. A passage from one of Cicero's orations was your selection for me. After reading, I looked up to find your eyes so fixed on me that it became my chief remembrance of that examination. It was our first sight of each other. With the others I became a member of the class of '39. Your preaching and words to the students made an era in the College. A new and other life than had been there seemed to begin. Students and officers of the College felt a life-force stir not known before. A journal I then kept reads: "Tuesday evening, October 13, heard Professor Park on College Temptations. Alarminglly interesting." Your going to Andover in our second year seemed almost a *Vulnus irremedicabile* to the students.

Rev. J. L. Withrow, D.D., Pastor of Park Street Church, Boston:—We hail you from the lowlands as you go walking so far toward the century milestone of mortal life. When you shall pass the hundredth waymark, we promise to put our throats to their best shout.

Rev. Will C. Wood, Boston:—I shall never forget those earliest months of your lectures, in which

you were not only impressing upon me at a susceptible age your own personality, but were treating in such high, profound, philosophical, reverent way the great truths of natural theology. Especially in those days when you were showing that not only was the universe by the fiat of the Almighty, but that it is every instant by His will—that if he were to withdraw His volition for an instant it would instantly cease to be. I remember that for days and weeks I used to go out from the lecture-room in a *glow* and would repeat:

"Within thy circling power I stand."

Professor G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., Oberlin, Ohio:—Surely God has heard, in your case, what I doubt not has been your oft-re-

peated prayer, "Now also, when I am old and gray-headed, O God, forsake me not until I have showed thy strength unto this generation and thy power to every one that is to come." The constancy of your faith in God and in the gospel of his Son has been to multitudes of us a source of great strength. And now that you are so soon to grasp the very substance of those ineffable glories in which the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ has led you so long to hope, permit us to send by you our greetings to the innumerable company who have passed on before. But still we pray that their gain may not too soon add to our great loss, and that you may yet for years to come continue to show forth the Lord's strength to this generation.

W. H. Cobb, D.D., Librarian of the Congregational Library, Boston:

He taught us truths, but more,—
He waked the dormant thought within our breasts;
Started us, knight-like, on eternal quests,
Toward God and heaven to soar.

Nor yet the teacher's chair
His loftiest throne; the pulpit first I place.
In Sinai's thunders or in Calvary's grace
The power of God was there.

But spoken words will die;
Deathless the written word; and how he wrought
The "sacred library" tells; where giants fought
O'er questions deep and high.

For his the call, the cheer,
The guiding hand; oft the creating force
Those twoscore volumes ran their steady course,
A river broad and clear.

President J. E. Rankin, D.D., *Howard University, Washington, D.C.*—

The places that once knew thee, know thee still,
Great teacher of the grace of sacred speech;
Thyself the standard that we fain would reach.
The sunset-clouds pavilion yonder hill,
Illumine the walks, entranced with thee we trod;
The trees, thus winter-gemmed, above our head.
How many a comrade from us heavenward sped,
Our saints and sages on the hills of God!
We greet thee still, loins girded, faith sublime,
Dawn-fronting, on the century's rising ledge;
Again our love and loyalty we pledge,
As thou dost wait thine own appointed time;
Poor are the limping syllables we frame;
Enough of words! Our hearts beat still the same.

It is with regret that we omit extracts from many other letters—all most interesting; but already we have passed our limits. A fuller publication of the letters is intended in a pamphlet with portraits. The board of trustees of Abbot Academy, of which Professor Park is President; the faculty of Amherst College, where, more than sixty years ago, he was in the chair of moral philosophy and metaphysics; and the students of Andover Seminary, where this "Titan of American theology" long labored with such distinguished success, — sent hearty congratulations expressed in eloquent terms.

Professor Park's ninetieth anniversary of his birthday was celebrated in a memorable manner at his now historic home in Andover, Massachusetts, Thursday, December 29, 1898.

About a month before, his friends and pupils in various parts of the land were addressed by a committee, of which the Rev. D. L. Furber, D.D., Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., J. W. Wellman, D.D., A. H. Plumb, D.D., G. R. W. Scott, D.D., and Joseph Cook, LL.D., were members, and requested to join with Boston friends in sending letters of respect and

congratulation to Professor Park on this day. It was distinctly intimated in the circular that public use would be made of the letters in whole or in part, so that there were no carelessly written communications. More than a hundred letters were returned to the committee, and a large number were received directly by Professor Park in addition. The collection as a whole was an exceedingly significant and valuable one. It surprised even the committee by the depth and intensity of its love and loyalty. These letters came, many of them, from men of eminence and contained expressions of personal regard and reminiscences of the past almost too sacred for the public eye.

Through the solicitation of Mrs. Professor J. W. Churchill of Andover, funds were gathered from a very wide and distinguished circle of friends, a loving-cup was purchased, a large and massive piece of silver plate, with the following inscriptions: "Rev. Professor Edwards A. Park, D.D., LL.D., 1808—December 29—1898. From pupils and friends. Love abideth ever."

Mrs. Churchill, accompanied by a friend, her husband being absent in Pennsylvania, presented the cup to Professor Park Thursday forenoon. The cup contained ninety pink roses. It was placed on the center-table in the north parlor, so well known to many students, while various gifts from other sources were arranged around it.

In the afternoon, at two o'clock, Professor Park sat down to dinner with his daughter, his niece Miss Edwards, his secretary Miss Partridge, Dr. Furber of Newton Center, and Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Cook. He was evidently somewhat frailer in health than in his final years as active professor, but was by no means broken in physical vigor, and had substantially his usual wit, humor, and vivacity. The scabbard may have been worn, but the blade was keen. He was an hour and a quarter at table, at which the company was now made serious by some acute and profound

remark of his on current events and now brightened by his irresistible wit.

In the parlor, immediately after dinner, the hundred letters were presented to him by Dr. Furber, and specimens of them read, the completion of this no slight but delightful task being left to the Professor's leisure. A noble sonnet by President Rankin of Howard University, and author of the hymn "God be with you till we meet again," the Professor received with a moved countenance and suffused eyes as it was read by Mrs. Cook.

Joseph Cook read a short paper summarizing the varied significance of the letters. Professor Park told a humorous story of Dr. Emmons to whom a friend read, many years before Dr. Emmons' death, a eulogy intended to be used at his funeral. The Doctor frequently interrupted his friend by exclaiming, "It will not do to say this or that," and finally the friend replied, "I am in the pulpit. You have no authority over me. You are in your coffin. You keep still." Dr. Wellman, another member of the committee, had arrived at the beginning of the reading. President Hamlin and Dr. Plumb had been unavoidably detained. Mr. Cook requested Professor Park to mention his favorite hymn and allow the company to sing it as a farewell. Professor Park replied, "My favorite hymn is one which I repeat to myself often in the watches of the night. I have been much troubled with insomnia and frequently occupy myself by repeating hymns as I am forced to lie awake. I find that I forget now and then a word and sometimes a whole line in other favorite hymns. But there is one hymn of which I never forget a syllable. Its first line is,

" 'When I survey the wondrous cross.' "

This reference to the hymn evidently moved the Professor deeply, and the company immediately rising sang it, led by Dr. Furber at the piano. The sunset light was filling

the room, and it seemed doubtful whether the company would ever again have the pathetic privilege of uniting with Professor Park in so sacred a service. His face bil-
lowed with emotion, and he seemed to have much difficulty in restraining himself from such expressions of feeling as his strength and majesty of features made one feel that his desire, however unavailing, would lead him to suppress. Those who were present will never forget the scene. At the close of the hymn he began a few words of reply, but his utterance was choked with emotion, and he did not go on. It was suggested that he should offer in parting the prayer of benediction for the company, but his daughter, watching his countenance, said, "He cannot do it. He is too much moved to do it," and Dr. Furber did it in his place. Almost without a word the company departed, with the feeling that the hour which the health of the Professor had enabled him to give to this occasion could hardly have been more fully crowded with significant and precious experiences.

ARTICLE VII.

THE INFLUENCE OF JESUS CHRIST IN
CIVILIZATION.

BY THE REV. NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS, D.D.

THE soul, like the body, thrives through nourishment. Mind and heart hunger for food, and find it in the best qualities of the best men who have gone before. History stores up the bravest deeds and noblest thoughts of the heroes of yesterday as soul food for the youth of to-day. The Greek general bade his parents bring their children up—not upon milk, but upon the memories of soldierly ancestors. Always it has been the necessity of life that children and youth should look upward toward illustrious masters and models. Each Pitt and Burke stimulates himself by tales of eloquence and oratory. Each young Correggio lingers long before his master's easel. Each Keats or Shelley turns eager feet toward the great bard's home. History is not a mausoleum of dead men, but a granary storing up for future generations the choicest spirits of past ages.

When a nation has no heroes to nourish greatness in its youth, God raises up some poet to create them. Thus the blind bard hung Achilles in the sky above the race of Grecian savages. Straightway thousands felt the drawing of that great heart; just as the ocean, without knowing the cause, is lifted forward, following the planets. Soon the ideal Achilles repeated himself in the real orators and artists, statesmen and philosophers of Athens. Plutarch thought the iron and granite in the hills of Sparta repeated

themselves in the Spartan warriors. We know that the single root brought from Africa by the Spanish traveler repeated its unexampled size and color in all the vineyards of Spain. Thus one great man like Pericles or Cato, like John Huss or William Tell, like Vane or Hampden, like Brown or Lincoln, repeats himself in the new and larger manhood of his nation. When God wants to create a revolution or secure a sudden forward movement in society, he sets some great man into the midst of the people, and, looking upward, the generations are lifted to his level. The measure of civilization for a nation is found in the number and quality of its heroes and leaders.

SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Social progress through lifting up a master and model has always been the divine method. Here nature lends us a thousand interpretations. Ours is a world in which rain and snow, falling to the ground, must be lifted up and passed through bough and branch before water reddens in the wine's purple flood, or drips in the golden juices of the orange. In the forests the carbon and iron of the soil must be lifted up, to be hardened into masts for ships or timbers for temples. In the fields the wheat stalk lifts up the phosphates and condenses them into the rich, brown berry. By ropes and pulleys Phidias lifted the most perfect statue of his time, the "Pallas Athene," to its place upon the Acropolis, where its crown of gold and ivory, reflecting the sun's rays, first welcomed the Athenian mariner home again. Lifted from the quarries, stone and marble become temples and cathedrals. Lifted up by the author, meaningless words become poems and dramas. Standing upon the horizon, the sun lifts from the sea its whitest mists, lifts from the land the golden harvest, lifts from space the heavy planets.

Naturally, therefore, we expect social progress to be

achieved through the lifting up of good men and strong. In accordance with this method, the martyred Cranmer was made heroic, and, thrusting his arm into the fire, he lifted up an example that made the multitudes strong for achieving religious liberty. This multitude of brave women, going into the Crimea with the Red Cross movement and mercy; those nurses kindling their fires upon the edge of battle-fields; those who make their homes among the poor of tenement-house districts, remind us that long ago God caused Mary Ware, serving in the fever-stricken homes of Durham, and Florence Nightingale, nursing the English soldiers in the hospitals of the East, to be lifted up in the presence of the world's women. And, having by this method achieved great results for liberty, culture, and human happiness, God caused to be lifted up before man's mind and heart the soul's Saviour and Master. It need not surprise us, that straightway everything deepest in man's faculties and finest in his feelings responded to the inspiring influences and the stimulating example. When the sun stands upon the horizon, all the birds waken, and rise to sweet song and lofty flight; all the seeds bestir themselves, and push upward toward the light; all the buds unroll their crimson secrets; then the very sands blossom, and all rifts in the mountains respond with blooms beautiful and brilliant. Passing backward o'er the pathway of the ages, we see Christ's mighty, majestic heart, glowing and all-glorious, standing forth, to sow the world with light and joy, even as o'er the planets the sun scatters warmth and atmosphere.

WAXING FAME OF CHRIST.

The waxing fame of Christ is the most striking fact of our era. His star is causing all others to pale. Indeed, the time seems rapidly approaching when society will have but one hero and king, at whose feet humanity will empty

all its songs and flowers, its prayers and tears. In the triumphal procession of the Roman conqueror, kings and princes walked as captives in the emperor's train. Thus all the greatest men of the past generation seem to have joined Christ's triumphal procession. Let us call the roll of the great. Among Carlyle's last words were these: "The tidings of the most important event ever transacted in this world is the life and death of the Divine Man in Judæa, at once the symptom and cause of innumerable changes to all people in the world." By acclamation John Ruskin will be voted the first place among the English prose writers of the last two centuries. But Ruskin says his life has been dedicated, not to "the study of the beautiful in face and flower, in landscape and gallery, but to an interpretation of the truth and beauty of Jesus Christ." Another modern humanist is Matthew Arnold. But, dying, Matthew Arnold said: "Christ came to reveal what righteousness really is. For nothing will do except righteousness, and no other conception of righteousness will do except Christ's conception of it—his method and secret." All will confess that James Martineau is the successor of Theodore Parker in influence. But Martineau asserts that Christ must be called "the regenerator of the human race." "The world has changed," he says, "and that change is historically traceable to Christ." We all know that Shakespeare, perhaps the greatest intellect ever known in its wide and many-sided splendor, paid the lowliest reverence to Christ in passage after passage. But all the great poets of our age—Lowell and Longfellow, Browning and Tennyson—unite in saying:—

"Thou seemest human and divine;
The highest, holiest manhood thou;
Our wills are ours, we know not why;
Our wills are ours to make them thine."

Recently, in announcing his purpose to write a story of Christ's life, the distinguished author, Hall Caine, said that

he had spent all his life accumulating material for this proposed book, and that he had no higher ambition than to be associated in some humble way with the name and fame of Jesus Christ. By common consent Mr. Gladstone is the most sublime figure among the statesmen of our century. There is something deeply pathetic in the fact, that this statesman dedicated his closing years to the study of the teachings of Christ. The great premier seemed to feel that his laurel leaves won in the forum would soon fade, and with wistful pathos he said he desired to "weave a wreath for Him whose name is secure" and shines like a star.

MEETING AT THE CROSS.

At last the time seems to be coming when Unitarian and Trinitarian meeting will find common ground and, meeting at the cross, clasp hands of brotherhood. How striking these words, which William H. Channing, after long wandering in the arid desert of speculation, sent recently to Mr. Frothingham, the Unitarian writer: "Once again I sought comfort with the blessed company of sages and saints of the Orient and Hellas—with Loä-Tssee and Kung-Fu-Tssee; with the writers of the Bhagava-Geeta and the Dhamma-Bada; of the hymns of ancient Avesta and the modern sayings and songs of the Sufis, with radiant Plato and heroic Epictetus. Once more they refreshed and re-inspired me as of old. But they did something better. Hand in hand they brought me up to the white marble steps, to the crystal baptismal font, and the bread and wine crowned communion table—aye, to the cross in the chancel of the Christian temple—and as they laid their hands in benediction on my head they whispered, 'Here is your real home. We have been but your guides in the desert to lead you to fellowship with the Father and the Son in the spirit of holy humanity. Peace be with you.' And so, my brother, once again, and with purer, profounder,

and tenderer love than ever, like a little child, I kissed the blood-stained feet and hands and sides of the hero of Calvary and laid my head on the knees of the gentlest of martyrs, and was uplifted by the embracing arms of the gracious elder-brother, and in the kiss of mingled pity and pardon found the peace I sought, and became a Christian in experience, as through a long life I had hoped and prayed to be. Depend upon it, dear Frothingham, there is on this small earth ball no reality more real than this central communion with God in Christ, of which the saints of all ages in the church bear witness."

And these words are typical of the spirit of the age. All political economy is being rewritten in the light of the Sermon on the Mount, says the greatest of economic writers. He is increasingly the inspiration of our charities and philanthropies. All the great social movements of our era are centering about Him. Already his teachings are the watchwords of coming revolutions. Reform, duty, art, music, statesmanship, philosophy—all are captives marching in Christ's triumphal procession up the hill of time.

MAN'S VICES WILL DECLINE.

In nature, as the summer waxes the winter wanes, and the lengthening of the days means the shortening of the nights. This fact encourages within us the belief, that, as Christ's principles advance, man's vices will decline. In our world, causes are invariably followed by their appropriate results, and this law asks us to expect that so prodigious a cause as the life and teaching of Jesus Christ will be followed, of necessity, by strange effects upon man's happiness and character. In times of storm rivers often overflow their banks, and, spreading over the rich valleys, sweep away the houses, drown the cattle, and, when the waves have retreated, leave behind pastures buried in mud, and fields all covered with wrecks and desolation. Thus

the pages of Juvenal and Pliny and Lucian tell us of days when the floods of vice poured their dark and turbulent streams through the streets of all the ancient cities. Pliny tells us that the clouds of ashes falling from Vesuvius buried Pompeii and Herculaneum under thirty feet of ashes. This burial seems to have embalmed for our age that ancient civilization. The excavations in the streets where Pliny used to walk exhibit to us ancient art and ancient vice, rich homes and defiled inmates, beauteous statues and vicious sculptors, the cultivated intellect, but the darkened conscience.

Journeying up the Nile to Thebes and Memphis, our travelers are amazed to find that hideous vices were once worshiped as gods in those cities, where splendor and sin were united, like gold and mud, in the same image. We remember also that Cicero, who argues so eloquently for the rights of the poet Archias, also used his eloquence to defend a gladiatorial fight in which a thousand slaves were slain to satisfy the bloodthirsty instincts of eighty thousand of the leading ladies and gentlemen of that so-called "golden age." Lecky speaks of ten vices in Cicero's day, only two of which remain—intemperance and the social evil. It seems hard to realize that a few hundred years ago the sale of an estate in England carried with it the people on the land, and that a little earlier the Saxon hero used his enemy's skull for a drinking-cup. When Charlemagne marched through France, he found multitudes whose religion it was to eat dirt and roll their persons daily in the black mud. But a few Sunday evenings ago a young Sioux Indian stood in one of our great pulpits, and told of his ambitions for the homes and schools and churches of his people in words of such simple and majestic eloquence that he held spellbound an audience of nearly two thousand people. Yet, from the days when Ponce de Leon first landed in Florida to these modern times,

when the frontier line of civilization has advanced into the Dakotas, each newly discovered tribe of Indians has appeared offering innocent children as sacrifices and by strange incantations trying to appease the world devil. The Odyssey tells us that when Ulysses was pursuing the monster to slay it, the warrior traced the serpent by a black mark left upon the grass and flowers. Thus these monsters called vices have crawled like serpents down the aisles of time. Upon all the ages and nations vices have made as deep, black marks. But some hand has slain nearly all of these defiling monsters. With Guizot, let us gladly confess that the advance of Christ's teachings has been so closely followed by the decline of vice as to compel the logical mind to associate them in the relation of cause and effect.

NEW ERA FOR HUMANITY.

Doubtless, Christ's emphasis of individual worth has done much to usher in the new era for humanity. When Queen Victoria celebrated her golden anniversary, the gifts sent her were such as were thought to become a queen and empress. Each book was bound in gold, each texture held shining threads, and the very boxes were inlaid with pearls and jewels; and to Christ belonged such majesty of mingled beauty and strength and gentleness that society felt that the human soul could scarcely be painted in colors too rich for which such a one as Christ had lived and died. His enthusiasm for humanity immediately began to make itself felt. A glorious sense of human brotherhood moved outward over the earth like an advancing summer. If the emperors and the kings did not at once descend from their thrones, the slaves and the serfs did begin to rise to the level of those who held the scepter. It was not so much a crumbling of thrones or a falling of crowned heads as it was an upbuilding of the common people. In analyzing

Burns' song, "A man's a man for a' that," the scholars trace it back to Christ's parable of Lazarus and the rich man. Before Christ's searching vision the purple and the fine linen fell away from Dives, and his rags fell away from the beggared Lazarus. Christ placed his finger upon the soul, capitalized manhood, and made the name of man a title superior to that of ruler and lord. Soon, because men were equals and brothers, the church adopted the same ritual for high and low, bond and free. Emperor Constantine and his rude soldiers knelt together before the same minister, and in baptism received alike the cleansing flood. The marriage ceremony that bound with golden chains prince and princess was used also for servant and maid. In the solemn hour of death the words, "I am the resurrection and the life," were read over the bier of kings and paupers alike. Thus Christianity assaulted the vanity of the heart through its outer trappings, even as the sun assaults an armor of ice. The old proverb was, "Call a man a thief, and he will rob you." The new proverb becomes, "Trust a man, and he will not disappoint you." Christ unfurled the flag of equality above palace and slave market. He waved the golden rule above each law and statute-book. He caused the state to set guardian angels beside each sleeping babe. Above each doorway for vice and crime he wrote the words, "Blessed are the pure 'in heart." Soon society began to forsake the paths of vice and crime, and turned glad feet into the way that led unto happiness and virtue.

GERMAN PEASANT'S DREAM.

Those who were of royal birth felt they must not live like slaves. The Germans have a poem of the transformation of a cottage. While the peasant slept in his chair he dreamed, and, lo, the thatched roof was lifted up and became the roof of a temple. The little cracked windows

became large, arched, and filled with colored glass. The low walls gave place to glorious paintings. The fireplace became a golden altar, over which bowed the angel forms of his children departed and dead. Oh, beautiful story, picturing for us that strange transformation that passed over society after Christ taught the doctrine of individual worth and divine sonship.

Christianity, while chiefly busying itself with teaching the art of right living and of character building here, as a preparation for the life hereafter, has accomplished many incidental results for man's happiness and welfare. Orchards are planted primarily for one purpose—to secure food and fruit against the long winter. But having met the requirements of hunger, the orchards go on to delight the eye with blossoms, to fill the air with perfume, to provide grateful shade for man and beast, and homes for countless birds. Thus Christianity is a tree that bears indeed the fruit of immortal life, but it bears also a thousand other fruits for the life that now is. By reason of the great themes with which it is concerned—themes called God, law, mind, conscience, truth, beauty—Christianity early developed an affiliation for education and learning. To advance its principles and defend them, to secure wise advocates for its truths, it founded colleges, schools, and literatures. Having educated teachers for the sanctuary, it began to expand its plans, and came to include the training of poets and jurists, of physicians and scientists. From the day when the boy Christ remained in the temple to converse with the wise men, Christianity has been the friend of the mind and an advocate of the increase of knowledge. Nourished in its stimulating atmosphere, such minds as those of Bacon and Milton and Angelo, and thousands of illustrious compeers, have come with genius enriched by the stimulating atmosphere in which they have lived. Where other religions have produced here

and there a single mediocre mind, Christianity has produced during like periods a thousand giants in the realm of philosophy or art or learning.

CHANGES MADE BY CHRISTIANITY.

Single minds do exist in the history of China or India or Africa, but they exist just as occasional palm-trees and springs are found, at intervals of hundreds of miles, in the Sahara desert. But entering moral deserts like England in the year 590, and Germany in 700, Christianity has changed the climate for nations, and made genius and greatness indigenous. To this enriching influence upon learning must be added Christianity's natural affiliation with the fine arts. To describe that eternal summer land beyond the grave, John has swept together all gold for the streets, all gems for its walls, all cool fountains and streams, all sweet song, all noble speech. So beautiful is that realm, said Paul, that eye had not seen or ear heard, nor could mind conceive its splendors. The task, therefore, of portraying that ideal land placed every artist upon his mettle. Architects taxed themselves to build cathedrals worthy of Him whom the heaven of heavens could not contain. Painters vied with each other in creating seraphs and angels beautiful enough to adorn the walls of Christ's sanctuary. Sculptors went everywhither searching out marble white enough for Christ's forehead.

Each Handel taxed himself for music sweet enough for his hymns of praise. Soon the greatness of Christianity's themes lent greatness to the minds studying them. For great thoughts make great thinkers, while petty thoughts make insignificant thinkers. It was the woe, the grief of three million slaves that lent eloquence to Wendell Phillips. It was the sorrows of the poor of England that lent eloquence to John Bright. It was the Madonna that made Titian, and the paradise that made Milton. Take the seed idea and the mother principles of Christian-

ity out of the last thousand years of time, and society's storehouses, called galleries and libraries, would be emptied. An English jurist tells of falling asleep and dreaming that every Christian idea had been stricken out of his law-books. Opening the familiar books, he found one-third of each page blank, and all pages meaningless. Thus, if by divine fiat every Christian idea should be blotted out of the library, the museum, the statute-books, all would become meaningless. The very structure of civilization would crumble into a heap of ruins. Eloquence, songs, laws, reforms, civic virtues, would all fall with the fall of the great ideas that produced them.

INFLUENCE ON HOPE OF PROGRESS.

This uplifted name is also exerting a profound influence upon the world's hope of progress. Frederick Schlegel was deeply impressed by the thought that all other religious systems are living upon the prestige of the past. Looking backward, they borrow their light from "a golden age" forever gone. "The gods hate the prosperous," was the ancient proverb. And so with profound melancholy the Greeks and Romans looked longingly backward toward a greatness that was rapidly receding, for they felt that the future held for them only awful and inevitable catastrophe. Each disciple of Buddha or Confucius also speaks wistfully of a departed glory. For Christ alone "the golden age" is in the to-morrow. With buoyant and aspiring spirit, with confident and unyielding expectancy of a general and certain progress of society toward liberty and light, Christianity moves steadily forward into the future. And as a plan turns a pile of bricks into a house, turns a mob into an army, turns scattered sounds into a symphony, turns warring sections into a nation, so this unfolding plan and purpose of God unifies events, constrains opposing nations, gives each century its stint, gives a definite goal to history. That conviction of Christianity's ultimate triumph never

failed the fathers or martyrs. It lent the soldier his unconquerable courage; it lent the hero and reformer his adamant will; it lent the sage his stainless life. Beginning a mere dot on the map, Christianity has now subdued and bannered whole continents. It began at Olivet with the twelve disciples. In forty days there were three thousand. When John died in Ephesus there were five hundred thousand; to-day these have become four hundred million. Napoleon said: "He who does not attack and plunge his standard into the thick of the enemy's ranks must soon pull down his flag." Whatever system, therefore, is sending the thousands of scholars, professors, physicians, editors, into other nations, holds the keynote of progress and will sooner or later mount to the world's throne. To-day our young lawyers study Sir Henry Maine's "Ancient Society," "Ancient Law," "Early Institutions."

FUTURE OF INDIA.

But these are lectures written by a jurist in the law school of Calcutta, founded by Christian teachers only a hundred years ago. There are three million other young men and women in India in Christian colleges, academies, and schools. Soon this will mean a free press, libraries in every village of that tropic land, railways, manual training schools, free institutions—and after that "the flood" of knowledge. And so of Africa and China; the columns of light are marching straight for the heart of each continent. Christianity is a young giant that in three centuries leaped to the throne of the Cæsars. The rate of progress that has prevailed since Shakespeare's day will in three centuries more seat Christianity upon every great throne of our earth. But can it conquer the civilized barbarians at home? Has it power to stay lawlessness in the city, to check the ravages of poverty and intemperance? There is a proverb that "What has been done can be done." Did Christianity find the finest scholars and noblest ladies of

Rome attending gladiatorial shows, and does it now guard the very horses from cruelty? Did it find in the finest temples of Corinth vices worshiped and defiled that now it is shameful to mention? The past at least is secure. And because it has ideals for the city, the forum, and the market, Christianity's future is certain. It is urged that to-day in Europe there are nations armed to the teeth and soldiers awaiting orders to march.

But what if at one time there were four Christian men on the throne in Berlin and Paris, in Vienna and St. Petersburg? Would not the barracks and citadels be emptied, the soldiers drop their bayonets to turn toward the fields with the pruning-knives and sickles? What if all our institutions and people should seek to incarnate Christ's example? No more war, no more clanking of chains in prisons, no more lazy, thriftless poverty, no crushing monopoly, no cruelty, no harsh judgments, each bearing another's weakness. A beautiful dream! But ideals rule the world. And Christ's ideal is the prophecy of what shall be when men and events have hastened on toward that one far-off event toward which the whole creation moves. True, the ideal may be realized slowly. Nature changes no climate rapidly. Physically man does not sleep midst snow-drifts to waken midst roses. The difference between the icicle and a ripe cherry represents for the planet a journey of many millions of miles. And in morals with God a thousand years are as one day. God has time enough and to spare. Take no counsel, therefore, of crouching fear. It is safer to trust the highest hopes than the lowest fears. The century plant takes a hundred years for root and trunk, but blossoms, as it were, in the night. And nations, also, shall be born into culture and character in a day. Soon every knee shall bow to the name that is above every name, and he whom God has lifted to the world's throne shall in turn lift the world to a place beside him.

ARTICLE VIII.

CÆDMON, THE FIRST GREAT ENGLISH POET.

BY THE REV. DANIEL SEELYE GREGORY, D.D., LL.D.

TWELVE HUNDRED years have passed since the first great English poet was laid to rest at Streanshalh in old Northumbria. Late in September, 1898, there was a notable gathering to unveil a memorial cross erected at Whitby, the old Streanshalh, in honor of Cædmon, "the divine ox-herd." The address at the unveiling was delivered by Mr. Alfred Austin, the Poet-Laureate. For almost a millennium, Cædmon, with all the other representatives of that marvelous early English literary development, had been practically forgotten, only to be brought to mind again during the present century. To the last generation they were scarcely more than legendary names; but now that an admiring nation sets up a Cædmon Memorial, and a poet-laureate delivers an address affirming that Cædmon, rather than Chaucer, should be called "the morning star of English poetry," the English-speaking peoples are naturally turning back to this primeval bard with awakened interest. Such questions as these are being asked: Who was Cædmon, and what is the story of his life? What was the poetry that gave him such renown? What was his influence upon his own age, and what has it been on later ages? Does he deserve to be so remembered and celebrated? Some of these questions will be answered directly and others incidentally in this article.

The History of Cædmon.—The story of the poet—

or the romance, if one prefers so to call it—has been preserved in brief by that illustrious church-historian, the Venerable Bede, or Beda, the early English church-historian, and in England at least, if not in the world, the greatest teacher of his age. Bede was born A. D. 673, ten years before the death of Cædmon. In his masterpiece, "The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," Bede briefly tells the story of the first great English poet, in Latin, the literary language of the world of that age. Later it was translated into Anglo-Saxon and improved by King Alfred, in order to bring it within the reach of a larger number of his people.

The environment, as may be gathered from the history, was just fitted for the development of a great religious poet.

Cædmon lived when the overlordship of Northumbria extended over the major part of Britain, and when its period of greatest intellectual awakening was just at hand. His life-work was reaching out toward its highest at the very time when the religious conflict between Roman and Irish Christianity culminated in the Synod of Whitby. Never was the English religious nature more deeply stirred than in that age. That was a necessity to the production of such a poet as Cædmon, as truly as the Puritan rousing was to the coming of Milton.

The story of the conversion of Britain from the Roman side of approach is a familiar one. It was Edwin that so extended the overlordship of Northumbria in the first third of the seventh century. His queen, the sister of the king of Kent, when she came to her new home in the North, brought with her Paulinus, one of the followers of the Roman monk Augustine, the chief apostle from Rome to Britain. Edwin was soon converted, by Paulinus and the queen, to the new faith, and then he summoned that historic gathering of the wise men of the realm to consider the reception of the new teaching. Said an old Ealdor-

man, as he recognized the light that it threw over the darkness that encompassed human life:—

“So seems the life of man, O king, as a sparrow’s flight through the hall when you are sitting at meat in winter-tide, and the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the icy rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door, and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth-fire, and then flying forth from the other, vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight; but what is before it, what after it, we know not. If this new teaching tells us aught certainly of these, let us follow it.”¹

That was beautiful theory. Coifa the priest struck the practical note for the people: “None of your people, Eðwin, have worshiped the gods more busily than I, yet there are many more favored and more fortunate. Were these gods good for anything they would help their worshipers.” Then leaping on his horse, the historian tells us, “he hurled his spear into the sacred temple at Godmanham, and with the rest of the Witan embraced the religion of the king.”

Had this easy-going Roman conversion been all, there could have been no Cædmon with his sacred poetry. The real conversion and the inspiration came from another quarter. That work was begun when the good bishop Aidan came on his mission from the living and independent church of Ireland, where Columba from his island of Iona had done his grand work, established his bishop’s see at Lindisfarne, and went forth—from the very spot from which during the present century that heroine, Grace Darling, pushed out from her lighthouse home into the darkness and storm to rescue the perishing sailors—to rescue the perishing heathen of Britain. Who has not been inspired with new zeal by the story of Aidan and of his disciple, the peasant-preacher Cuthbert, as they bore the gospel over Northumbria? Nightfall once found Cuthbert and his companions supperless on the waste. “Never did

¹ Green, *A Short History of the English People*, p. 21.

man die of hunger who served God faithfully," said the preacher. "Look at the eagle overhead! God can feed us through him if he will." And once at least he had for his meal a fish that the scared bird let fall. "The snow closes the road along the shore; the storm bars our way over sea," said his companions mournfully, when a snow-storm drove his boat on the coast of Fife. Said Cuthbert, "There is still the way of heaven that lies open!" Such faith was irresistible, and the white crosses erected here and there on the high-places were witnesses of that real conversion of the land that made a great religious poet possible.

But the jealousy of Rome was roused, and her ecclesiastics set to work to destroy this spiritual primacy of the Irish church in Britain. Hence the great ecclesiastical establishments at Whitby and Jarrow became the centers of conflict. In 664 the Synod or great Council, at Whitby, was called to decide the future allegiance of England. The debate may have been trivial, but the results were momentous. So the historian relates it:—

"Colman, Aidan's successor at Holy Island, pleaded for the Irish fashion of the tonsure, and for the Irish time of keeping Easter; Wilfrid pleaded for the Roman. The one bishop appealed to the authority of Columba, the other to that of St. Peter. 'You own,' cried the king, at last, to Colman, 'that Christ gave to Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven—has he given such power to Columba?' The bishop could but answer 'No.' 'Then I will rather obey the porter of Heaven,' said Oswin, 'lest when I reach its gates, he who has the keys in his keeping turn his back on me, and there would be none to open.'"¹

The Irish Christians were defeated and driven back, but they had already prepared the way for a great age by breathing the breath of life into the people. Out of this environment came Cædmon, who began to sing after the famous Synod and in this same Abbey of Whitby.

St. Hilda, the abbess of the monastery, was the encourager and patroness of the poet. Hilda, Bede tells us, "was

¹ Green, p. 30.

nobly born, being the daughter of Hereric, nephew to King Edwin, with which king she also embraced the faith and mysteries of Christ, at the preaching of Paulinus, the first bishop of the Northumbrians, of blessed memory, and preserved the same undefiled till she attained the sight of him in heaven." Hilda devoted herself to a religious life, and was first made abbess of Heruteu, where she "began immediately to reduce all things to a regular system, according as she had been instructed by learned men; for Bishop Aidan, and other religious men that knew her and loved her, frequently visited and diligently instructed her, because of her innate wisdom and inclination to the service of God." Later she undertook the organization or establishment of the monastery at Streanshalh, or Whitby, where her labors were crowned with wonderful success. Bede relates that—

"She taught there the strict observance of justice, piety, chastity, and other virtues, and particularly of peace and charity; so that after the example of the primitive church, no person was there rich, and none poor, all being in common to all, and none having any property. Her prudence was so great, that not only indifferent persons, but even kings and princes, as occasion offered, asked and received her advice; she obliged those who were under her direction to attend so much to reading of the Holy Scriptures, and to exercise themselves so much in works of justice, that many might be there found fit for ecclesiastical duties, and to serve at the altar."¹

Such a religious center—with such environment of strenuous conflict, of Christian culture and heroism, and of earnest study of the Holy Scriptures—was just the place to call out the latent powers of the poet and make him the first English singer of the wonders of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

The story of the development of Cædmon in that environment, the Venerable Bede will be permitted to tell in his own inimitable way:—

¹ *Ecclesiastical History of England*, Book iv. chap. 23.

"There was in this abbess's monastery a certain brother, particularly remarkable for the grace of God, who was wont to make pious and religious verses, so that whatever was interpreted to him out of Scripture, he soon after put the same into poetical expressions of much sweetness and humility, in English, which was his native language. By his verses the minds of many were often excited to despise the world, and to aspire to heaven. Others after him attempted, in the English nation, to compose religious poems, but none could ever compare with him, for he did not learn the art of poetry from men, but from God; for which reason he never could compose any trivial or vain poem, but only those which relate to religion suited his religious tongue; for having lived in a secular habit till he was well advanced in years, he had never learned anything of versifying; for which reason being sometimes at entertainments, when it was agreed for the sake of mirth that all present would sing in their turns, when he saw the instrument come towards him, he rose up from table and returned home.

"Having done so at a certain time, and gone out of the house where the entertainment was, to the stable, where he had to take care of the horses that night, he there composed himself to rest at the proper time; a person appeared to him in his sleep, and saluting him by his name, said, 'Cædmon, sing some song to me.' He answered, 'I cannot sing; for that was the reason why I left the entertainment, and retired to this place, because I could not sing.' The other who talked to him, replied, 'However, you shall sing.' 'What shall I sing?' rejoined he. 'Sing the beginning of created things,' said the other. Thereupon he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard, the purport whereof was thus:—We are now to praise the Maker of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and his counsel, the deeds of the Father of glory. How he, being the eternal God, became the author of all miracles, who first, as almighty preserver of the human race, created heaven for the sons of men as the roof of the house, and next the earth. This is the sense, but not the words in order as he sang them in his sleep; for verses, though never so well composed, cannot be literally translated out of one language into another, without losing much of their beauty and loftiness. Awaking from his sleep, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity.

"In the morning he came to the steward, his superior, and having acquainted him with the gift he had received, was conducted to the abbess, by whom he was ordered, in the presence of many learned men, to tell his dream, and repeat the verses, that they might all give their judgment what it was, and whence his verse proceeded. They all concluded, that heavenly grace had been conferred on him by our Lord. They expounded to him a passage in holy writ, either historical or doctrinal, ordering him, if he could, to put the same into verse. Having undertaken it, he

went away, and returning the next morning, gave it to them composed in most excellent verse; whereupon the abbess, embracing the grace of God in the man, instructed him to quit the secular habit, and take upon him the monastic life; which being accordingly done, she associated him with the rest of the brethren in her monastery, and ordered that he should be taught the whole series of sacred history. Thus Cædmon, keeping in mind all he heard, and as it were chewing the cud, converted the same into most harmonious verse; and sweetly repeating the same, made his masters in their turn his hearers. He sang the creation of the world, the origin of man, and all the history of Genesis: and made many verses on the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, and their entering into the land of promise, with many other histories from holy writ; the incarnation, passion, resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven; the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the preaching of the apostles; also the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the delights of heaven; besides many more about the Divine benefits and judgments, by which he endeavored to turn away all men from the love of vice, and to excite in them the love of, and application to, good actions; for he was a very religious man, humbly submissive to regular discipline, but full of zeal against those who behaved themselves otherwise; for which reason he ended his life happily."¹

The happy ending of his life is also described by Bede, fitting end for the man and the career. He had been laboring for a fortnight under a bodily infirmity, but so slight that he could talk and walk the whole time.

"He desired the person who attended him, in the evening, as the night came on in which he was to depart this life, to make ready a place there for him to take his rest" in the neighboring house to which "those that were sick, and like shortly to die, were carried. This person, wondering why he should desire it, did what he had ordered. He accordingly went there, and conversing pleasantly—in a joyful manner with the rest that were in the house before, when it was past midnight, he asked them, whether they had the Eucharist there? They answered, 'What need of the Eucharist? for you are not likely to die, since you talk so merrily with us, as if you were in perfect health.' 'However,' said he, 'bring me the Eucharist.' Having received the same in his hand, he asked whether they were all in charity with him." Having responded affirmatively, they asked him the same question. He answered, "I am in charity, my children, with all the servants of God." "Then strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, he prepared for the entrance into another life, and asked, how near the time was when the brothers were to be awakened to sing the nocturnal praises of our Lord? They an-

¹ Eccl. Hist., Bk. iv. chap. 24.

swered, 'It is not far off.' Then he said, 'Well, let us wait that hour'; and signing himself with the sign of the cross, he laid his head on the pillow, and falling into a slumber, ended his life so in silence."

It is not the purpose here to sift fable and fact. The basis of Bede's narrative is doubtless fact. Some things stand out clearly: Cædmon became a monk late in life, led thereto by his eminent piety; he heartily abhorred the heathen and diabolical songs, connected with the pagan religion, that were in vogue at their festivals and entertainments, and so refrained from joining in them; he was encouraged by the good abbess Hilda to put into poetic form the grand Bible narratives that in the great awakening came to take the place of all others in the monastery and in the entertainments of the people; that his genius made itself felt in his own day, so that he was recognized as one of the brightest glories of his age. Given the poetic genius, and we can well imagine the man of probity and piety, loathing the rude pagan revelries more and more as the Christian spirit of Aidan wrought a transformation in the life of the people, meditating on the grand Bible themes day and night, and at last breaking forth into sacred song that has never been surpassed in sublimity.

The Poetry of Cædmon.—The poetry of the old English bard—so recently restored only in small part to the world that had lost it for a thousand years—will doubtless be studied with increasing interest by the coming generations. From Bede and other sources we get a glimpse, through the fragments, of what the grandeur of the original whole must have been. It consisted, so to speak, of two great books.

Book First treated of Old Testament events, its theme being Paradise Lost. With great tact the poet selected the truly epic events that fall in with theme and aim, the prominent landmarks of the history of redemption. So he sang of the creation, of the origin and fall of man, and of

the banishment from Paradise, and the results; of the miraculous deliverance from Egypt, laying stress on the whelming of Pharaoh's host, and the entrance into the Promised Land; and of the supernatural revelations of Daniel that anticipate, foreshadow, and delineate the unfoldings of the future until the advent of Messiah on whom is to depend the restoration of that which had been lost, and on beyond all to the final consummation.

Book Second, of which only the recorded outline with some fragments has been preserved, treated of "the incarnation, passion, resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven"; of "the coming of the Holy Ghost and the preaching of the apostles," or the inauguration of the New Dispensation, or the Kingdom of Heaven, on earth, and the first impulses toward its world-wide extension; of "the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the delights of heaven," rising to the consummation of all things in Paradise Regained.

Cædmon's theme was therefore substantially that of Milton in his double epic, no less than that of the Vision of Piers the Plowman,—the ever-recurring theme of the Christian ages.

The sole manuscript of the poem, known to be extant—and that fragmentary and doubtless more or less changed in the transcription—is an illuminated one in the Bodleian Library, assigned to the tenth century. The manuscript belonged to Archbishop Usher, the author of the once most commonly received Bible chronology. He gave it to Francis Dujon or Junius, who, under guidance of Bede's outline, assigned the poem to Cædmon as its author. Junius had it printed as Cædmon's in 1655. And Brother Azarias, in "The Development of English Literature" in the Old English Period, adds:—

"And Dujon had a friend to whom he communicated his literary projects; that friend was then in his forty-seventh year, and was meditating

a grand epic; he saw this MS.; no doubt he received a copy of the printed poem from his friend; it decided his subject and its treatment; the materials he had collected for a Miracle-play he made use of in this new project, and forthwith he produced a work of great genius. That man was Milton, the poem was 'Paradise Lost.'"¹

Some snatches from the earlier poem done into modern English will prove more than suggestive of the later one.² Here is the sublime opening:—

"Mickle right it is that we, Heaven's guard,
Glory-King of hosts! with words should praise,
With hearts should love. He is of powers the efficacy;
Head of all high creations;
Lord Almighty! In Him beginning never
Or origin hath been; but He is aye supreme
Over heaven-thrones, with high majesty
Righteous and mighty."

The poet's description of the primitive condition of the earth takes us back to the "chaos" of Genesis and forward to the "darkness visible" of Milton:—

"Earth's surface was
With grass not yet begreened; while far and wide,
The dusky ways, with black, unending night,
Did ocean cover."

But perhaps the most remarkable anticipations of Milton—sometimes passing the Puritan poet in conception while not falling behind him in sublimity—are those found in Cædmon's delineation of the character of Satan. Witness his portraiture of the original, unfallen Satan:—

"So fair was he made—so beauteous his form
Received from the Lord of hosts—he was bright
As are the bright stars. His task was to praise
The works of his Lord; his heavenly joys
To cherish most dear; their Giver to thank
For beauty and light upon him bestowed."

¹ On "Cædmon's Influence at Home and Abroad," p. 129.

² These somewhat poetical translations of Guest, in *English Rhythms*, and of Thorpe, in his *Cædmon*, will doubtless be found more effective, if not even more exact, than would be the bald literal rendering.

The plotting of Satan against God is built upon that wonderful passage in Isaiah¹ concerning the fall of "Lucifer, the son of the morning":—

" 'Wherefore,' he said, 'shall I toil?
No need have I of master. I can work
With my own hands great marvels, and have power
To build a throne more worthy of a God,
Higher in heaven. Why shall I, for His smile,
Serve Him, bend to Him thus in vassalage?
I may be God as He.
Stand by me, strong supporters, firm in strife.
Hard-mooded heroes, famous warriors,
Have chosen me for chief; one may take thought
With such for counsel, and with such secure
Large following. My friends in earnest they,
Faithful in all the shaping of their minds;
I am the master, and may rule this realm.' " 2

The punishment visited upon him for this rebellion, is his being cast into hell, where he is afflicted with alternate heat and cold,—the description combining the biblical and the old Anglo-Saxon conceptions:—

" Each fiend through long and dreary evening,
Hath fire renewed about him; cometh then,
Ere dawn, an eastern wind, fierce cold upon it—
The dart of fire or frost must rankle there—
Some hard affliction each must ever have."

The address of Satan to his companions in this abode of suffering—a passage certainly not unworthy of a Milton—must suffice for the purpose of these extracts:—

" And Satan spake—he who in hell should rule,
Govern th' abyss henceforth—in sorrow spake.
God's angel erst, in heaven white he shone,
Till urged his mind, and most of all his pride,
To do no honor to the Lord's sweet word.
Within him boiled his thoughts about his heart;
Without, the wrathful fire pressed hot upon him—
He said: 'This narrow place is most unlike
That other we once knew in heaven high,
And which my Lord gave me; though own it now

¹ Isaiah xiv. 12-14. ² Morley, in *A First Sketch of English Literature*.

We must not, but to Him must cede our realm.
 Yet right He hath not done to strike us down
 To hell's abyss—of heaven's realm bereft—
 Which with mankind to people He hath planned.
 Pain sorest this, that Adam, wrought of earth,
 On my strong throne shall sit, enjoying bliss,
 While we endure these pangs—hell-torments dire—
 Woe! woe is me! could I but use my hands
 And might I be from here a little time—
 One winter's space—then with this host would I—
 But press me hard these iron bands—this coil
 Of chain—and powerless I am, so fast
 I'm bound. Above is fire; below is fire;
 A loathlier landscape never have I seen;
 Nor smolders aye the fire, but hot throughout.
 In chains; my pathway barred; my feet tied down;
 Those hell-doors bolted all; I may not move
 From out these limb-bands; binds me iron hard—
 Hot-forged great grindles! God has griped me tight
 About the neck!''¹

How wrathful the rebellion! How dreadful the agony!
 How unspeakable the jealousy of Adam! How terrific and
 Titanic the struggle with the dread environment! How
 awful the gripe of God upon him! It is all imagination
 at white heat.

These fragments from the opening portions of his poem
 can scarcely fail to accredit Cædmon's claim to be the
 "First Great English Poet," with emphasis upon "Great,"
 and to justify the celebration of the twelve-hundredth an-
 niversary of his death.

The Cædmon Memorial.—It seemed a tardy recognition
 of greatness when, on that late September day, the men of
 England met to unveil a white cross that had been erected
 at Whitby in honor of Cædmon. It was a most appropri-

¹ Thorpe translates this passage:—

"So *that* with aught I cannot
 From these limb-bonds escape:
 About me lie of hard iron,
 Forged with heat huge gratings,
 With which me God hath fastened by the neck."

ate memorial, for the Cross was the poet's central thought. Moreover, the magnificent crosses at Bewcastle, Ruthwell, and Hexham date back to his age, when the work to which Aidan and Cuthbert gave impulse was going forward, and testify to the zeal of their converts. Cædmon himself furnished, in his old age and as his latest production, the inscription on the Ruthwell cross, which is a part of a poem, on the Holy Rood, found entire in the Vercelli collection.

The setting up of the Ruthwell cross twelve hundred years ago might well have been taken as a pattern for that of last Autumn. It had been the custom in more ancient times to inscribe on similar stone monuments the praises of heathen gods in Runic rhyme; but now that a Christian hymn was to take its place, who was so capable of preparing it as the aged Cædmon? That olden cross has thus been described:—

“A large stone cross is to be erected. It is a costly monument, a great artistic effort for that day. Our Lord is represented as standing on two swine. A Latin inscription tells us that he is a judge of equity, and that the wild beasts acknowledge the Saviour of the world in the desert. Lower still Paul and Anthony are pictured breaking their loaf in the desert; another Latin inscription speaks the fact.”¹

It was upon this that a part of Cædmon's last, and perhaps greatest, poem was inscribed in Runic character. The poet has a dream in which the Rood recounts its emotions as our Lord was transfixed to it:

“Methought I saw a Tree in mid-air hang—
Of trees the brightest—mantling o'er with light-streaks;
A beacon stood it, glittering with gold.”

He lay long looking upon this Healer's Tree, which at last told him how it grew upon the wood's edge and was cut down and set upon a hill. Then it tells the “whole story of the suffering and death and burial and resurrection of the Saviour”; and recounts how the Rood had

¹ The Development of English Literature, p. 106.

been transformed from a thing of deepest shame into a glorious symbol of honor, even as—

“ His Mother, Mary’s self, Almighty God
Most worthily hath raised above all women.”

Then at last the poet’s thought turns within himself, and his soul fixes confidently upon the Cross—on which his inscription is to be fixed for ages to come—as the symbol of his own personal salvation; and then the voice that had so long charmed men became silent forever:—

“ Soul-longings many in my day I’ve had,
My life’s hope now is that the Tree of Triumph
Must seek I. Than all others oftener
Did I alone extol its glories;
Thereto my will is bent, and when I need
A claim for shelter to the Rood I’ll go.
Of nightiest friends, from me are many now
Unclasped, and far away from our world’s joys;
They sought the Lord of Hosts, and now in heaven,
With the High-Father, live in glee and glory;
And for the day most longingly I wait,
When the Saviour’s Rood that here I contemplate
From this frail life shall take me into bliss—
The bliss of heaven’s wards: the Lord’s folk there
Is seated at the feast; there’s joy unending;
And He shall set me there in glory,
And with the saints their pleasures I shall share.”

That ancient celebration, with its noble Christian poem, might well have been taken—we repeat—as a pattern for the recent one,—the more so, as the Poet-Laureate was given the place of honor on the occasion. It had been previously suggested that it would furnish opportunity for a noble poetic effort; but Mr. Austin held himself to the plainest prose. In the course of his address he is reported to have said:—

“ Chaucer has been called the ‘morning star of English poetry,’ but it seems to me that the designation would be more aptly applied to Cædmon, since, with the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, the glorious sunlight of English song already illuminated the horizon. But the somewhat rudimentary verse of Cædmon has all the tentative and hesitating

character of yet imperfect dawn. He is the half-inarticulate father of English poets yet to be, and it is, as I understand it, not only to the lisping ancestor, but to his full-voiced descendants in this island throughout all time, that this memorial cross has been erected. For, if we look closely and carefully into the circumstances of his life and seek the cause and origin of his singing, we shall find that Cædmon serves, in all essentials, as the very type of the poet in all ages and all lands. To begin with, he was unlettered. I am aware there have been learned poets, though Milton is perhaps the only English poet of consequence who could so be described with any approach to accuracy. As a rule, poets have but small erudition, but large understanding; to understand rather than to know, to be wise rather than erudite, being the distinctive mark and mission of the poet. Very little learning equipped the greatest of English poets for universal apprehension, and Cædmon, his remote predecessor, was wholly unencumbered with the lumber of learning, and therefore all the more impressionable to the two main earthly sources of poetic inspiration—external nature and the human heart.

“But if nature be the chief teacher of the poet, there is yet another, to whom his debt is almost equally great, and Cædmon did not lack the second helpmate of the muse. It was a woman, and a woman who was both a princess and a saint, to whom he owed shelter and inspiration, and would it be too fanciful to say that Cædmon was Hilda’s laureate? I have observed, with some surprise, that in these later days, more eager perhaps for novelty than for real originality, a sort of crusade has been organized for the extension of the influence of women. For my part, I am unable to see how that is possible, since their influence, one is happy to think, has ever since the days of Adam been coextensive with the feelings, aspirations, and activities of man.

“Stress has been laid, and rightly laid, on his being a Christian poet. A poet is perforce and inevitably religious. By religious I do not mean dogmatic, much less disputatious, but his nature is steeped through and through with religious sentiment, the spiritual expression of which is an abiding sense of the infinite harmony that reconciles our finite discords, and whose practical fruits are intellectual humility and tender toleration.

“Thus, alike by the limitation of his acquirements, by his rustic familiarity with the aspect and language of nature, by his willing submission to the elevating influence of woman, and, finally, by his lips being touched with hallowed fire, Cædmon may serve and stand as the type of the English poet.”

Such commonplace was hardly worthy of so great occasion. It seems rather like the belittling of a great poet by a small one, than an interpretation and appreciation of an almost incomparable genius, and of a Christian mission the grandest of its age. It is probably well that Mr. Al-

fred Austin, Poet-Laureate, did not attempt poetry at the unveiling of the white cross memorial. It was well, too, that there was a speaker present who had some knowledge of English history, and some discriminating sense of the mission of the first of our great English poets. Canon Rawnsley said in substance:—

“Those assembled round the beautiful cross had come to pay, after centuries of silence and of apparent neglect, a debt owed by the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature to the first Christian poet of our land. They had met that day not only to honor the first Christian poet of England, but an inspired Christian missionary of the seventh century. They had met to honor the man who first translated the Holy Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon verse. Cædmon’s Bible-paraphrase was the means of doing two things. It helped to Christianize Northumbria, it helped to fix and crystallize our vernacular for us.”

These two points certainly called for emphasis: that Cædmon was the first great Christian poet of England; and that he is the chief representative of the earliest English attempts at literary expression.

Brother Azarias has admirably summed up the work of Cædmon in transferring the worship of our Anglo-Saxon fathers from Odin and Thor, to which they were devoted, to that Holy Trinity to whom the church was seeking to lead them. He says:—

“A religion so imbedded in the popular thinking cannot be easily uprooted. It is only by a long course of training that the fancy and imagination can be brought to run in the new groove of thought. To that end does the Church bring to bear all her teaching and discipline. By degrees she weeds out the tares of the old faith, and plants the seeds of the new. She finds special difficulty in getting this people to forget its heathen mythology, its heathen songs, and its heathen rites, especially in connection with wakes and burials. Council after council issues decree after decree; but at first with slight success. A more effectual method was at hand. A great genius was about to sing the glories of heaven and earth and make Christian truth so acceptable in song that the popular mind willingly lets the heathen imagery drop out of its memory and in the stead fills it with Scripture thought and Scripture allusion.”¹

¹ The Development of English Literature: The Old English Period.

That transcendent genius was Cædmon, and his task was accomplished through his poetic paraphrases of the Sacred Scriptures, by means of which he was not only an inspiration to his own age but also to the ages since. To the White Cross just erected to his memory at Whitby, the English-speaking peoples may well repair as to a sacred shrine. For Christian history, to the English race, that Cross marks the richest portion of the globe outside of Palestine; and, for any one of that race susceptible to ennobling influences, in looking out from that Cross toward Lindisfarne and the North Sea with the memories of those apostles of the Irish Church, Aidan and Cuthbert, toward Jarrow with its associations with Biscop and Bede, and upon Whitby with its trooping recollections of St. Hilda and Cædmon, there can scarcely fail to be a marvelous uplift of soul.

ARTICLE IX.

THE FUTURE OF TRUSTS.¹

BY Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK.

AUGUST COMTE affirmed that a perfect science can predict. The deeply philosophical mind of De Tocqueville clearly foresaw the abolition of slavery in America, and, so far back as in 1833, predicted an event that found its fulfilment thirty years later. When a science is yet in its swaddling-clothes, like sociology, it cannot affirm,—

“’Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before.”

Adam Smith first published his “Wealth of Nations” in 1776, and some of the ablest minds of this closing century have traversed the field of political economy with accuracy and acumen; but most economists are content with the historical method, while too many are satisfied to be juggling with statistics, and the world of reality moves away from them at so rapid a pace that many text-books on economics find the upper shelf before they reach a second edition. Those who make history ever move faster than those who write about it. The man of affairs is in the vanguard, and the student, like the statistician, brings up the rear. It is not a simple task to assume the rôle of the prophet, and successfully meet the expectations that are awakened, and this article makes no pretensions to such a task. The first steamship that crossed the ocean brought an elaborate essay proving clearly that no steamship could carry suffi-

¹The word “trust” is here used in the popular sense, to designate all combinations, corporate or private, whose object is to control prices, material, or wages.

cient coal to accomplish such a trip. The essay was quickly turned into a humorous document; for a fact makes light of fancy, and reality quickly turns the serious into satire. Theory is ever a vanishing cloud in the presence of practice. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," has a chapter on the Social and Economic Future that already needs revising, and even Professor Hadley in his *Economics*¹ makes a statement about the inability of a combination of competitors to remove restriction upon charges that would cause merriment among the directors in many of the large and successful trusts of to-day.

When compared with the practical merchant, the economist says, in the words of Burns:—

"Still thou art blest, comparèd wi' me!
The present only toucheth thee;
But, och! I backward cast my e'e
On prospects drear;
An' forward, though I canna see,
I guess an' fear."

If political economy be more than pure empiricism, or if it would relieve itself of the charge of being the dismal science, it should now rise up early and sit up late in a heroic effort to forecast the future of monopolies and trusts. Bacon was right in defining the mission of a science to be one of helpfulness to mankind; and, if political economy be a science, then the power of scientific forecast must be turned into practical use by helping the thousands of merchants in their struggle for existence against the combinations that are driving them to the wall. This help need be only a vision of the future that has for its base-line the present and the past. But, if coöperation is to succeed combination, as combination is succeeding competition, as competition succeeded serfdom, and serfdom succeeded slavery, and slavery succeeded anarchy, then the middleman and the small merchant must be wisely directed. Thou-

¹ *Economics*, p. 159.

sands of merchants heretofore successful, are watching the constant diminution of their life savings while waiting for a change of the commercial tide that has set in the direction of combinations. Emerson would almost appear in the rôle of an economic prophet when he wrote:—

“Wealth is the application of mind to nature; and the art of getting rich consists not in industry, much less in saving, but in a better order, in timeliness, in being at the right spot.”

The one great momentous fact of the year 1898, in the United States, is the phenomenal growth of monopolies and trusts. It is a fact more vital than the war with Spain, or than the Philippine question; for it involves principles far reaching and of greater import than the success of army and navy abroad. In his Home Market Club speech, Secretary Long said that lop-sided accumulations of wealth were of graver importance than imperialism. Internal dissension can rend a nation more than foreign war; and righteous principles within must be the bulwark of a nation, as they are of an individual. The attrition caused by warring classes at home, and the cynical cruelty with which wealth may dominate over want, may be a greater cause for alarm than friction with a foreign enemy; for a nation's deadliest foes may be those of its own household. It is unnecessary to refer to the pages of history in proof of such a statement. The equilibrium of forces within a nation is equally important with that of nations.

Thirty-two trusts, incorporated in New Jersey alone, represent an aggregate capital stock of \$1,208,866,300, or nearly a billion and a quarter dollars. The average is about \$40,000,000. In 1898, 1103 companies found shelter and protection of corporate rights in the trust fold under the laws of New Jersey. This little State received, in fees for filing certificates and from taxes of foreign corporations, \$2,359,198, which saved the State the necessity of taxing its people for the expenses of government. One

charter, the Federal Steel Company, was for \$200,000,000. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was, of course, one of those who lent his name to this company. Its common stock at this writing is 47 and is all water. The commodities which these corporations sought to control are seemingly among the easiest to produce. Bryce in his "Commonwealth" says:—

"Of the tendency to aggregation there are happily no signs so far as relates to agriculture. . . . At present nothing seems to threaten that system of small proprietors tilling the soil they live on which so greatly contributes to the happiness and stability of the commonwealth."¹

But we are nearing the danger point, for the great Beef Trust virtually controls the cattle industry of the country, and the price of milk is uniformly the same in cities. Ice has been successfully controlled in large cities like Chicago. A miller's trust is at this moment in contemplation.

The trust principle is, by some, held to be a natural evolution from the principle of competition, and an improvement upon it. *Gunton's Magazine* views trusts as economic blessings, and a great step forward in the world of production, because they lessen cost of production, and bring enormous resources and the highest skill to bear upon a single industry; thus producing in an orderly, economical, and scientific way. If such be the truth, we should all hasten to repeal all those federal and state statutes that make the formation of trusts a criminal procedure, and that classify among burglars, horse thieves, and counterfeiters those who are active in forming them.

It is true that waste products, otherwise valueless, may be utilized in large factories, and in slaughter-houses run on a large scale, and that a farmer in butchering a pig or a bullock cannot do with the refuse what the stock-yard packers find to be profitable. Mr. Armour is credited with the statement that there are only two parts of a pig that

¹ Vol. ii. p. 705.

cannot be saved and turned to use,—its odor and its dying breath. William George Gordon has told how science at the present day utilizes the ox:—

“Not many years ago,” he says, “when an ox was slaughtered forty per cent of the animal was wasted. At the present time nothing is lost. As but one-third of the weight of the animal consists of products that can be eaten, the question of utilizing the waste is a serious one. The blood is used in refining sugar and in sizing paper, or manufactured into door-knobs and buttons. The hide goes to the tanner; horns and hoofs are transformed into combs and buttons; thigh-bones, worth \$50 per ton, are cut into handles for clothes-brushes; fore-leg bones sell for \$30 per ton for collar buttons, parasol handles, and jewelry; the water in which bones are boiled is reduced to glue; the dust from sawing the bones is food for cattle and poultry; the smallest bones are made into boneblack. Each foot yields a quarter of a pint of neat’s-foot oil; the tail goes to the ‘soup,’ while the brush of hair at the end of the tail is sold to the mattressmaker. The choicer parts of the fat make the basis of butterine; the intestines are used for sausage casings or bought by gold beaters. The undigested food in the stomach which formerly cost the packers of Chicago \$30,000 a year to remove and destroy is now made into paper. These are but a few of the products of abattoirs. All scraps unfit for any other use find welcome in the glue-pot, or they do missionary work for farmers by acting as fertilizers.”

When the St. Paul stock-yards, who finally succumbed, found themselves in a death struggle with a Chicago packer, it was not a question of utilizing refuse: it was simply a question of a long bank account. The Chicago packer simply sold his meat at a loss until he had killed competition, and then he put it at a price that would return him his losses. This is the simplest kind of a game that is played by all the great trusts. It is the Standard Oil Company’s favorite program, and the Bell Telephone Company’s only method of crushing competition.

When the wealthiest and most aristocratic members of society are the greatest criminals under the statutes, it would seem to present an anomalous condition of affairs; yet such are the facts to-day. The greatest philanthropists are the greatest rogues; and colleges, hospitals, and churches reap the fruit of what the statutes define as crim-

inal acquisition. If trusts are a step upward in the history of industrial evolution, then it is manifestly unjust to brand as criminals those who form them.

Bryce's opinion of trusts may here be quoted :—

"Companies are in many ways so useful that any general diminution of the legal facilities for forming them seems improbable; but I conceive that they will be even more generally than hitherto subjected to special taxation; and that their power of taking and using public franchises will be further restricted. He who considers the irresponsible nature of the power which three or four men, or perhaps one man, can exercise through a great corporation, such as a railroad or telegraph company, the injury they can inflict on the public as well as on their competitors, the cynical audacity with which they have often used their wealth to seduce officials and legislators from the path of virtue, will find nothing unreasonable in the desire of the American masses to regulate the management of corporations and narrow the range of their action. The same remark applies, with even more force, to combinations of men not incorporated but acting together, the so-called trusts, i.e. commercial rings or syndicates. The next few years or even decades may be largely occupied with the effort to deal with these phenomena of a commercial system far more highly developed than the world has yet seen elsewhere. The economic advantages of the amalgamation of railroads and the tendency in all departments of trade for large concerns to absorb or supplant small ones, are both so marked that problems of this order seem likely to grow even larger and more urgent than they now are. Their solution will demand, not only great legal skill, but great economic wisdom."¹

Professor Hadley says :—

"If the managers of a combination make it their chief concern to suppress competition, rather than to realize economics in production, their policy toward trade rivals results in violation of commercial morality, if not of commercial law."²

The evils of vast aggregations of wealth in the hands of a few men are not difficult of discernment. Any one at all familiar with the history of such colossal frauds as the Standard Oil Company will need no enlightenment. To crush out competition by fair means or foul involves cruelty, bribery of legislatures, corrupting of public officials, evasion of interstate commerce laws, debauching of the

¹ American Commonwealth, Vol. ii. p. 705.

² Economics, p. 159.

public conscience, creating of false ideals for the young men of the country, wrong notions of what is true commercial success. Then follows the attempt to escape the just penalty of an immoral career by large gifts for philanthropic purposes. A cheap substitute for private virtue is public philanthropy to be seen of men. A host of evils follow in the train of a corporation owned and controlled by men of no moral character.

When the ninety and nine are industrious, the one may be supported in idleness; but when the one is the only producer, because he has a monopoly of patent, or tools, or capital, or rights, or land, then the many are robbed of their power to purchase at even reduced costs. The old song must then be revised to read :—

There was one fat sheep that safely lay,
Sheltered within the fold;
But the flock had wandered far away,
On the mountains bleak and cold.

The distribution of the means of production among the many, and a healthy rivalry to produce the best at the cheapest price, has been in the past the incentive to invention; and, notwithstanding the evils of the competitive warfare, it has been the one prolific source of cheapening cost by perfecting the individual arts. It would seem to be the natural *modus operandi* in a democracy, even if by large aggregations of wealth; and, unless state socialism shall supersede the competitive system, it is the plan that in some form or other must ultimately prevail; for the many must be industrious, not the few; the many must produce and profit by the production.

The ease with which the laws may be defied by wealthy corporations, and by large aggregations of capital when controlled by a few selfish men, is seen in a thousand ways. A democracy is peculiarly susceptible to the power of organized wealth; for the politician is apt to be a poor man

who is trying to better his financial condition through politics. This may not be true of the higher positions of trust, such as the Senate or the Cabinet, but it is true in legislatures and city councils. As an illustration of the power of money to corrupt public officials, the twelfth annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission will reveal; for it is a clear admission of the failure of the interstate commerce law to bring about the results intended by its enactment. The report says:—

“The situation has become intolerable, both from the standpoint of the public and the railways. Tariffs are disregarded; discriminations constantly occur; the price at which transportation can be obtained is fluctuating and uncertain; railroad managers are distrustful of each other, and shippers all the while in doubt as to the rates secured by their competitors. The volume of traffic is so unusual as to frequently exceed the capacity of equipment, yet the contest for tonnage seems never relaxed. Enormous sums are spent in purchasing business, and secret rates accorded far below the standard of published charges. The general public gets very little benefit from these reductions, for concessions are mainly confined to the heavier shippers. All this augments the advantages of large capital, and tends to the injury, and often to the ruin, of smaller dealers.”

In another part of its report, the Commission says:—

“It is true that a great part of the competitive railway business at the present time is not done upon the published tariffs, but upon secret rates, which are less than those specified. It results, therefore, that, while discriminations and preferences have been ostensibly removed, or at least diminished, they still exist in a most aggravated form.”

And again:—

“A large part of the business at the present time is transacted upon illegal rates. Indeed, so general has this rule become that in certain quarters the exaction of the published rate is the exception. From this two things naturally and frequently result: First, gross discriminations between individuals and gross preferences between localities, and these discriminations and preferences are almost always in favor of the strong, and against the weak. There is probably no one thing to-day which does so much to force out the small operator, and to build up those trusts and monopolies against which law and public opinion alike beat in vain, as discrimination in freight rates. Second, the business of railroad transportation is, to a very large extent, in violation of the law. . . . This condition the present law is powerless to control. If it is asked why

criminal remedies are not applied, the answer is that they have been, and without success."

The ablest legal counsel now finds profitable employment in devising ways and means to defeat the will of the people as expressed in statutes. Corporate strength can retain the most distinguished names and ability to defend from too close a scrutiny and, if necessary, the books of the corporation can be burned, as in the case of the Standard Oil Company. Debs was punished for contempt of court, but it is needless to say no officer of the Standard Oil Company ever has suffered the loss of his freedom for one day because of acts of contempt that, compared with those of Debs, are far more subtle and far-reaching in their power to bring law and court procedure into derision. Public officials are the product of political parties, and large gifts for campaign purposes blind the eyes of many to overt acts, on the part of large corporations and business firms, that would not be tolerated in the humble citizen. A poor boy in Chicago, earning a few dollars a week and supporting his grandmother, took from a butcher's cart a small piece of meat to satisfy, perhaps, the cravings of hunger. He was arrested, thrown into jail with criminals and abandoned characters, and kept there six months awaiting trial. The owner of that piece of meat was a multi-millionaire who tapped the water-mains of the city of Chicago to go around the meter, and thus stole millions of gallons of water belonging to the public, evading the payment of large sums of money for water taxes. For that act of grand larceny he was never arrested, and never brought to trial. He fixed it with the boys! Such facts make anarchists by the wholesale; for they spread a contempt not only for court, but for the very foundations of our social fabric.

It is true that the margin of profit in most lines of business has been so small that constantly diminishing returns have forced competitors to combine and, in Massachusetts,

the constant and cruel strikes brought about by labor-unions is driving many an industry either into the trust fold, or out of the State for protection from the exorbitant demands of labor. The shoe business, the cotton-mills, are both in a death struggle with unlawful and tyrannical labor-unions, that are just as much a form of trust as combinations of capital. Between the upper and nether millstone the middle classes are ground to powder. Without determined and persistent efforts of the people to protect small proprietorships, concentration of industrial capital cannot go on indefinitely when its ostensible purpose is to reduce cost of production and distribution, while its real purpose is to increase the cost to the consumer. Lincoln affirmed that the will of the people must sooner or later assert itself. There are times when the voice of the people is the voice of God. It is idle to say that great trusts can permanently continue as the final and best form for productive forces. Human nature cannot yet be trusted to wield such power with motives and methods so unselfish as to command the confidence and respect of the people. Before many years there will be the greatest financial crash in trusts that this country has witnessed. Over-capitalization that represents the good-will of industries, and has been used by those who have formed the trusts to enrich themselves, must be settled with. The water will have to be let out. Men who have become enormously wealthy by permitting the use of their names to catch unwary investors in schemes that are incorporated and the stock then watered, must settle with the public. Universities that put the names of such men on the seals of their corporations, or that write their names over the portals of their doors, will yet be a hissing and a by-word with the people who have sons and daughters to educate.

One thing is certain: without determined and persistent efforts of the people to protect the individual and small

proprietorships, the concentration of industrial capital cannot go on indefinitely. The people will surely find a way to control them, for men are simply getting mad in their haste to be rich, and already the wind is driving the ship beyond all bounds of reason. Where shall the end be? This article is not written to forecast with any pretense of accuracy the future of trusts, but only to hint a word or two at what cannot be, and what may be.

It is idle to think of returning to those methods of production that have gone by. The cobbler will never again make our shoes, nor the blacksmith the horse-shoe nails. The sailing vessel must go with the ox, with the churn, and the horse-car. It is useless to cry, "Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight." The modern factory with its thousand advantages has the law of evolution for its justification. Despite all its faults, it has sufficient merit to warrant us in believing that it has come to stay.

The alternative of trusts cannot be state socialism. State socialism is the control by the state of *all* the means of production. The remedy is worse than the disease. It is a total misconception of the duties and functions of the state. For the state to deny to individuals, or even to corporations, the right to produce, is such an interference with the rights of the individual, that the American people would not tolerate it, nor even the serious discussion of it. The intelligent laboring classes themselves would resent the intrusion upon their personal liberty and rights.

State socialism is not the control by the state of the public-service corporations; such as, electric lighting, gas, waterworks, trolley lines, etc. For the state to keep within its own control the public utilities or public franchises, and even to enlarge the scope of its duties, such as stocking streams, protecting forests, providing for the dependents, deficient, and delinquents of society in a more careful and tender way,—all this is not state socialism, nor

a step in that direction. There is no marked advance toward state socialism in any civilized nation on earth. No one should confuse state socialism and Christian socialism. When Christian good-will becomes economic good-will, state socialism will not be needed; and until such time, state socialism could never be made operative. Every attempt to make people righteous by legislative enactment or sober by act of parliament must fail as signally as the attempt to make them holy by ecclesiastical machinery. Good-will is not the fruitage of force power.

For the state to assume control of public-service corporations or *quasi-public* corporations is not socialism, for the simple reason that the duties and functions of the state may be indefinitely enlarged without denying to the individual the right to his own self-support by producing through individual effort. When the state assumes control of *all* of the means of production, that is state socialism. Mayor Quincy of Boston is not a socialist, even if he has established some public baths. Mayors Chase of Haverhill, Mass., and Jones of Toledo, Ohio, are state socialists, if one may judge from their public utterances; and both of them are men of high purposes and noble character. Both of them are economically unsound. Individual rights are fundamental in this republic, and their protection is guaranteed by the Constitution. The state did not give them, and the state cannot take them away. It is not encouraging to socialists to note that the laws which are proposed annually in the legislatures of the different States, and that are denials of individual rights, or that would burden the state with such unnatural duties as clearly lie without its province, are either ignored or, if passed by demagogic or ignorant legislators, are then declared unconstitutional when referred to the courts.

The alternative of trusts cannot be state socialism in a democracy like our own. A plan that has never been made

to work anywhere, not even when practiced by a few select persons who had every motive to prove it successful, will never be adopted by a great nation. Especially is this true when revolution, and not evolution, is the highway over which it must pass before it can enter the triumphal arch, and ascend the hill to the palace of the Cæsars.

If the alternative of trusts is not state socialism, will it be municipal socialism? It cannot be denied that there has been a great growth in the study of the development of the municipality—its scope and functions. The city of to-day is a subject of deepest import and widest significance. The preservation of order, the detection and prevention of crime, the enforcement of law are clearly, as they always have been, the functions of government; but to these have been added some municipal functions that, in this country at least, are new. Public charities are widening out to include public baths, poor relief, care of dependent children, hospitals and medical aid, free lodging-houses, labor bureaus, potato farms. Education is enlarged to include persons of all ages, and technical schools must be supported. Recreation demands public parks and bands of music as well as public schools, libraries, art galleries. The industrial functions of the municipality may extend to pawn shops, to street railways, electric lighting, savings-banks, and even to restaurants; but we shall not even then have passed under the power and dominion of scientific socialism. Municipal socialism must ever be limited by the only legal limitations of the municipality. As a center for economic forces or social forces that are unique in comparison with rural communities, the city, as the legal and local agent of the state, must not be lost sight of. The farmer will not enact laws that the city council or board of aldermen would favor; hence municipal socialism cannot exist apart from state socialism, and independent of it. When the city was the state, it might have been different, for the

city had no legal superior; but now the city derives its charter rights from the state, and, unless state socialism is an accomplished fact, municipal socialism is a dream.

If the new president of France, M. Loubet, was elected as a coalition between the majority of the Senate and the radicals and socialists of the Chamber of Deputies, it might be profitable to inquire into the character of this socialistic sentiment in France, and the probability of its permeating American thought and institutions. It may be dismissed with a word, that it is insignificant, illogical, and unintelligent. In Roubaix, where the socialists have had control of the council for over six years, the results accomplished are paltry and its platform is even weaker.¹ The principles of municipal socialism as formulated by the Lyons convention were a strange conglomeration for an intelligent body. Their sins of omission were as great as their sins of commission!

The one piece of legal machinery that is supposed to be always in working order is the right of the state to tax; and this is so naturally destructive, that even Bryce imagined it could be brought into requisition at any moment as an effective means of leveling large mounds of property, and of dissipating them quicker than by the slow laws of nature. This is theoretically true; but practically quite the opposite is the fact. Practical politics in cities uses every available means for campaign funds. It is quick to discover a rich lead, and no source of money is overlooked. One assessor in Chicago paid \$20,000 to be elected; his remuneration from the city, county, and state was \$5.00 per day for less than four months. The deficit and a large additional sum was made up by contributions from large taxpayers, and the contribution was to both parties equally.

What the large taxpayer fails to secure in reductions in this way, he accomplishes later with the successful candi-

¹ Yale Review, Feb. 1899, p. 366.

date, the assessor-elect, through his eminent legal counsel and adviser. The article on taxation in Chicago, and on Pullman, in a former number of this magazine,¹ will reveal the true state of affairs in Chicago. The taxation of large corporations, apartment stores, business firms, and estates is not, on an average, one-fifth of what the small merchant is compelled to pay. The largest dry goods house in Chicago, managed by Christians and church-goers, and quite exemplary in all other respects, is a systematic and unscrupulous tax-dodger. Out of its savings in taxes from what it owes city, county, and state, it could found a Columbian museum every four years. The Pullman Palace Car Company is taxed on its houses, buildings, and public streets as acre property. The record of the beef packers, of some of the banks, of the trusts and monopolies, will not bear investigation at the assessor's office. Theoretically, the power to tax in a democracy will control unjust acquisitions in corporate hands; practically it will do nothing of the sort until the millennium comes or until politics is converted and joins the church.

The desire to acquire is a motive of action that is worthy and honorable. When it passes over into avarice, it is like any over-ripe fruit,—it is rotten. The love of acquisition becomes the lust of acquisition; the love of money as a means is transformed, and the lust of money as an end is the result. Then Satan appears as an angel of light. Christianity does not furnish new motives of action in the economic sphere so much as it regulates, controls, and sanctifies the motives that are. The will acts in accordance with the reason that is illumined by a conscience that has been sensitized by the divine presence. It is eminently fitting and proper to give fullest play to the love of acquisition. The rights of neighbor in such a love are always as clearly in view as the rights of self. Monopolies and

¹ Oct., 1897, pp. 745-758, 775-782.

trusts are the product of a perverted love, and as such are doomed. The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding sure.

The future of trusts must be along the same line of evolution that gave them birth; but they may pass out of the hands of the few into the control of the many; from under the dominion of selfish men into the power of men with consciences. The spirit of coöperation gave them birth as a means of self-preservation, but its motive has become selfish, its means are illegal, and its methods are criminal. Christianity is established, and theoretically at least we are a Christian nation. The people's voice must be heard. The industrial system of the twentieth century is now in its vealy condition. It is disturbed with the ills that beset all new things. The mumps and the measles and chicken-pox are incident to childhood; and the same is true of corporations, of business enterprises, and of industrial systems.

Large coöperative and competitive corporations whose profits accrue in part to the workers as an incentive to industry, whose stock is owned by the producers themselves, not by the idle and investing classes alone, may succeed the present trust system. England is making already a marvelous headway in this direction that is a prophecy of the future. Coöperation that reduces costs to consumers; removes the most hateful features of competition, but preserves its advantages; rewards the producers and incites them to their best effort, and that asks for no intervention of state or municipality for an artificial prop, but gives free play to the individual:—such an industrial system must surely come, and it will be the dawn of a new era in production. Work will be honorable; the producers of material things will be esteemed equally with the thought-makers; there will be an open field for all. This, at least, is a healthy hope for the future of America's industries.

ARTICLE X.

"CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS."

BY G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

THE rapid spread of the sect calling themselves "Christian scientists" is one of the closing wonders of the nineteenth century, and well deserves investigation from every point of view. The founder of the sect is Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, who claims to have discovered in the year 1866 the "science of metaphysical healing," which she named Christian science. In 1867 she opened a school of Christian Science Mind-healing, with one student. In 1881 she opened the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in Boston. During the following seven years, four thousand students were in attendance. In 1875 she published "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," which is the text-book of the sect. This is a volume of 685 16mo pages, bearing the imprint of the University Press, and in the paper, print, and binding showing the highest skill of the printer's art. The copy before me as I write belongs to the 146th edition, and is by no means the last, while the claim of Mrs. Eddy's followers, that they number more than a million, is far from extravagant. Churches of the sect already exist in every leading town, while the edifice of the central church in Boston is one of the most commodious, substantial, and elegant in the city, and is situated in the most fashionable quarter. Probably there is scarcely an evangelical church in the United States whose members have not been more or less affected by the movement, and those affected are by no means the least in-

telligent or least worthy of their members. On the contrary, the doctrines of Christian science seem especially attractive to many of the most worthy Christian men and women.

The fundamental assumptions of Christian science accord closely with the crude forms of idealistic pantheism. Mrs. Eddy not only assumes, but constantly reiterates, her belief that the so-called material universe is a delusion and a nonentity. On almost every page she avers that the so-called laws of nature may be disregarded with impunity by those who have proper faith, or rather by those who have the proper conception of thought concerning these things. Thus she denies the authority of all that part of revelation which God has made to man in nature. That we do not exaggerate or distort her views will appear from a few extracts from Mrs. Eddy's text-book, taken almost at random :—

"Nothing we can say or believe regarding matter is true, except that matter is unreal, and is therefore a belief" (p. 173).

"Thus matter will be finally proven to be nothing but a mortal belief, wholly inadequate to affect man through its supposed organic action or existence" (p. 19).

"The first idolatry was faith in matter" (p. 39).

"Man is never sick; for mind is not sick, and matter cannot be. . . . To understand that sickness is not real, and that truth can destroy it, is best of all, for it is the universal and perfect remedy" (p. 392).

"The admission that any bodily condition is beyond the control of mind disarms man, prevents him from helping himself, and enthrones matter through error" (p. 393).

"The scientific and permanent remedy for fatigue is to learn the power of mind over every illusion of physical weariness, and so destroy this illusion; for matter cannot be weary and heavy laden" (p. 113).

"Treat a belief in sickness as you would sin, with sudden dismissal. . . . My method of dealing with fatigue applies to all bodily ailment, since mind should be, and is, supreme, absolute, and final" (pp. 114-115).

"Admit the existence of matter, and we admit that mortality (and therefore disease) has a foundation in fact. Deny the existence of matter, and we destroy the belief in these conditions, and with it disappears the foundation of disease" (p. 367).

"In proportion as matter to human sense loses all entity as to substance, in that proportion does man become its master" (p. 368).

"If exposure to a draft of air, while in a state of perspiration, is followed by chills, dry cough, influenza, congestive symptoms in the lungs, or hints of inflammatory rheumatism, your mind remedy is safe and sure. If you are a Christian scientist, such symptoms will not follow from exposure; but if you believe in the laws of matter, and their fatal effects when transgressed, you are not fit to conduct your own case, or to destroy the bad effects of belief. When the fear subsides, and the conviction abides that you have broken no law, neither rheumatism, consumption, nor any other disease will ever result from exposure to the weather" (p. 383).

"Whatever is your duty to do can be done without harm to yourself. If you sprain the muscles or wound the flesh, your remedy is at hand. Mind decides whether or not the flesh shall be discolored, painful, swollen and inflamed You say or think because you have partaken of salt fish that you must be thirsty, and you are thirsty accordingly; while the opposite belief would produce the opposite result" (p. 384).

"The notion that mind and matter commingle, in the human illusion as to sin, sickness, and death, must eventually submit to the Science of Mind, which denies this proposition. God is Mind, and God is All; hence all is Mind. On this statement rests the Science of Being, and its Principle is divine, demonstrating harmony and immortality" (p. 488).

In respect to the views here and elsewhere repeatedly enunciated, it is pertinent to remark, that the only warrant for maintaining them exists in the half-truth, that human mind is only partially subjected to the laws of matter, and that within certain limits matter is controlled by it. The effects of the mind upon the body are generally recognized. Every one knows that the health is affected to a considerable extent by hope and fear. An alarm of fire will temporarily drive away the sense of hunger, and sudden excitement may paralyze the heart, or induce death by apoplexy. To secure good digestion it is important to think as little of one's stomach as possible. The thought that others are looking at us may cause us to blush; while the fear of impending evil withdraws the blood from our faces, causing us to turn pale.

Man in his earthly state is a composite being. He has both a mind and a body, bound together in a mysterious

union. The reality of the mind's influence upon the body cannot reasonably be denied. But there are manifest limits to this influence which the so-called Christian science does not recognize.

A broken limb cannot be set by thought alone. Poison kills when administered secretly as well as when its nature is known to the victim. Small-pox is contagious even when the victim does not know of the exposure. Typhoid fever is the result not of mental disturbance, but of the action of microbes upon a limited portion of the intestines. The heat of summer and the cold of winter are realities which must be contended with by material agencies.

It would seem needless to make these statements, but for the fact that many thousand most excellent people have so magnified the half-truth of the mind's limited power over matter that they are in danger of being led into serious practical mistakes. They are putting asunder what God has joined together, and overlooking that half of God's revelation which is made to us through the material world. In the hands of the great philosophers who have maintained similar views of matter, the errors have proved practically harmless, because of counteracting, regulative doctrines, cherished in connection with them, but which are not present in the system of Christian science as promulgated by Mrs. Eddy. It is to be presumed, also, that the mass of the followers of Mrs. Eddy possess such a measure of that practical knowledge of the world which we call common sense as will, in general, prevent them from putting into practice the principles which they theoretically maintain. We have no fear that many of these intelligent and good people, even when cherishing the views of Christian science, will carry out their principles to their logical effect. They will not put poison into food, or adulterate it with any injurious elements, on the plea that, as a man thinketh, so is he, and that if he is ignorant of the poison in his system he

will not be injured by it. They will not disregard the sanitary precautions necessary to check the spread of diphtheria, small-pox, typhoid fever, and other contagious diseases. They will not neglect to properly ventilate their houses, to wear rubbers in wet weather, and warm clothing in winter. But if they do not neglect these things, it will be because they disregard the fundamental principles of their so-called science. The fear is that some will become fanatical, and will endeavor to show their faith by their works in ways that will be disastrous.

Nor is this fear altogether theoretical. In an increasing number of instances the devotees of Christian science are beginning to practice what they preach. We have heard of more than one case where children with broken bones have been neglected, with the result of making them permanent cripples. The journals of Christian science even boast of the triumphs of their faith over the effects of deadly poison. Large doses of carbolic acid are said to have been counteracted in their effects not by a material antidote, but by the firm belief of the surrounding friends that carbolic acid was a nonentity, or at least could be thought out of existence.

In view of these facts, it is incumbent upon us to bear our testimony against the delusion, and to warn those who are accepting the principles of Christian science of the fruitlessness and folly of their efforts to disregard the material laws of the universe through which the Creator both aids and sets bounds to the present activities of the human mind.

The scriptural warrant for these vagaries is very naturally found in the interpolated verses at the close of the Gospel of Mark, in which it is said of those who believe, that "if they drink of any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; and they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover" (Mark xvi. 18). It is significant in this case, as in several others, that the science of textual criticism, in dis-

crediting the genuineness of the passage, has relieved us from a real difficulty in securing an interpretation which should be both reverential to the inspired writers and in accord with facts; for we can now show that these words were not a part of the original Gospel. But even if they were, it is unwarranted to apply to all generations what may have been designed for the immediate hearers only. Our Lord and his apostles did not fail duly to recognize the limitations of the material world. Christ was hungry and thirsty, and wearied with the labors that fell upon him, so that he needed to retire into the mountains for rest. The apostle Paul preached the gospel in much weakness of the flesh. The miracles which Christ performed were exceptional, and are not to be taken as the standard for his followers, any more than they were to be taken as the universal criterion of his own work. The dead whom he raised were not brought back to life through faith which they themselves exerted, but by Christ's command; while the number of miracles that Christ wrought was limited by principles of wisdom which we cannot fully understand. Only two or three dead persons were raised from the grave; only a small portion of the sick surrounding him were healed; while to the apostles the power to perform miracles was granted in still more sparing degree. "It is enough for the disciple that he be as the master, and the servant as his lord." At the same time, it must be confessed that the church is constantly tempted to limit both the willingness and the ability of God to answer prayer in the realm of the material world.

But God is not a God who is afar off. He is nigh at hand, to every one that calleth upon him. The importunate prayer of a child of God is a recognized power amid all the forces of the universe. Through prayer we can move the arm that moves the world. As a father pities his children, so the Lord pities them that fear him. As

the mother runs to the cry of distress sent up by her suffering child, so the Lord comes to the help of his children when they express their need. God is ever ready and able to do for us more than we ask or think. It is a law of his spiritual kingdom as firmly established as any law of nature, that when we ask we receive, that when we seek we find. Nor need we limit ourselves to asking for spiritual blessings. Among the petitions of the Lord's Prayer is one that our Heavenly Father would give to us our daily bread. It is our privilege to pray for the sick and for deliverance from all manner of evil. Mind influences matter. Every bodily movement in response to the effects of the human mind proves this. In our present state probably no spiritual change occurs without a corresponding material change. The mind has not only an immediate but a far-reaching influence over the body. But the range of this influence is limited. Finite mind is not omnipotent.

It is therefore incumbent upon us always to remember that our expectation of answer to prayer is to be subjected to the wisdom of God. We have only partial knowledge of what is best for us. We do not know what things to pray for as we ought, except the Spirit make intercession for us. Our petitions are to be put up in the name of Christ and in accordance with his will. In our ignorance, it is quite as possible for us to ask as to labor amiss. In all our petitions we are to follow the example of our Lord in Gethsemane, and say, "Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." As our Lord was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, so it is not to be expected that we should be freed from bearing our part of the burdens and sorrows incident to human life. In much weakness and suffering, and through tribulations of every sort, and amid worldly disappointments of every degree, the disciples of our Lord were called upon to show forth the love of their

Master. But they endured as seeing him who is invisible. They ran with patience the course that was set before them. They fought the good fight, and won the race, receiving at last the martyr's crown. The ministry of sorrow has not yet ceased in the world, and we should not complain at the portion of it which in God's providence is suffered to fall to our lot. The devotees of Christian science do not rightly estimate the providential mission of sorrow in this sinful and imperfect world.

Let it be far from us to speak slightly of the good things which the Christian scientists with so much dross have incorporated into their system. According to their exhortations it is well for us at all times to turn our thoughts away from our worldly cares and sorrows and fix them upon the nobler and more permanent realities of the spirit. But this is no new discovery of Christian science. It belongs to the very essence of Christian faith. We are exhorted in the Scriptures to behold the cloud of glorified witnesses who have already washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, and who now look down upon us from those shining seats above whence all sorrow and sighing have fled, and where all tears are wiped away. The hunger of the soul for these great consolations is insatiable. To the gospel, and to the church as its embodiment in the world, and to these heavenly visions, sinful and sorrowing humanity naturally turns for light and help. It is the duty and the privilege of the church to see to it that to such is given not a stone, but the very Bread of life which comes down from heaven. If any turn away from us unsatisfied, to seek spiritual satisfaction in other circles, it may well lead us to inquiry concerning the possible deficiencies in our presentation of Christian truth.

ARTICLE XI.

CRITICAL NOTE.

WALSH'S "SECRET HISTORY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT."¹

THE GENERAL IMPRESSION.

THAT Mr. Walsh has contributed an interesting, and indeed a somewhat important, addition to the already existing numerous histories of the greatest ecclesiastical movement of our century, we are glad to bear testimony, especially as his entire volume is characterized by a general fairness quite unusual on the part of such a distinctly party writer. At the same time, this latest contribution to the elucidation of Tractarianism is by no means the formidable exposure which its somewhat startling title was evidently chosen to signify, since, in the present writer's opinion, Mr. Walsh has entirely failed to substantiate the main purport of his volume,—a purport partly inferred and partly expressed,—viz., to show that the founders of the Oxford Movement were from the first consciously disloyal to the church in which they had been born, and in which most of them were ministering.

But Mr. Walsh's failure, however, springs not from any lack of that general intelligence indispensable on the part of a writer who would venture to gauge the history of the Oxford Movement, since his volume shows considerable skill in collecting and summarizing details, but rather from his apparent lack of the specialist's knowledge without which it becomes impossible to write intelligently upon the theme chosen by Mr. Walsh. Tractarianism was *not* a movement to introduce into the Church of England novel doctrines and practices, but, on the contrary, to awaken a nation which had well-nigh forgotten both her theology and ecclesiastical history, to the actual catholicity of her formularies of faith. That there was urgent need for such a movement within the Church of England at that time is further proved to the student of ecclesiastical history by the present call for such a movement in both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, especially the latter. Startling as it may appear to some, yet I have not the slightest hesitation in affirming that the bulk of the laity of both these ecclesiastical bodies are absolutely unacquainted with the doctrines contained in the Methodist Disci-

¹The Secret History of the Oxford Movement. By Walter Walsh. Third edition. Twelfth thousand. Pp. xv, 424. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd.

pline on the one hand, and the Westminster Confession of Faith on the other. Nay, I can go further, and say, that having repeatedly during many years referred members of both of these bodies to the teaching of their formularies of faith, in most cases they have expressed their ignorance to me as to the teaching of these formularies, and in almost all cases they have scouted their respective doctrines and disciplines to which I have called their attention. Let me explain.

In the Methodist Discipline general and particular fasting on the part of the laity is required, with the regular weekly fast for ministers. In their order of baptism for infants it is intimated that the child then baptized enters the kingdom of God by being then made a member of the church of Christ. The rank and file of Methodism repudiates both of these teachings.

In the Westminster Confession of Faith fasting is enjoined; while outside of the visible church there is, so it represents, no ordinary possibility of salvation. Of its language with reference to the Lord's Supper, the Duke of Argyll has recently written, it is couched in phrases "which are not easily distinguishable from Transubstantiation"; while Professor Binnie says of a duly appointed minister, "Whoever rejects his scriptural teachings and admonitions, rejects the teachings and admonitions of Christ," and referring to the church he says, "To church rulers the keys of the kingdom of heaven have been given."¹ Now the ordinary Presbyterian scouts all this as *Romish*, and will have none of it.

I might quote further, but this is enough for my purpose, which is to produce evidence that the great Methodist and Presbyterian bodies are to-day largely in the same position which the Church of England found herself in at the period we are considering, and out of which she has even yet but partially emerged, viz., possessing doctrines and discipline utterly ignored by the bulk of her members. Indeed, the laity, as a whole, of all the separate churches of the English-speaking people, including the Anglican Church, and only excepting the English-speaking Romanists, are either entirely ignorant of, or indifferent to, the doctrines taught by their separate ecclesiastical bodies. So universal is this ignorance of the religious tenets of the bodies referred to on the part of the members thereof, that it would seem that the masses have already reached that stage of religious opinion, recently indicated by the Bishop of Ripon, when "the separating dogmas of the churches will fall away before the fresh winds of God." Of course it *may* be the winds of God which have produced the present complete indifference to all doctrine taught by whatever so-called orthodox church; but we are far more inclined to attribute it to absolute indifference to religion itself on the part of the masses which has produced the lamentable desertion of God's house, so conspicuous on all hands, and bewailed by all churches alike. Now it is just here that we conceive that Mr. Walsh's incompetency to

¹ The Church (Hand-books for Bible Classes), pp. 23, 30.

deal with the question he has chosen to write on shows itself. He evidently is *not* a student of religion, but only an intelligent follower of a religious party. Had he been a student of religion, he would have been aware that, if there is any value at all in theological doctrine and discipline, an awakening to the existence of these tenets is loudly called for, or at least, that there is a crying necessity for such a call on the part of every great Christian church in so-called Protestant Christendom. Now it was this awakening within the Church of England which the Tractarians commenced in 1833. They commenced it, but they did not lead it; for, as the late Dr. Ewer so truly wrote to Bishop Huntington, "it has had absolutely no leaders," and, in spite of certain regrettable conversions to Rome, "it has developed the strongest, firmest, and most pugnacious and damaging opponents of popery that to-day has seen,"—a statement of Dr. Ewer confirmed by Newman himself, who declared of Anglican principles, based solely on antiquity, "they are far more difficult to refute in the Roman controversy than those of any other religious body."¹

Mr. Walsh, then, in our opinion, has failed to make good the purport of his volume on the Oxford Movement. Lacking the wide reading and breadth of view of a student of religion, he has failed to note that widespread disregard of doctrine and discipline pervading *all* religious bodies to-day, a state of indifference to which the Oxford Movement owed its origin as a protest against the particular indifference of the vast majority of the Church of England in this matter in 1833. Thus neglecting the wider problem, which includes *all* churches, Mr. Walsh has not only narrowed his view to one church, but, further, to one particular party within that church; and, taking his stand upon their own view of matters, he stigmatizes every other conception as evidencing disloyalty, Jesuitism, and falsity. Nay, even here, as Dr. Sanday in his recent work on "The Priesthood," has well said, he "has mixed up a number of practices which stand upon a very different footing, and he embraces in one sweeping condemnation many societies and classes of persons in regard to which others of us would feel the necessity for careful discrimination." For these reasons, consequently, despite certain merits which his book possesses, Mr. Walsh's "Secret History of the Oxford Movement" is not at all likely to go down to posterity as an indispensable treatise on the subject with which it deals.

MR. WALSH'S SPECIAL POINTS.

1. *The Secret Methods of Tractarians.*—That the methods of the promoters of the Oxford Movement were secret was well known to all students of Tractarianism long before the appearance of Mr. Walsh's volume, and his basing much of his objections to their doings on that ground, is but another proof of his inability to write intelligently on

¹Apologia (1893), p. 156.

their efforts. The question touching the advisability of the secret teaching of truth is a matter, evidently, that Mr. Walsh has never deeply considered. The systematic persecution, however, which history shows has ever followed its proclaimer, be he a teacher either of science, morals, or religion, should have prevented Mr. Walsh from viewing the secret teaching of the Tractarians as in itself suspicious, and unworthy of a good cause. The great fault of the age is the lack of schools of disciples bent on hearing from their respective masters' lips the divine truths entrusted to them respectively to proclaim, be it on science, morals, or religion. Did we possess these, however, it is exceedingly questionable whether it would be wise in an age in which the inner things of man, and the deeper things of God, are well-nigh lost in material complacency, to proclaim on the housetop the precious things of the Almighty. History would seem to teach us rather, that, until the mass of mankind is stirred to inquire of these things, it must be to chosen disciples only that the full message is delivered, every disciple winning others with whom the trust may be privately shared. But this more philosophic aspect of the problem, however, Mr. Walsh fails to note, and in the secret methods of "The Association of the Friends of the Church," he can see nothing but a disloyal attempt to foist in a Jesuitical manner Romish doctrines upon the Church of England by men who, while pretending to be Anglicans, were actually Romanists.

2. *The Characters of Certain Tractarians.*—Now here is undoubtedly a good point, which, however, Mr. Walsh almost destroys by apparently insinuating that the entire founders of the Oxford Movement were alike in their mental attitude. Newman, Pusey, Faber, and Ward are shown to have been men of such extraordinary casuistical temperaments that the *ordinary* reader can come to no other possible conclusion than that given to Gladstone by Manning before he had seceded to Rome, viz., that in these men there was a "want of truth." At the same time, with all his apparent double shuffling, Dr. Salmon of Dublin, in his "Infallibility of the Church," acquits Newman, and with him others who at the same time seceded to Rome, of insincerity, so that this brief one-sided reference to the actions of these men by Mr. Walsh is that of a partisan, and not of a true historian. Now when we add this to the fact that it was, after all, but *some* of the founders of Tractarianism who behaved in this way, and that Palmer, Keble, Williams, and Mozley evinced a very different attitude, the gross injustice of Mr. Walsh's representing the leaders of the Oxford Movement as though they were all casuists, becomes apparent. Nor is Mr. Walsh quite fair in his remarks about the rapture experienced by certain young Tractarians who attended the worship of Romanists when on the Continent. Speaking of his visit to the Mosque of Mohammed Ali in Cairo, Bishop Potter, a by no means emotional personage, finds full excuse for an English lady's prostrating herself in Oriental posture in that splendid house of worship.¹ If this

¹H. C. Potter, *The Gates of the East*, p. 47.

distinctly Protestant bishop can thus pardon action of this character by a Christian lady in a Mohammedan Mosque, Mr. Walsh doubtless, had he not been quite such a partisan, might have found more excuse than condemnation for the enthusiasm displayed by his "young gentlemen," when visiting Christian though yet Roman houses of prayer while on the Continent.

3. *The Sacrament of Penance, Confession, and Absolution.*—We now come to a point on which we are much more at one with Mr. Walsh. The sacrament of Penance is entirely foreign to the teaching of the Church of England, and it cannot be too strongly condemned. But when we come to Confession and Absolution, it is evident that Mr. Walsh speaks without much grasp of the subject at issue. Without entering into the question as to whether the Church of England is authorized to teach Confession and Absolution, she *does* teach it distinctly, which any candid person would well understand by studying the service for the ordination of priests, and the exhortation in the Communion office. In the very act of being ordained priest the candidate is bidden to receive the Holy Ghost and power to remit and retain sins. In the said exhortation the person with an unquieted conscience is bidden to present himself to some priest, to whom he can confess, and by whom he can be absolved, confessing to receive the benefit of absolution; while in the service for the visitation of the sick, the priest, when absolving, claims to have received from Christ, through the church, his power so to do. Now while it is evident that the Church of England does not intend to teach the desirability of *frequent* private confession, it is also evident that she could not have intended such an emphasized power to remit and retain sins conferred upon her priests to be of a mere exceptional use. Her real teaching seems to be that, while she objects to *enforced* confession, she supplies a means for voluntary confession, which she deems to be of great benefit. Personally, we ourselves object to any other than the general confession and public absolution provided for in the morning and evening services, but candor compels us to admit that Dean Luckcock is correct in his statement, that "the principle of private Confession has undoubtedly been preserved to us."¹

With "Discipline," however, we have not the smallest sympathy, but, on the contrary, extreme disgust, and Mr. Walsh's reference to Pusey's hair shirt is calculated to open the eyes of practical persons to the extravagance to which good, but to our minds decidedly weak, persons may be brought by depending upon other than the guidance of that Saviour to whom we all may go without the intervention of man. As for children confessing, we have no language strong enough to condemn the practice. Indeed, it would even seem better that children should be taught to confess direct to God, rather than to their parents, let alone to religious instructor or priest.

¹ The Divine Liturgy, p. 192.

4. *Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.*—No further proof of Mr. Walsh's inability to write the history of the Oxford Movement is wanting than his remarks on the attempt of certain English clergymen to teach the existence of Purgatory, and the desirability of prayer for the departed. Indeed, his statement that the Rev. E. de S. Wood "used the word Purgatory without a blush of shame," is intensely amusing; while it tends to show how zealous though ill-informed is his partisanship. Surely Mr. Walsh, when penning his displeasure at the Ritualists for their teaching of the existence of Purgatory, must have forgotten entirely the statement by Dean Farrar, that "there is, in fact, a distinct feeling among some of the ablest Protestant divines of Germany and of England, that the bare negation of Purgatory by the Reformers left a void of doctrine which is perilous to all faith." Surely Mr. Walsh must have forgotten that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council refused to condemn the expression of hope by clergymen, "that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked, who are condemned in the day of judgment, may be consistent with the will of God," an opinion shared and expressed by the late Archbishop of Canterbury.¹

Mr. Walsh refers to the statement of the Homilies that "the souls of the dead are not holpen by our prayers," but he is evidently ignorant of the fact that Harold Browne wrote of the Homilies, "All writers on the subject have agreed, that the kind of assent which we are here called on to give them is general, not specific. We are not expected to express full concurrence with every statement," etc.²

Respecting the Scripture evidence for Prayer for the Dead, commentators are divided; some, as Dean Luckock,³ see in 2 Tim. i. 16 a prayer for the soul of Onesiphorus, now dead; ⁴ while others agree with Hammond, that here there is no reference to one dead. Prayer for the dead, however, was universally practiced by the primitive church as early as the second century, was favored by Luther, approved of by Thorndike, Barrow, and Ussher, and lately by many eminent Protestant and Anglican divines as very natural.⁵

5. "*The Real Presence*," and "*The Eucharistic Sacrifice*."—Again, under these headings, Mr. Walsh betrays his ignorance of Anglican theology, and, consequently, his inability to write thereon. It is quite true that the Prayer-book definitely teaches Hooker's opinion that the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist is to be looked for in the worthy receiver of the Sacraments, which is the teaching also of Archbishops Laud and Wake. But that Anglicans are not debarred by anything in their formularies from believing in the existence of an objective Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, not only has the present Archbishop of Canterbury recently conceded, but both Ridley and Latimer may be appealed to in support

¹ Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, pp. 174 ff. ² Thirty-nine Articles.

³ *The Divine Liturgy*. ⁴ See also Timothy (Cambridge Bible).

⁵ See *Expository Times*, Jan. 1897, p. 148.

of such an opinion. Now in Ridley's examination as given in Fox, he acknowledged that in the consecrated cup is the *same* blood as that which flowed from Christ, but by way of a *sacrament*. Further, he acknowledged that the priest offered an unbloody sacrifice in the Eucharist after the manner of a sacrament, declaring that we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table. Latimer declared, "to the right celebration of the Lord's Supper there is no other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence. . . . And the same presence may be called most fitly a *real presence*, that is a presence not feigned, but a true and faithful presence." Again he said, "I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the *very* blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually." And further, he maintained that we worship Christ not only in the heavens, but also in the sacrament.

At this point we may fittingly call attention to the reply of the Bishop of Norwich to recent memorialists. He told them that the Prayer-book was *not* an exhaustive treatise upon the whole science of theology, and that great divines of the church have held and taught doctrines which, though not explicitly taught in the Prayer-book, are not contrary to anything therein.¹

6. *Sisterhoods, Ritual, and Ritualistic Societies.*—What Mr. Walsh objects to under these heads is merely what the rank and file of High-churchmen equally object to, viz., extravagance, and, in some cases, even folly. Mr. Wakeman, a typical High-churchman, in the Church Conference of 1897, himself candidly acknowledged that "High-churchmen have not always been preserved from the guilt of folly." These extravagances, however, are by no means essential adjuncts to the High-church movement, and are soon likely to bring their own cure, as we can see already in the new society of typical High-churchmen which has recently been formed for the express purpose of checking some of their unwise and extravagant brethren. Regarding Sisterhoods, it would be absurd for any one to see in the few cases cited by Mr. Walsh a general tendency to arrogance and an unlawful enforcement of discipline. The enormous good these institutions have already accomplished is their full warrant for continuance. And surely it is much better to consecrate bishops, croziers, processional crosses, and banners, etc., than to bless battleships and military regimental standards.

7. *Tractarians Refuse to Regard Rome with Abhorrence.*—At last we arrive at the real cause which has prompted Mr. Walsh to produce a volume which attempts to discredit one large section of the Anglican Church; he believes that the Papacy is the Babylon of the Apocalypse, and that we should listen to God rather than man, since, "His cry to one and all is not to join the Church of Rome, but to separate ourselves as far as possible from her" (p. 373). Now if Mr. Walsh really believes,

¹ The Guardian, Jan. 18, 1899.

and he so represents himself, that God has actually commanded us to separate ourselves as far as possible from the Church of Rome, we have here the key to his regarding, as Dr. Sanday points out, "everything that has any resemblance to the practice of the Church of Rome as wrong." Putting ourselves for the moment, therefore, in Mr. *Walsh's* place, we can readily sympathize with him in the view he takes of the Oxford Movement, and, looking at the present crisis in the Church of England through *his* spectacles, we should be inclined to join him in opposing what he evidently imagines to be almost a *National* apostasy. But then we cannot but momentarily put ourselves in Mr. *Walsh's* place, neither can we look at the present situation through his spectacles, except he were to concede that what we see through them is a mere matter of imagination. He evidently is so much in earnest, however, that he is not likely to concede this latter; therefore, we cannot do the former, since we unhesitatingly assert that no modern scholar of repute can be found to see in modern Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse. That the Babylon of the Apocalypse means Rome, is very likely,—not Christian, but rather heathen Rome, however, as Haydn's Bible Dictionary, Hammond, and other commentators point out.

To this recognition of the position from which Mr. *Walsh* has written his protest against the Oxford Movement, we would call the attention of the reader, as well as to the lack of knowledge of Anglican theology so conspicuous throughout his volume. Nor must we neglect to point out the extravagant statements of Mr. *Walsh* as to the *thousands* of Ritualistic clergymen who at the present time are following Mr. *Faber's* example; the *thousands* of nominally English clergymen who are teaching the Romish form of Confession; and the *thousands* of parishes said to be in the hands of the Ritualists. There are but fourteen thousand parishes in England and Wales, and we are quite safe in saying that the greater proportion of these are quite untouched by Ritualistic novelties; there are but some twenty-three thousand clergy, and the majority of these are well-known to be loyal ministers of the Anglican Church.

A book, therefore, so strongly characterized by the weaknesses to which we have called attention, is not a volume which is calculated to have much weight with the thinking public after the first flush of excitement caused by the reading of another work on the Oxford Movement has passed away; and we therefore repeat at the close of our more detailed observations what we stated at the end of our general summary, viz., that Mr. *Walsh's* "Secret History of the Oxford Movement" is not likely to go down to posterity as an indispensable treatise on the subject with which it deals.

In closing this review, we think it well to refer once more to the hint given to the Norwich memorialists by their diocesan. He reminded them that there had ever been two tendencies of mind in the church, and that "the vast mass of churchmen are firmly resolved that neither

party shall be permitted to extrude the other." Now in these true and wise words of Dr. Sheepshanks, we have a just condemnation of Mr. Walsh's entire volume. Written exclusively from the point of view of a partisan, he appears to ignore the fact that there exists by right another tendency of mind in the Church of England besides his own, and that of the party to which he belongs. Indeed, we are safe in saying that his party views as contrary to the spirit of the Church of England the existence of this other tendency of mind. Canon Garratt, a typical Low-churchman, is reported in the *Guardian*¹ as again advocating the repeal of the Acts of Uniformity. He candidly concedes that this would cause a disruption of the church on the part of those who regard episcopacy as essential to a valid, or at least a regular, ordination; but, recognizing that this repeal would bring us in this matter "into line with all other Protestant churches," he calmly asserts that "we might weigh the gain against the loss without dismay." Now this is not the place to discuss the merits of episcopacy. It is sufficient for us to remind our readers that the combined Anglican episcopate has publicly recorded their opinion that, from their standpoint, episcopacy is essential to Christian unity. The repeal, therefore, advocated by Canon Garratt, and evidently fully indorsed by his party, is opposed to the view of the entire Anglican hierarchy. The Low-church school apparently cares nothing for this. They seem to think that their own view of matters alone represents the teaching of the Church of England. It is this opinion which characterizes Mr. Walsh's entire volume. In the hands of the thoughtful reader this will prove its chief weakness; while in the hands of the ill informed its chief strength. All true churchmen, however, may rest confidently in the assurance of the Bishop of Norwich, that the mass of churchmen are firmly resolved that neither party shall extrude the other. We candidly admit that the Church of England is at present passing through a severe crisis; but we may see, in the words of the Bishop of Norwich, a prophecy that God will bring good out of the trouble which is at present besetting an institution which has done such signal service in the cause of Christ as the Church of England.

A. E. WHATHAM.

WAY'S MILLS, QUEBEC.

¹ Jan. 25, 1899, p. 115.

ARTICLE XII.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

IF the tendency to study the social aspects of Christianity rather than the individual man, the mass more than the unit, the state more than the citizen, shall ripen in the coming century into municipal reforms of a practical and permanent nature, the result will well repay for the effort. The cost of governing cities is one aspect of the people's neglect at the present in this direction. Practical, and as Mr. Carnegie would call it, "triumphant democracy," is apt to follow its idols blindly, and forget that good rulers secure the best results at the least expense to each individual. The following will give the relative cost of governing some cities in the United States and abroad, that is a comment on what is a good municipal government. As men and money continue to flow into large centers, greater attention will be paid to the cost of municipal government. That form of government is the best that governs the most effectively, with the least friction, at the least expense, and is the choice of the people who are governed.

THE COST OF GOVERNING CITIES.

City.	Population 1890.	Annual cost of Governm't.	Cost Per Cap- ita.	Police No. of Men.	Departm't. Annual cost.	Departm't of Educa- tion.	Street cleaning.
New York...	3,389,753	\$138,000,000	\$47.10	5,100	\$11,000,000	\$11,000,000	\$3,950,000
Chicago.....	1,098,576	32,400,000	20.39	3,385	3,225,000	5,600,000	570,000
Philadelphia. 1,044,894		23,000,000	22.01	2,600	2,350,000	3,500,000	845,000
Boston.....	446,507	10,640,000	23.82	1,123	1,360,000	2,260,000	780,000
London.....	6,291,697	65,000,000	10.33	16,000	8,000,000	17,000,000	
Paris.....	2,511,629	72,700,000	28.94	8,100	5,600,000	5,000,000	1,700,000
Berlin.....	1,726,098	21,450,000	12.42	4,500	785,000	3,500,000	550,000
Vienna.....	1,423,000	11,850,000	8.32	2,800			690,000

From these statistics the virtue of Boss Croker's administrative rule in New York is made to appear. Democracy appears to no advantage over other forms of government when it is contrasted in the light of its cost. Berlin and Vienna, like Glasgow, are cleaner, purer, and better governed than any city in the United States, and the cost, per capita, of governing London is only a little more than one-fifth of that of New York.

CONTEMPT OF COURT.

THE statutes of the State of Massachusetts are much more explicit than those of many other States as to what constitutes contempt of court. Anything that tends to restrict or hamper the courts in the administration of justice—such as, the publication in a newspaper of an editorial or report of a trial that prejudices the case or tends to prejudice the minds of the jury—is punishable by fine or imprisonment. Contempt of court is thus broadened out to cover more than the attorneys for Debs contended for; and, in Massachusetts at least, a man may be imprisoned without a trial by a jury of his peers, despite his supposed constitutional right to the same.

The Supreme Court of the State recently affirmed the decision of a lower court on this point. It appears that, in a case on trial in the Superior Court at Worcester, one Loring was trying to get damages from the town of Holden for land taken for the abolition of a railroad grade-crossing. The *Telegram* newspaper, while the case was on trial, published an item to the effect that "the town offered Loring \$80 at the time of taking, but he demanded \$250, and not getting it, went to law." The *Gazette* published an item of similar import. The Superior Court found that the publication of such matter was likely to obstruct the course of justice, and fined each newspaper company \$100. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, which, in its decision recently filed, says, first, that a corporation may be liable criminally for certain offenses, such as that in question, and adds: "The publication of an article in a newspaper which is printed and circulated in the place where a trial is had, pending the trial, and which concerns the cause on trial, and is calculated to prejudice the jury in the cause and prevent a fair trial, often has been held to be a criminal contempt of the court trying the cause. If a corporation publishes the article we see no reason why it should not be held liable for a criminal contempt. There are no statutes in this Commonwealth regulating the proceedings in the trial and punishment of contempt of court. 'The summary power to commit and punish for contempt tending to obstruct or defeat the administration of justice is inherent in courts of chancery and other superior courts, as essential to the execution of their powers and to the maintenance of authority, and is part of the law of the land within the meaning of Magna Charta and of the twelfth article of our declaration of rights.'

"When it comes in any manner to the knowledge of the presiding justice of a court that articles are published in a newspaper circulated in the place where the court is held which are calculated to prevent a fair trial of a cause then on trial before the court, the court of its own motion can institute proceedings for contempt. Such a power in the court is necessary for its own protection against an improper interference with the due administration of justice, and it is not dependent upon the complaint of any of the parties litigant. If the publication amounts to a contempt of

court, because it interferes with the due administration of justice in a cause before the court, the contempt is analogous to a contempt committed in the presence of the court. The proceedings in the present cases, after the service of process, show that the plaintiffs in error were specifically informed of the nature of the charge against them, and were given a full opportunity to be heard with the aid of counsel.

"The most important question is whether the publication of these articles under the circumstances stated could be adjudged a contempt. The articles published were not defamatory, either as regards the presiding justice of the court, or the jurors before whom the cause referred to was being tried, or the parties to the cause. In one case the court discharged the treasurer and manager of a newspaper, and in the other the editor and the publisher, on the ground that they were not shown to be directly responsible for the publications. It is probable, although this does not expressly appear in the papers before us, that the person or persons employed to report for each newspaper the proceedings of the court wrote the articles and caused them to be published. The Superior Court has not found that there was an intent to influence the trial of the cause referred to on the part of anybody. The articles are objectionable only because they purport to state the amount of money which they said the town offered to pay the plaintiff, and the amount the plaintiff demanded before the petition was brought. The law encourages attempts to settle or compromise disputes without subjecting the parties to any liability, if the attempts fail, of having any concessions therein made to avoid litigation put in evidence against them in the subsequent litigation. We are content to assume that the persons who wrote and caused the articles to be published did not know this rule of law, and acted without any intent to pervert the course of justice. As the only intent which can be imputed to the corporation is the intent of its officers, the question is whether the publication of these articles without any intent to pervert the course of justice can be adjudged a contempt. . . . It was not necessary that the Superior Court should find that the articles published actually had been read by some of the jurors while trying the cause to which the articles referred. They plainly had been read by the presiding justice during the trial, and it is likely that they had been read by some of the jurors. The intention of the publisher of a newspaper is that it should be bought and read by persons within the place where it circulates. Cases should be determined on the evidence presented in court. It is an unwarrantable perversion of the proper administration of justice to attempt to influence the judge or jury in the determination of a cause pending before them by statements outside of the court-room and not in the presence of the parties, which may be false, and, even if they are true, are not in law admissible in evidence. We cannot say that it appears that the Superior Court erred in adjudging that the publication of these articles under the circumstances stated was a contempt of that

court, and it was for that court to determine whether it was necessary to institute proceedings for contempt in order to vindicate its authority to secure the due administration of justice in a cause pending before it. The publications contained statements of facts, evidence of which was not competent at the trial and was not introduced at the trial, and they were so made that it was likely that the presiding justice and the jurors would read them during the trial, and the natural and probable effect of them was improperly to influence the court and jury in the determination of the cause."

THE COURTS AND TRUSTS.

THE statutes of the different States vary widely in their provisions for chartering corporations. Corporations that, under the statutes of most States, would be held to be incorporated for purposes in restraint of trade or contrary to public policy, find a home and shelter in New Jersey, where the laws expressly provide that directors of a corporation shall not be held guilty for overt acts or fraud except the evidence be clear and overwhelming. New Jersey is reaping an enormous income from its taxes on corporations, both from the charges for charter rights and from its annual taxes. In return for these, it grants immunity to would-be offenders of corporate laws under other States, such as Massachusetts or New York.

A few years ago the Massachusetts courts held that a trust agreement which prohibited a beneficiary of the trust from competing with the trust might be enforced; but now they hold that such an agreement is illegal, and cannot be enforced. The result is, that a man may sell his business to a trust agreeing not to compete, and then violate his agreement with impunity. This decision must be followed by similar decisions in other States if the question of trusts and monopolies is once in politics to stay. Thus far corporate power has been able to bribe or influence legislators so that, even in Illinois, recent enactments are favorable to trusts.

The new Federal Steel Trust, with \$200,000,000 capital, is a New Jersey corporation. The States most favorable to corporations, are Maine, New Jersey, West Virginia, and Kentucky; while those that are most strict are Massachusetts, Ohio, New York, and Illinois (until Governor Tanner came into power). The Standard Oil hearing in New York was a farce. Mr. Rockefeller became quite humorous as a witness. The public have lost confidence in the sincerity of such investigations; for the outcome is uniformly an abandonment of proceedings, and the change of mind is usually rightly guessed to be the result of the influence of some unseen planet that has exerted a silent but potent influence. Laws are passed and committees oftentimes appointed solely for the purpose of raising campaign funds, when their ostensible object is to unearth in the interests of the people some monstrous fraud or iniquity.

The Massachusetts courts are well known to be favorable to trusts protected by patents, or, in other words, to have a greater respect for monop-

oly by patent than in the West. Justice Brewer of our Supreme Court, on the contrary, looks with the greatest suspicion on many of the patents now issuing from the patent office, holding that they lack in novelty or in real invention. Especially is this true of inventions in the sphere of electricity, where the force is so intangible that the air of mystery surrounds an invention that would quickly disappear if any other agent, such as a body of water, were used to accomplish a desired result. With great clearness of vision, the late Commissioner of Patents, Hon. John S. Seymour, holds that invention is not what the uneducated mind would not naturally discover, but what the expert familiar with the state of an art would not have stumbled upon as a natural and logical way to remove an obstacle. If courts would follow this judgment, the scope and power of trusts dependent on patents would be much prescribed.

ARTICLE XIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING, Archbishop of Westminster. By EDMUND SHERIDAN PURCELL, etc. In two Volumes. 8vo. Pp. xx, 702 and x, 832. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898. \$3.50.

This work, one of the most interesting and important of the past year, is divided into two parts, each receiving one of the volumes, the Anglican and the Catholic life of Manning, who was born in 1807, was ordained an Anglican priest in 1832, became Archdeacon of Chichester in 1841, went over to the Church of Rome in 1851, was made Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, Cardinal in 1875, and died 1892.

The early years of this remarkable life present nothing especially noteworthy. Manning was born in a wealthy and prominent mercantile family, was educated at Oxford, and after a time of indecision, in which he looked chiefly toward political life, entered the church and became rector of a parish in Surrey, Lavington. Here he remained for seventeen years. In 1833 he married, but in four years his wife died. As a rector, he was faithful and diligent. As Archdeacon he became very prominent, and was generally regarded as certain of ultimate promotion to the bench of bishops. His prospects were in every way brilliant in the Church of England when, suddenly, he resigned his archdeaconry and his rectorship, and after a little was found in the Catholic Church.

The general course of this change is detailed with great minuteness and remarkable honesty by Mr. Purcell. We say "remarkable honesty," because a writer of a biography would certainly feel naturally inclined to pass lightly over certain facts which are here brought out, and which this particular biographer evidently felt much disposed to suppress. And yet, the real process of Manning's mind we are left partially to conjecture. When he began his ministry he was a Low-church Evangelical; but he had had no regular theological training, and seems to have been profoundly ignorant of systematic theology. Coming later in some contact with the Tractarians, and especially J. H. Newman, with whom he had had no personal intimacy at Oxford, he adopted, apparently without any more thorough examination than he had previously given to the "Evangelical" tenets, the two baleful doctrines of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the Apostolical Succession. Now these two doctrines are Romanism in a nutshell. A man can no more hold them and remain consistently out of the Roman Church than he can hold Jus-

tification by Faith and remain consistently *in* the Roman Church. Manning picked these doctrines up off the street, if I may so say; and, having once adopted them, his logical mind carried him to an intellectual conviction that there was no true priesthood and no true authority in the Anglican Church, and that these things must be sought in Rome. And then his conscience drove him to relinquish everything he had on earth and enter the Roman Church.

But the struggle was long. He was received as a Catholic by Cardinal Wiseman in 1851, but in 1846 he recorded in his diary that "the Church of England seems to me *diseased* 1. *organically* (1) separation from church toto orbe diffusa and from *Cathedra Petri* [!], etc., etc. 2. *Functionally*," etc., etc. At an earlier date: "I am conscious to myself of an extensively changed feeling towards the Church of Rome. . . . Though not Roman, *I cease to be Anglican.*" In 1847 the doctrine of infallibility began to occupy his mind. He wrote: "Admitting—1. The infallibility of the Church; 2. The Church of Rome that Church,—would the residual difficulties to be received on infallibility be *so many as in the English Church, e.g.,* the Canon, the censure of antiquity, the change of the Eucharistic office, and the like?" In his letters to Archdeacon Wilberforce, who subsequently entered the Roman Church also, he declared (1848) Dr. Hampden a heretic in "matter" and in "form," regarded the episcopate as made partaker of his heresy by his consecration as bishop, and gave utterance to the "miserable truth, that [in consequence] the civil power is the ultimate judge of doctrine in England, *a principle which is not more heretical than atheistical.*" In 1849 he wrote to the same correspondent: "The faith of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation subdues me into a belief of the indivisible unity and perpetual infallibility of the Body of Christ. Protestantism is not so much a rival system which I reject, but no system, a chaos, a wreck of fragments, without idea, principle, or life. It is to me flesh, blood, unbelief, and the will of man. Anglicanism seems to me to be in essence the same, only elevated, constructed, and adorned by intellect, social and public order, and the fascinations of a national and domestic history. As a theology, still more as the Church or the faith, it has so faded out of my mind that I cannot say I reject it, but I know it no more. I simply do not believe it. I can form no basis, outline, or defense for it. Our articles and formularies, so far as they contain the Catholic tradition, I understand. But beyond that I feel to have no certainty, sometimes no perception of their meaning. I do not rest upon them; they are no rule to me; I do not know whether I contradict or strain them. My only foundation of faith is the infallibility of Christ in his Church, and they are not utterances of that voice." And yet, in 1848—notice the year, the very year in which he wrote of Dr. Hampden as above—Archdeacon Manning in a charge slurred over the errors of this newly consecrated bishop, declaring himself and his hearers "released from the

necessity of forming opinions as to past theological statements justly censured," and adds: "We may accept the last public subscription as a fact closing up a retrospect which nothing but a new necessity can reopen"! In 1850, *one year* before his secession, he wrote to a friend who consulted him on her personal duty as to leaving the English Church for the Roman: "When I come to look at the Church of England, I see a living continuous succession of Christian people under their pastors, descending from the earliest ages to this day; and although it has had to bear mutilations and breaches in its external order, and in its relations to the other churches, *yet it seems to me to possess the divine life of the Church*, and the divine food of that life, the Word and Sacraments of Christians."

Here is a problem, and a very interesting problem for Protestants. Why did Manning go over to the Catholic Church? That question we have already answered according to our best conjecture of his reasons. But was he honest? Did he really go led by conscience? And the point of this question will be sharpened for most Protestants by the great difficulty they have in believing that any rational and good man, trained in Protestantism, *could* honestly go over to Rome for conscience' sake. Now comes the evidence of this more than hesitation, this double dealing, on Manning's part. What shall we say? As the biographer puts it: "What, I grant, is a curious difficulty, almost startling at first, is to find Manning speaking concurrently for years with a double voice. One voice proclaims in public, in sermons, charges, and tracts, and, in a tone still more absolute, to those who sought his advice in confession, his *profound and unwavering* belief in the Church of England as the divine witness to the truth, appointed by Christ, and guided by the Holy Spirit. The other voice . . . speaks in almost heartbroken *accents of despair* at being no longer able in conscience to defend the teaching and position of the Church of England. . . . Cardinal Manning has left us no explanation of this apparent mystery. . . . The simplest solution is the truest. In the trying period between 1847-51 Manning's mind was in a state of transition in regard to his religious belief. The struggle was as prolonged as it was severe. . . . To see things in one light to-day, in another to-morrow, is but natural in such a transition-state of mind. To make statements on grave matters of faith to one person or set of persons in contradiction of statements made to others, is only a still stronger proof of a sensitive mind, perplexed by doubt, losing for the time being its balance," etc., etc. And we may add, from many indications, that *while he remained* in official position in the English Church, he felt under obligations to speak *as her servant and in her sense* whenever he spoke in public. When finally he clearly felt that he could do this no longer, he resigned and left her. Thus while at bottom Manning seems to have been thoroughly conscientious, he often expressed himself in a way that was not objectively true. He could make an unsafe and doubt-

ful distinction between his public relations, acts, and words, and his private thoughts and feelings. And he was also often led away by his innate tendency to be politic, and to act for the best interests of the cause he was for the moment identified with. This characteristic never left him. It made him an ecclesiastical statesman, put him in the bishop's chair, gave him much of his success; but it also involved him in many a difficulty.

We think, therefore, that Manning *was* honest, conscientious, and unselfish, in his transfer of himself to the Roman Church. A considerable additional value derived from this narrative for the reader is the perfect confidence it gives him of the honesty of the biographer. We feel that in *this* biography we are treading always on solid ground. Telling the truth seems, indeed, to cost Mr. Purcell at times a strange effort; but he evidently does tell it.

Admitted into the Catholic Church the sixth of April, 1851, a week later Manning received the minor orders, and in ten weeks was ordained priest. After a considerable residence at Rome, he began to work in London, at first in connection with the Jesuit Church in Farm Street, soon as founder of the Oblates of St. Charles. He was speedily plunged into ecclesiastical business, became the trusted friend of Cardinal Wiseman, and an intimate of Pius IX. It was only the natural result of his previous relations to these two dignitaries that he was appointed by the Pope, although not elected by the chapter, to the see of Westminster (more properly London) after Wiseman's death. He had already gained much prominence as a controversialist and as a defender of the temporal power of the Pope. His influence and success in bringing converts from the Church of England had been great. His own path had been determined largely by what attracted most of these converts, the idea of infallibility. It was, therefore, only natural that he should defend powerfully the infallibility of the church, and, under the influence of his cordial relations with the Vatican, should identify this with the infallibility of the Pope. When the Vatican Council was held (1869-70) he became one of the most prominent advocates of immediate definition, spoke in its favor before the Council, and employed all the resources of his great powers of personal influence in its behalf. But with the Council his ecclesiastical prominence largely ceased. He was made Cardinal after a time, it is true, in recognition of his services at the Council, but his trusted friend and correspondent Mgr. Talbot, an Englishman, chamberlain and intimate friend of the Pope's, having been removed by failing health from the immediate presence of the Pope, he had comparatively little influence in the later years of Pius IX., and next to none in those of Leo XIII.

What was thus taken from Cardinal Manning's general ecclesiastical prominence was, however, added to his influence for good. He became after 1870 in a preëminent sense the bishop of his diocese (the city of London), a great preacher of religion, a philanthropist and friend of the

people, and a social reformer. For these services he was fitted by nature, and by the peculiar isolation and freedom of his position. He lived entirely apart from the social life of the capital. He was not involved by dependence on the state and by public duties, like the bishops of the Church of England, in the innumerable secular cares and duties which engross their time, and occupy their attention. He could be, and in a large degree was, more of a true bishop than they all. And hence he became a leader in many public movements, not only among his own people, but in the community at large, as in his temperance campaigns, his agitation for better dwellings for the poor, his famous participation in the adjustment of the dockers' strike.

His personal relations with two prominent personalities will attract the attention of every reader. With Cardinal Newman they were most unique and astonishing. On the one hand Manning professed the greatest friendship for him, and, delivering his funeral oration in the Church of the Oratory, London, spoke of "the memories of an affectionate friendship of more than sixty years," and added: "The history of our land will hereafter record the name of John Henry Newman among the greatest of our people, as a confessor for the faith, a great teacher of men, a preacher of justice, of piety, and of compassion." Yet it was true that he distrusted him. He felt that he was not Roman, but rather Gallican, or more properly English. At one time he felt that to favor Newman was to oppose the Holy See, and this he "could not" oppose. So that for the whole period of Manning's great prominence and influence at Rome, Newman was left largely unrecognized, a priest and an Oratorian, under what he himself felt was a "cloud." It was a double relation, this of Manning's towards Newman, something like that sustained between 1846 and 1851 towards the Church of England, and perhaps characterized like that by something of self-sophistication. With the other of these two personages, Gladstone, there was a like double relation. The Catholic Manning seems for years to have looked silently at his former friend with affection, when Gladstone felt anything but affection for him. Yet they each respected the other, and in their last years came variously in contact again.

The last years of his life Manning devoted to a review of his career and to the preparation of autobiographical notes. We are thus enabled, in connection with his large and varied correspondence reproduced on the pages of the *Life*, to answer a question which every interested Protestant cannot fail to put, viz., What effect upon Manning's religious character did his conversion to Rome have? He doubtless accepted the Roman system fully, and on its ecclesiastical side, as the system of infallible authority located in the Pope, it became bone of his bone. He believed, no doubt, all the various dogmas, on authority, in an external way. Thus he doubtless accepted the saintship and intercession of Mary, and her immaculate conception. He repeated, no doubt, every

Hail Mary prescribed in any Roman ritual that he might be using. He accepted transubstantiation, and all the rest. But really, these things did not enter into his heart. They had little connection with his own self. He mentions Mary but three or four times in all the matter reprinted in these two large volumes. Not a trace of Roman superstition appears to have tainted him. He vindicates for the Protestants of England, in his "Hindrances to the Spread of Catholicism," a "state of grace," repudiates the idea *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, emphasizes the Christian doctrines believed in England, and calls for the preaching by Catholic priests of the great "*eternal and sovereign* truths which are still taken for granted." And, then, he manifested quietly but persistently a great and unconquerable repugnance to the religious orders. He doubtless treated them outwardly as a Roman ecclesiastic was bound to do, but he distrusted and disliked them. His own "Oblates" were "secular" priests. He never would use the term secular. He insisted on their "perfection" as *priests*, denying that "vows" gave any higher perfection. The Jesuits could not persuade him to admit their schools into his diocese. The whole monastic system remained repugnant to his English heart.

If the influence of Cardinal Manning shall abide in the English branch of the Roman Church, that influence will be for high standards of service, for intellectual strength, for spiritual preaching, for temperance and practical philanthropy, for faith, and for antagonism to superstition. Possibly such an influence may explain the providential purpose in an event so unfortunate in a human sense as the perversion of Archdeacon Manning to the Church of Rome in 1851.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. By JOHN D. DAVIS, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. With many New Maps and Original Maps and Plans, and Amply Illustrated. 8vo. Pp. vii, 802. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Press. \$2.00.

The appearance of new Bible Dictionaries aiming to support recent rationalistic criticism has rendered it imperative that the conservative views of criticism should be represented in their latest and best forms. The present volume is an admirable exponent of these more catholic and comprehensive views, and provides us with the best work in one volume which is at present attainable—a volume which, while exactly meeting the wants of ordinary intelligent readers of the Bible, is also of highest value to all clergymen and students who wish a trustworthy book of ready reference upon all biblical topics. We trust it will be followed by a more elaborate work, to compete with the larger works now appearing under the other auspices referred to.

Coming to the work in detail, it is a pleasure to say, that, while its minor articles are all carefully prepared, and its maps and illustrations

numerous and of the highest order, the subjects of criticism which are at present most in the public thought are treated with great fullness and rare tact and scholarly discrimination. Among the most important of the longer articles, are those on Abraham, Canaan, Chronology, Deuteronomy, Egypt, Gospel, History, Jerusalem, Jesus Christ, Palestine, Paul, Pentateuch, Samuel (Books of), Sinai, Versions, and Wilderness of Wanderings.

One of the best services to be rendered by the work is in counteracting the impression, which is diligently spread abroad, that conservative criticism is unprogressive and reactionary; whereas it is, in the true sense, progressive, being ready to accept all facts which are proved beyond reasonable doubt, and to make all changes which are demanded by the discovery of such facts. One of the most satisfactory illustrations of the progress of conservative criticism and interpretation appears in the article on Chronology. The readers of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA are aware that as long ago as the Colenso controversy, about 1860, Professor William Henry Green strenuously argued that the genealogies in the early chapters of Genesis, when interpreted according to the usage of the times, did not establish a hard-and-fast system of chronology. Later, in the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA for April, 1890, he more fully elaborated these views in an article which must ever remain the classic discussion of the subject. In the present dictionary these views are briefly but clearly presented as one of the allowable alternative views which can reasonably be maintained. According to this view, the Hebrew records afford no basis for a chronology between Adam and Abraham. The genealogical lists are simply those of the more prominent persons. They are given to establish a line of descent, instead of a definite chronology.

In a third alternative, the article goes farther, and maintains that it is allowable to interpret the lists in Genesis as relating to families, and not individuals; so that "the longevity is the period during which the family had prominence and leadership. Thus:—

Adam	1
Family of Seth originated when Adam was 130 years old (v. 3)	130
Adam and his direct line were at the head of affairs for 930 years (ver. 5), when they were superseded by	
Family of Seth	930
In Seth, 105 years after it attained headship, the family of Enosh took its rise (ver. 6)	1035
After being at the head of affairs for 912 years (ver. 8), Seth was succeeded by	
Family of Enosh	1842
Ninety years after Enosh attained to headship there sprang from it the family of Kenan (ver. 9)	1932
After Enosh had held the leadership 815 years longer (ver. 10), Enosh gave place to	

Family of Kenan	2747
Family of Lamech	6848
Family which took its name from Noah origin- ated	7030
Lamech is succeeded by	
Family of Noah	7625
Shem, Ham, and Japheth born about	8125
Flood	8225
Arpachshad originates	8227
The race of Shem, as distinct from the other descend- ants of Noah, become preëminent	8575

Hence the years from the creation of Adam to the flood were 8225, and from Adam to the death of Terah may be 11,571. This outline exhibits one application of the theory; but it must be remembered that at different points in the genealogy various interpretations are possible, which must be subject to individual preference until further data come to light" (pp. 127-128).

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. The Canon. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. 8vo. Pp. xvii, 209. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

This volume satisfactorily meets what had come to be a pressing, not to say oppressive, want with the English-speaking public. In the voluminous and rapidly succeeding publications of the destructive critics the fundamental beliefs of the church seemed to be in danger of being lost by default. We have in this learned and yet popular volume a most able and satisfactory defense of the more generally accepted views concerning the canon of the Old Testament. The author effectively marshals the testimony of the Bible itself in regard to the formation of the canon; clearly states the critical theories concerning its formation; discusses at length the determining principles in the formation of the canon; gives reasonably conclusive evidence that the canon was completed before the Maccabean age, and that the threefold division of the canon existed at its completion. He then adduces the evidence that the canon was collected in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and shows in succeeding chapters that as it left their hands it included the books in our present Hebrew Bible, and none others. This is shown to be the canon of the Jews, the canon of Christ and his apostles, and the canon of the early Christian church. Any who have been misled by the imperfect statements and the sophistical reasoning of many modern critics aiming to show that the Talmud did not recognize the canonicity of some of the books of the Old Testament, and that some of the books were not finally received into the canon until the great assembly held at Jamnia, near the close of the first century, will find here a complete and satisfactory answer to their doubts:—

"In regard to these disputations at Jamnia it is to be observed,

"1. That the question in every case was not whether a book should

or should not be admitted to the canon, as though this had never before been decided; but whether a book, which had long before been received into the canon, was rightfully there or ought to be excluded from it.

"2. The grounds of objection did not affect the authorship or genuineness of the books, but rest upon exceptions taken to the contents of the books themselves, implying a high and well-established standard of canonical fitness, to which every book included in the canon must be expected to conform. The Song of Solomon, considered as a mere song of worldly love, and Ecclesiastes in its commendation of worldly enjoyment, were thought to fall below this standard. Some of the objections are frivolous and trivial, and seem to have been made for the sake of refuting them by a display of subtlety. And none of them were of such a character as to lead to the omission of any of these books from the canon. When submitted to the assembly of elders the objections were overruled, and the books retained. And the Talmud in other passages abundantly testifies to the canonical authority of the disputed books. Instead of proving that the canon was still unsettled, these objections were directed against a canon already firmly established, and left it in the same condition in which they found it. The questionings of individual rabbis are of no account against the universal sentiment of the Jewish Church.

"3. These objections were not limited to what Robertson Smith regards as the disputed portion of the canon; but, such as they were, they were directed against what he considers the unquestioned portion as well, e.g., against Proverbs and the book of Ezekiel.

"4. The idea of an unsettled canon in the first century of the Christian era is absolutely inadmissible in the face of the explicit testimony of Josephus. However the critics may try to persuade themselves that he was mistaken in fixing the time of the completion of the canon as far back as the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, he certainly knew in what esteem the sacred books were held in his own day, and the convictions of his countrymen in regard to them. And he could not possibly have said that nothing had been added to them or taken from them, or altered in them, in all the time that had elapsed since Artaxerxes, if the true limits of the canon were still in doubt, or certain books had found a place in it within a decennium" (pp. 133-136).

HISTORY OF DOGMA. (Theological Translation Library. Vol. IX.) By Dr. ADOLPH HARNACK. Translated from the third German edition by NEIL BUCHANAN. Vol. IV. Pp. xi, 353. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1898. \$2.00.

This volume begins with the seventh chapter of Volume II. in the original German, and extends to the end of that volume. It deals with the most exciting time in early church history, covering the period of doctrinal development from the Council of Nice, in 325, to the Synod of Constantinople, in 842, concluding with a brief sketch of the rise of the

orthodox system. The volume is specially full in its treatment of the Nicene period, beginning with the preliminary discussions at Antioch in 268. The chapters severally treat of: "I.—The Doctrine of the Homousia of the Son of God with God Himself," which treats of the Arian heresy and of its refutation by Athanasius and his followers,—a controversy which continued to the year 383; "II.—The Doctrine of the Perfect Likeness of the Nature of the Incarnate Son of God with that of Humanity," in which Apollinaris was the leading figure; "III.—The Doctrine of the Personal Union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Incarnate Son of God," which covers the Nestorian, Eutychian, Monophysite, and Monothelite controversies; "IV.—The Mysteries and Kindred Subjects," including baptism, the Lord's Supper, the worship of saints, angels, etc. The volume is indispensable to a complete understanding of the doctrinal discussions of the period treated.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D., Hon.Litt.D., Dublin; Regius Professor of Divinity, and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 8vo. Pp. cix, 412. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1898. \$3.75.

The plan and execution of this work are so nearly perfect that scarcely anything to be desired in a learned commentary upon Mark has been omitted. It is equal to the best German commentaries in its minute attention to details; while it is superior to them in clearness of statement, and in the other respects which render its learning and thought accessible. At the end of the volume one has a complete vocabulary with references to every place in the Gospel where each word occurs, as well as a full index to the Introduction and Notes. The author's discussion of the personality of Mark, of the early history of the Gospel, of its place, time, and language, of its vocabulary, grammar, and style, of the contents, plan, and sources, of the comparison of Mark with the other Synoptists, of the external conditions of the life of Christ as depicted by Mark, and of his conceptions of the person and office of our Lord, and, finally, of the authorities for the texts, form an introduction of the highest value. The commentary proper occupies 385 pages. Respecting the relation of Mark to the Synoptists, the author maintains, with great cogency, that it is "that of an early but fragmentary record towards records of a somewhat later origin and more complex character" (p. lxix). The last twelve verses, he believes to be the addition either of "Aristion or of some unknown writer of the first century" (p. cv). His discussion of this point is especially full and satisfactory, and is accompanied with a fac-simile of a page of the Edschmiazin MS., which is "introduced by a rubric written in the first hand, *Of the presbyter Ariston*" (p. civ). Altogether this volume will be found more serviceable than any other of its kind which has yet been published upon the second Gospel.

THE APOSTLES' CREED IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN DISCUSSION. By HENRY A. STIMSON, D.D. (Ripon), M.A., and S.T.D. (Yale). 12mo. Pp. xiv, 362. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. \$1.50.

In this day of excessive emphasis of so-called practical theology, it is refreshing to take up a volume dealing with those central facts of Christian belief which furnish the seed-bed from which the fruits of grace spring up. In the emphasis which many preachers lay upon the importance of Christian life, they too often forget the divinely appointed means by which that life is to be secured. A large and by no means the least important part of Christian virtues consists of those which are called passive, rather than active. The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance. But how are joy, peace, and faith to be secured, unless the truths which support these graces are present to the mind? Those truths relate to the character and manifestations of God in the world. Christian hope, like every other hope, must have truth to rest upon. In realization of this fact, Dr. Stimson wisely turns attention to that oldest and most fundamental statement of belief which has sustained the life of the church from the earliest time on. The discussion is scholarly, comprehensive, and practical in its outcome. We heartily commend it to all who desire a more intimate and practical knowledge of the sources of faith and hope which have all along characterized the noblest life of the followers of Christ.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE. (Ten Epochs of Church History.) By LUCIUS WATERMAN, D.D. With an Introduction by HENRY CODMAN POTTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York. Pp. ix, 505. New York: The Christian Literature Co. 1898. \$2.00.

The epoch of church history treated in this volume is the most important of the whole series, and the one which is really of the greatest interest for the class of intelligent and well-read, but not highly educated, readers addressed. The importance of the period consists in its general relation to Christian evidences; its history being that of the immediate successors of the apostles, in which is portrayed the first effervescence of the gospel leaven after being left to accomplish its work in the crude mass of heathenism which constituted the Roman Empire of the second century. The author has succeeded, also, in making the volume valuable to all classes of intelligent readers, imparting his information in such an untechnical but withal scholarly way that the book can be easily read from beginning to end. Literary clubs might well adopt it for a season's reading.

IDEAS FROM NATURE. Talks with Students. By WILLIAM ELDER, A.M., Sc.D., Professor of Chemistry, Colby University. 12mo. Pp. 202. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 75 cents.

This is one of the most successful of the attempts which have recently been made to present the argument from nature for the existence of be-

nificent design in all its parts. The scientific statements are made with masterly clearness, and the illustrations chosen are remarkably instructive and effective. The volume is to be highly commended to such as have lost sight of the main argument for design amid the vociferations of the mere naturalists, and the haziness of the Christian apologetics which falls back upon the subjective experiences of each individual for its main defense. Salt is good, but caustic soda and hydrochloric acid, of which it is composed, are both of them violent poisons. It can scarcely be an accident that such a result should follow their union. If scores of pebbles are found which are each exact spheres, you know they must have been manufactured. They have not resulted from the blind forces of nature. All chemical atoms of the same kind are of equal size and weight. Therefore, they too bear marks of design, and have "the essential characteristics of a manufactured article." Thus Dalton's law proves in the most sweeping manner the pervasive existence of design in the universe. But we cannot find space for more illustrations. The volume should be read by every one.

THE MAKING AND THE UNMAKING OF THE PREACHER: Lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, Yale University, 1898. By WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER, President of Dartmouth College. 16mo. Pp. 224. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

President Tucker has given in this volume one of the freshest and most readable, as well as one of the most valuable and suggestive, volumes brought out by the course of which it forms a part. There is nothing hackneyed about it, and every page shows the broad range of experience from which the speaker draws his illustrations and conclusions.

ENGLISH MEDITATIVE LYRICS. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph.D., Litt. D., Professor of English in Princeton University, author of "American Meditative Lyrics," "Studies in Literature and Style," etc. Illustrated. Pp. 157. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. \$1.00.

In this little volume Dr. Hunt adds another to the charming and really unsurpassed critiques which he has already published on various phases of English literature. The one condition of the existence and acceptability of the poetry which comes under the class of meditative lyric "is that the feeling shall control the thought, and never be controlled by it; that the intellectual element shall never become an end in itself" (p. 15). The amount and high quality of such poetry in the English language is at once a surprise and a satisfaction. The author brings them to our notice in the writers of the Elizabethan period, in Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, Browning, Mrs. Browning, Matthew Arnold, Lord Tennyson, and in English Memorial and Devotional Lyrics. The chapter upon Hymns and the concluding one upon the "Larger Lyric List" convey a vast amount of information and pertinent suggestion. The illustrations in the volume consist of portraits of all the leading names mentioned in the above list.

EXTEMPORANEOUS ORATORY for Professional and Amateur Speakers. By JAMES M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. 12mo. Pp. 480. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. \$1.50.

A special value attaches to this volume, from the fact that it is not from the pen of a professional elocutionist, but that it is written by one who has attained great skill in popular address by giving constant attention to the correction of his own failings and the development of his own natural abilities. It is the record of a wide range of observations and reading, as well as of an extended series of successful personal experiments. An index of thirty pages adds greatly to the value of a volume which will prove very useful to all classes of persons who are called upon to address public audiences.

ITALY AND THE ITALIANS. By GEORGE B. TAYLOR, D.D. With maps and illustrations. Pp. x, 441. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. \$2.00.

This volume has for a recommendation the fact that the author has lived in Italy for almost a quarter of a century, and has had opportunity of knowing something of the Italians of all classes in every section. It is full of illustrations, reproduced from photographs, representing not only all the great monuments of art, but the scenery and the present life of the people. In the letter press the subject is comprehensively treated, dealing with the modern history; with the present condition of the country; with its traits, customs, home life, industrial and political activities; with the language, literature, and public instruction of the country, and with the religious forces that are now at work. Altogether it is a volume of unrivaled interest, and may well be taken as a handbook for travelers as well as for fireside reading at home.

THE SOCIAL SPIRIT IN AMERICA. By C. R. HENDERSON, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. 12mo. Pp. 350. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1.00.

The well-known author of "Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents" has written for the Chautauqua Reading Circle another book of genuine merit. Its title is an index to its character. It shows wide reading, is full of apt quotations, and yet proceeds in an orderly and logical way from start to finish. Dr. Leonard Bacon once said, that many ministers write sermons as they build ships in Maine. They build a mile, and when they get an order they cut one off. Many authors write books on the same plan. They keep a scrap-book, and simply pile Pelion on Ossa with quotations from others on the subject in hand.

Professor Henderson, like Dr. Gilman in his "Socialism and the American Spirit," develops his theme along most practical lines and writes of better houses for the people, good roads, what good employers are doing, charities and correction, the social spirit in conflict with anti-social institutions. Under the last head the author treats of intemperance, social purity, gambling, Sunday rest, etc. Hence the book is a

practical and sensible work, full of meat, and written in good clear English without any attempt at ornamentation and in no sense pedantic or frivolous.

Z. S. H.

JERUSALEM THE HOLY: A Brief History of Ancient Jerusalem; with an Account of the Modern City and its Conditions—Political, Religious, and Social. By EDWIN SHERMAN WALLACE, late United States Consul for Palestine. With Fifteen Illustrations from Photographs and Four Maps. 8vo. Pp. 359. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.50.

Five years' residence at Jerusalem has amply qualified the author of this finely illustrated and comprehensive volume to give the reading public just what they most need. The illustrations are finely executed from recent photographs; the nineteen chapters treat the subject from every point of view, the author's familiarity with the literature of the subject gives the reader confidence in his statements; while the freshness of the information gives it preference to every other work on the condition and prospects of the Holy City.

THE STATE. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. By WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., LL.D. Revised edition. Pp. xxxv, 156. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

The student of political science who is at all familiar with this invaluable book of Professor Wilson's finds it as unique in its way as it is accurate and fundamental. Professor Wilson's work is now standard, an admitted authority in all subjects which it assumes to treat of, written in a calm and judicial spirit and expressed in language terse and simple. It should be on the library shelf of every clergyman in the land, for the modern pulpit must treat of so many themes from the point of view of the student of ethics, economics, political science or sociology, he must rely upon the conclusions of such scholarly writers as Professor Wilson, who have made a special study in their chosen departments of thought.

Z. S. H.

GENESIS OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE. By H. S. NASH, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. 12mo. Pp. 309. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

When such rugged thinkers as Professor Nash turn their attention to social questions it is an omen that bodes well for sociology. Here is a book that reminds one in many respects of Carlyle for its heroic manner of speech, its originality and sincerity. It aims to "show how the social question strikes its roots into the soil of that Mediterranean civilization in which Antiquity summed itself up, and out of which Modernity issued."

The argument is historical and philosophical and reveals the painstaking student of history with a mind unbiased by conventional modes of thinking, original and unique. Hence this book so epigrammatic in style is thought-provoking and an intellectual stimulant.

In a new edition it would add to the value to have an index and some

trifling inaccuracies and infelicities corrected. For instance, on page 179 Cowper is quoted as saying: "Man made the city, God made the country." What Cowper did say was: "God made the country and man made the town." On the very first page is this sentence: "But our minds cannot walk the path from the first fire, kindled by human art in the thick of the forest primeval, down to the time when the machinery of the World's Fair in Chicago was all set in motion by touching a little button, without exaltation." The book has so much genuine merit that a few last finishing touches would not have weakened but strengthened the writer in his original and rugged way of putting things. Z. S. H.

GOD: NATURE AND ATTRIBUTES. (Studies in Theology.—V.) By RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D., a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 8vo. Pp. xxxvii, 280. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. \$3.00.

In this fifth volume, Bishop Foster has produced a most timely and helpful book, which can be read to advantage by itself as well as in connection with the previous volumes. The reader will here find a full, discriminating, and convincing defense of the generally received views concerning the nature and attributes of the Creator. The spirituality, unity, eternity, personality, freedom, omnipresence, omnipotence, omniscience, goodness, justice, and truthfulness of God are presented, discussed, and defended, with ample reference to the general literature of the subject, and with special adaptation to the demands of the thought of the present age. The discussion of the omniscience of God is, naturally, one of the fullest in the volume. As a Methodist, rejecting the doctrine of predestination, he meets with special difficulty at this point. Some of his associates, in particular Dr. McCabe, maintain that the future acts of human free will are not the objects of knowledge. The nature of the controversy upon this point is clearly set forth in a single extract:—

" . . . The assertion that God cannot know anything contrary to the fact; and a fact, when once the matter of certain knowledge, is unchangeable by any power, human or divine, is perfectly true; but the question is precisely that we have just started; What is the knowledge? It is not simply that an event will occur, but that when it does occur it might have been otherwise, and then the knowledge would not be what it now is, but difference. The time of the possible other was when the event occurred, not afterward."

" . . . There is a perfect distinction between a free event and a necessitated event. Either may be foreknown, but the foreknowledge does not and never can obliterate the distinction between certainty and necessity. When an event that might have been otherwise is known to be as it is or will be, it will certainly come to pass; but it will always be true that it might not have been. If we suppose a mind that was prescient of it a thousand years before, but who had no connection whatever with

its occurrence except to foresee it, it remains and must remain a fact forever that it is not an event that might not have been otherwise. God's knowledge of what will be may be a knowledge that he will cause it to be. In that case the knowledge involves the fact not only that it will be, but must be—he will cause it to be; or it may be a knowledge that some other being who had power to cause or not to cause it, will cause it. In this case the event is not, and cannot be, unnecessary, and his knowledge will always correspond with that fact. It is, therefore, not true that foreknowledge or prescience of an event makes it *necessary* that it should occur, but it is true that it makes it certain that it *will* occur. If it will occur, it will occur, and it was forever certain that it would, whether known or unknown, in the one case just as much as in the other. If at the time of its occurrence it was possible for the cause of it not to have caused it, it will forever remain true, whether known or unknown, in the one case as much as in the other, that it was not a necessary event, but might have been otherwise" (pp. 215-216).

Altogether the volume is one of the best antidotes for the shallow materialism and agnosticism of the age. The author faces every difficulty, and deals with it in a straightforward, manly, and in the main satisfactory manner.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA AND METHODOLOGY. By REVERE FRANKLIN WEIDNER, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary; author of "Studies in the Book," "Christian Ethics," "Biblical Theology," etc. Part I. Introduction and Exegetical Theology. Second Edition, entirely rewritten. 12mo. Pp. 296. Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1898. \$1.50.

This second edition bears marks on every page of the thorough revision to which the work has been subjected. Its lists of books are full, and its discussions are able and from a conservative point of view. The following is his judgment of the character of the divisive criticism represented by Wellhausen, Driver, and Briggs:—

"But these theories have not as yet been established,—they are in fact nothing but speculations. We grant that there has been a most remarkable display of minute scholarship on the part of those negative critics, in the discussion of words and phrases in which they have often lost themselves,—but, after all, the most of it is mere fanciful conceit. A scientific presentation of their marvelously complicated theories, divergent as they are, is to most thoughtful persons a sufficient answer, and a demonstration of their falsity. In nearly all cases their analysis is subjective and opinionated and rests upon certain preconceived views which have no settled and sure basis. For several years this negative school has been making rapid progress, but the tide of battle is turning in Germany, in England, and in this country. We need but refer to the labors of Zahn, Rupprecht, and the writers in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, in Germany,—to the work of Cave, Douglas, Ellicott, Girdlestone, Leathes,

Sayce, and Lias, in Great Britain,—and to the writings of Green and Bissell in this country " (pp. 171-172).

AMONG THE FORCES. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, LL.D. Pp. 197. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. \$1.00.

Twenty beautiful photogravures, combined with the interesting literary matter, make this a most valuable introduction to the wonders and beauties of nature.

CHRISTIANITY THE WORLD-RELIGION. (Barrows' Lectures, 1896-97.) Lectures delivered in India and Japan. By JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D., President of the World's First Parliament of Religions and Haskell Lecturer of Comparative Religion in the University of Chicago. Pp. 412. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1897.

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F. J. LAMB (*The Trial of Jesus: its Value in the Foundation of Faith*), born March 2, 1825, at Canandaigua, N. Y.; studied law at Canandaigua, and was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of New York in 1855; since 1857, a practitioner at Madison, Wis.; moderator of the Congregational Convention of Wisconsin in 1888; a delegate from Wisconsin to the National Councils at Concord, N. H., and at Worcester, Mass., and from Wisconsin to the International Council of Congregational Churches at London, England; 1891, a member of the Committee of National Council for Ministerial Relief, serving until 1898. "In regard to religion," he writes, "I think that the evangelical labor and addresses of C. G. Finney during his ministry as a preacher in the great revivals in New York, voice more nearly than any other my general ideas of religion,—the relation of man to God, what is genuine Christian living, the perfecting of Christian character, and man's just ground of hope for salvation and eternal life."

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JAMES B. PETERSON (*Kant's Theory of the Forms of Thought*), born in Massachusetts in 1843; received all his schooling in the public schools of his native State; was employed for many years as a mechanic in a factory, and is entirely self-educated in philosophy; published a criticism of Hume's doctrine of causation, which appeared in the *Philosophical Review* for January, 1898.

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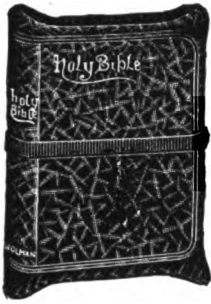
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GENESIS.

CHAPTER 1.

The creation.

1 In the ^abeginning ^bGod created the heaven and the earth.
2 And the earth was ^{without form,} and void; and darkness ^{was} upon the face of the deep; ^{cAnd the Spirit and the spirit} of God moved upon the face of the waters.
3 ^dAnd God said, ‘Let there be light: and there was light.
4 And God saw the light, that ^{it was} good: and God divided ²the light from the darkness.
5 And God called the light ⁷Day, and the darkness he called Night. And ^{the}evening and ^{the}morning, ^{were the first one} day.
6 ¶ And God said, ^e‘Let there be a ²firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.
7 And God made the firmament, ^fand divided the waters which ^{were} under the firmament from the waters which ^{were} above the firmament: and it was so.
8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And ^{the}evening and ^{the}morning, ^{were the second} day.
9 ¶ And God said, ^g‘Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry ^{land} appear: and it was so.
10 And God called the dry ^{land} Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that ^{it was} good.
11 And God said, Let the earth ^{bring forth} grass, ^{the}herb yielding seed, ^{and} the fruit tree ^{yielding} bearing ^{fruit} after ^{its} kind, ^{whose seed is in itself, wherein is the seed thereof,} upon the earth: and it was so.
12 And the earth brought forth grass, ^{and} herb yielding seed after ^{its} kind, and ^{the}tree ^{yielding} bearing ^{fruit,} ^{whose seed was in itself, wherein is the seed thereof,} after ^{its} kind: and God saw that ^{it was} good.
13 And ^{the}evening and ^{the}morning, ^{were the third} day.
14 ¶ And God said, Let there be ^hlights in the firmament of the heaven to divide ⁱ‘the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and ^j‘for seasons, and for days: and years:
15 ^kand let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.
16 And God ^lmade the two great lights; the greater light ^mto rule the day, and ⁿ‘the lesser light to rule the night: *he made* ‘the stars also.
17 And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,
18 ^oand to ‘rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that ^{it was} good.
19 And ^{the}evening and ^{the}morning, ^{were the fourth} day.
20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the ^p‘moving creature that hath ‘life, and let fowl ^{that may} fly above the earth in the ^q‘open firmament of heaven.
21 And ‘God created the great ^rwhales, ^{sea-monsters,} and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their ^{kind,}

B. C. 4004.

a John 1. 1, 2.
b Ps. 8. 3; 33. 6; 89. 11, 12.
c Acts 14. 15.
d Col. 1. 16, 17.
e Ps. 33. 6.
f Ps. 33. 9.
g 1 Cor. 4. 6.
h Heb. between the light and between the darkness.
i Ps. 74. 16.
j Job 37. 18.
k Heb. ex-panse.

l Prov. 8. 28.
m Ps. 148. 4.

n Job 26. 10.
o Ps. 37. 7; 85. 5; 104. 9; 136. 6.

p Heb. 6. 7.
q Luke 6. 44.

r Dent. 4. 19.

s Heb. between the day and between the night.
t Ps. 74. 17; 104. 19.

u Ps. 136. 7, 8, 9; 148. 3, 5.
v Heb. for the rule of the day.
w Ps. 8. 3.
x Job 38. 7.

y Jer. 31. 35.

z Or, creeping.

aa Heb. soul.

ab Heb. face of the expanse of heavens.
ac Job. 6. 20; 7. 14; 8. 19.

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THE
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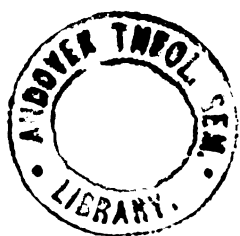
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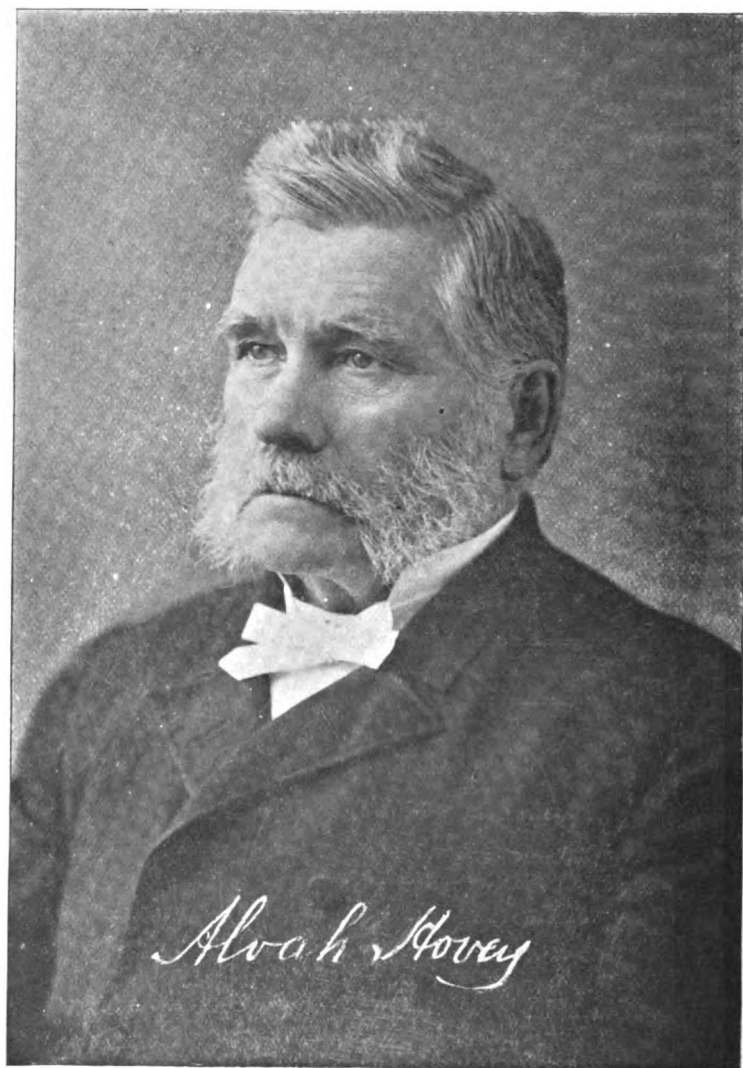
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ALVAH HOVEY
1811-1881

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE BIBLE UPON THE HUMAN INTELLECT.

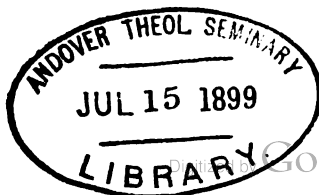
BY PRESIDENT J. E. RANKIN, D.D., LL.D.

"The entrance of thy word giveth light; it giveth understanding to the simple."—PSALM cxix. 30.

IF God would communicate with man, it must be through some capacity in which man is like God. Vinet says, "It is not by the intellect that two beings touch." But it is by the intellect that two beings study each other, come to what we call an understanding before they do touch. The possibility of finding God in Nature is on the supposition that God is there thinking. And when the astronomer Kepler speaks of himself as thinking over God's thoughts after him, this is what he means. The movement of the celestial bodies in elliptic orbits was a thought of God. The epicycles of Ptolemy were not God's thought, but were a man's imagination, which Kepler corrected.

The prophet Isaiah asks, "Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or being his counselor hath taught him?" We might answer this question in the words of another sacred writer, "When he prepared the heavens, I was there;

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when he set a compass on the face of the deep"; or, coming down to the New Testament, we might say, "All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made." This was the creative fellowship of the Godhead.

Indeed, only to a thinking being could another thinking being reveal himself; and only in a thinking being could a thinking being become incarnate. To thinking beings, a world without a thinking God would be a world of despair. And when we hear the voice, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock," we know it comes accompanied by that other voice, "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is he?" The Creator knocks at the heart of a being whom he has domed with an intelligence that is godlike; a being capable of understanding his visitor, and why he stands there knocking. And whether in Nature or Revelation, he addresses that being through the intellect: in Nature, in sign-language—as though he were a deaf-mute, as he so often is; in Revelation, in the persuasive words: "Come now, let us reason together." The Great Teacher said this in Palestine, "Consider the lilies of the field." It was an invitation to reason with him, as really as when he agonized in Gethsemane and on Calvary. And the seven words of the Cross were love's last argument. "He reasoned with them out of the Scriptures." "As he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled." In creation or the Scriptures, it is one thinking being addressing another. This is what they both mean, God communicating with man.

It is true, indeed, that out of the mouth of babes and sucklings God has ordained praise. It is true, that, "except a man receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he cannot enter therein." It is true, likewise, that the Christian community has always had a preponderance of women, whose processes of thought are largely intuitive.

Intuition is only logic on the wing! But it is not true that the cause of God is necessarily carried by a mere appeal to the feelings; that Christianity has not her great captains of thought; has not her great siege-guns, with which to batter down the walls of masculine resistance to the truth. And in discussing the influence of the Bible upon the human intellect, my first thought is this:—

I. The Bible directly addresses the intellect; just as the light addresses the lens of the eye, and sound addresses the drum of the ear. The Bible has to do with the intellect: not with the intellect exclusively, but with the intellect first. They are meant for each other. Through the intellect, man gets his first conception of the Being who has made him, and what is that Being's claim upon his attention. The Bible is a book; books are for readers and thinkers. It is the most extraordinary book in all literature. It has the most extraordinary contents. Whatever else it fails to do, it is sure to make a man think. It has done this all over the world. This is why so many persons have been afraid of it, and wanted to keep it out of the hands of the people; have thought it safer to treat it like gunpowder and dynamite: because it makes men think. The Colonial period in American history was a period when, as Edmund Burke says, "almost more copies of Blackstone were sent to America than circulated in Great Britain. There was more reading and thinking on civil affairs to the square foot, than in all the world beside. Thinking on such themes had sent these men to Holland, to America. The Mayflower was a schoolship of thinkers. And from 1620 to 1776 God himself had put the colonists to school on these subjects; and now they were ready to recite. The Sultan, to-day, complains that the Bible makes his Armenian subjects restless. Doubtless. It makes them think. "The bar in America," says Trevelyan of the Colonial period, "was a public service, as well as a

profession. Every patriot was, or thought himself, a lawyer." This verifies the Master's own words, "For I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword."

In literature it is very easy to distinguish the false from the true exactly at this point: Has the book, the document, the amount of thought, the elevation of thought, the reach of thought, which belong to the true? Listen to the talk of the grave-diggers in the play of Hamlet. It is talk on the level of high thinking. Shakespeare's clowns and fools make an appeal to our best intelligence; confront us as thinking beings; challenge us as to what we know, make us exercise our best parts. It is a test of the true against the false. If what purported to be a new play of Shakespeare should be discovered to-day, men would need only to read it, with the taste of Macbeth, of Othello, of King Lear in their mouths, the cadence of Shakespeare in their ears, to determine: Has it the Shakespeare flavor, the Shakespeare ring, the Shakespeare mastery, the Shakespeare atmosphere and horizon; the Shakespeare orbs moving majestically on their eternal pathway in the sky of thought?

The Bible is literature, and as literature it knows how to protect itself. Think of two of the books that are in the Bible—the Epistle to the Romans and the book of Job. It is easy to see how difficult it must be for spurious literature to secure admission into such company. To read some of the pseudo-Gospels or Epistles and then to read the genuine, is like hearing stage-thunder in a theater, and then stepping out under the skies where Jehovah is uttering his voice while the earth trembles. The apocryphal books have got into the same binding with the genuine, but have never succeeded in getting into their society. They have not the intellectual *entrée* there. Peter tried to pass himself off as an indifferent spectator at the trial of his Lord. But his speech betrayed him. As to these

books that pretend to inspiration, their speech betrays them: "God's ways are higher than their ways, and his thoughts than their thoughts." They are full of vanities and imbecilities. To read them is like studying an orrery, which a man turns with a crank, when the arch of blue is open to perusal, and you can almost penetrate to the excellent glory, that received the Saviour back to the bosom of the Father. John Foster says there is more consistency and coherency in the Arabian Nights than in the Hindoo Scriptures.

In 1864, a French skeptic concludes an essay in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* with these words: "One day, the question was started in an assembly, What book, a man, condemned to a lifelong imprisonment and to whom but one book could be allowed, would better take with him into his cell? The company included Catholics, Protestants, philosophers, even materialists, and yet the answer was unanimous. They all agreed that there was but one book suitable to take. And that book was the Bible." Taking the Bible was actually taking into companionship the city of the living God, the general assembly of the church of the firstborn, the Mediator of the new covenant, the Judge of all the earth, and the spirits of just men made perfect; it was inarching his soul beneath the eternities; between the paradise in Eden and in the city of God. The world might move on without him as he died there alone; but through the Bible, upon this mighty tide of God's thinking, to these changeless realities he could link his spirit forever. Many a prisoner has kept his tenure upon life by making a companion of a nibbling mouse, or cherishing the growth of a tiny plant, that had wrought its way through a crevice in the wall: needing only so little of God as that, to save him from madness or from despair.

The Bible is an intellectual book. It sets men to think-

ing, to asking themselves questions, to asking other men questions, to solving intellectual problems. In the Encyclopædia Britannica is an article on Creeds. What are creeds? They are the *I thinks*, the *I believes*, of the generations. They are the results of intellectual processes which the Bible awakens; the results of mental logomachy on the battle-fields of thought. There are great battle-fields of thought, as well as of arms. But, in this article, there is no allusion to an American period, of which Professor Austin Phelps of Andover says, that in it the leading theologians of New England—beginning with the Elder Edwards and ending with Professor Edwards A. Park, who has just passed his ninetieth birthday—have done more in the way of original thinking, for the advance of strictly theological science, than any other equal number of men, within an equal space of time, since the days of Augustine. I know the science of theology is not popular. But Bible theology was the food that made Cromwell's Roundheads great. It was the food of the Scottish Covenanters. It was the food of the Pilgrim Fathers. It was the food of the Colonial period. I do not believe that any human being ever lived who did more careful thinking about the truths of the Bible than did Jonathan Edwards. We call other men, the great. Let us say Jonathan Edwards the Great. For he was furnished by God for great thinking, whether as a naturalist, a mathematician, a metaphysician, a theologian. In Drumtochty, as Ian Maclaren tells us, the intellectual life centered in the weekly sermon. Men thought about Sabbath as they followed the plow, in the caller air; and braced themselves for an effort on the giving out of the text. Then they took their snuff, selected their attitude, and from that moment to the close, they never took eyes off the preacher. It was precisely so in the Colonial periods. The hearer was hypnotized by thought; God's thought, man's thought.

The week rose up to its height, culminated, and receded again. The great event of the week was the sermon. And the sermon was the effort of the preacher to think over the thoughts of God as recorded in the Bible.

I have spoken of Jonathan Edwards. Thomas Chalmers, the great pulpit thinker of Scotland, delighted to call himself his pupil; said he owed to him more than to any other mortal man. And in Scotland and New England, the Bible and the Assembly's Catechism were long the intellectual text-books of the people. Children in the home had more thoughts then about the teaching of the Word of God than do some of the parents, nay, some of the preachers, in the churches now.

People say, "Well, do you think such preaching ever did much good?" It set men to thinking. It set them to thinking about high themes; about what God has said in the Bible. It could not be said of them, that God was not in all their thoughts. He was in all their thoughts. They waked, and God was there. They laid themselves down to sleep, and God was there. And the men and the women who did this kind of thinking were the builders of this American Republic. They made our Constitution. They fought our battles. They felt a prophetic movement, a tide setting toward freedom which inspired them to noble thoughts and noble deeds. The Pilgrims, the Covenanters, and the Huguenots were folk fed upon Bible pabulum; and they constituted the backbone of this Republic. They knew God's secret as to the future of this continent. Senator Lodge in his analysis of the oratory of Daniel Webster, whom he regards worthy of being ranked with the great orators of antiquity, finds this prophetic quality the distinguishing characteristic of his eloquence. "Mr. Webster," says he, "relied chiefly on the sustained appeal to the understanding; and he was a conspicuous example of the prophetic character which Christianity,

and especially Protestantism, has given to modern eloquence." What themes he had: "The Landing at Plymouth," "The Two Orations at Bunker's Hill," "The Death of Adams and Jefferson," every one of them breathing the breath of freedom. And there was prophetic utterance in every one of them.

Some of the masterpieces of literature are in the Bible. Older than Milton, than Virgil, than Dante, than Æschylus, than Homer, and greater than they all, is the book of Job; at once an epic, a drama, a metaphysical and theological treatise. Where did Dante and Milton find their inspiration but in the Bible? The Bible has given the cue to all the great thinkers of modern literature; and it always gives them their climax. It unfolds the great themes of humanity; as these themes break on the shores of eternity.

The historian Prescott says, "It is a fortunate thing for the world that the first poem of modern times should have been founded on a subject growing out of the Christian religion, and written by a man penetrated with the spirit of its sternest creed." He means Dante's "Inferno." It is a fortunate thing for the world, too, that Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Christian Plato, was bred a Christian minister, and was for generations, on the one side or the other or on both, the descendant of Christian ministers. It was a fortunate thing for the world that in his writings Thomas Carlyle never could free himself from the God of his father and mother. And where did Burns get his "Cotter's Saturday Night," and Bryant the grandest passage in the "Thanatopsis," but in the Bible? In his "Parnassus" Emerson makes no quotation from Milton's "Paradise Lost," because, as he says, "It stands on every bookshelf beside the Bible. It belongs there."

II. The Bible stimulates the human intellect by presenting truth in its absolute form. This is the form which

the intellect craves. Emerson says that Plato "domesticates the soul in the sphere of eternal truth, among the great things of God. How much truer this, of the Bible! Plato says, "The intellect is king of heaven and earth." In Christ Jesus, it is the king of the heaven of heavens. It finds the idea of God thinkable: because God's thoughts have been brought to it in the Bible. There is only one Being who can say, "I am the Truth." To know him is not only eternal life, it is the solution of all mysteries, it is to have all knowledge.

That which man calls truth has a large admixture of error, of half-truth. And error is the quartz and sand out of which the nuggets of truth have to be filtered. And thinking is the filtering process. Milton says, "Error is but opinion in the making." When the Greek rushed from the bath with the exclamation, "I have found it!" he illustrated how truth stimulates the intellect; the joy and triumph of finding it. Old things pass away: behold, all things become new. And it matters not whether the truth be physical, moral, spiritual, it comes through the intellect. And when it does come, the thinking man is satisfied. You can make men retract with the lips; but the inner man, the thinking man, can never be moved. Heaven and earth may pass away; but the truth abideth forever. What he thinks to be truth, must be truth to him.

In his "Leviathan," Hobbes says: "No discourse [that is, no argument] whatever can end in absolute knowledge of fact, past or to come. By discourse, man can only know, that if this is, that is; if this has been, that has been; if this shall be, that shall be; which is to know conditionally, on a hypothesis." There is no such presentation of the truth in the Bible. The Bible gives man unconditional knowledge. There is One infallible witness: there is One competent witness. And though the world crucified him between two thieves, that only sealed his testimony for-

ever. "Whom do men say, that I, the Son of man, am?" Some said Elias; some, that prophet; and some, that John the Baptist was risen from the dead. "But whom say ye that I am?" "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, which should come into the world." The variety of opinion among men then showed that they were neither infallible nor competent witnesses as to the Truth incarnate. It was the same at his trial before the high-priest: "Neither did their witnesses agree together," says St. Mark. But he, who could not deny himself, witnessed a good confession before Pontius Pilate. What did he say? "For this cause came I into the world: that I might bear witness to the truth." When Pilate asked, What is truth? Truth, arrayed in a crown of thorns, confronted him, and he knew Him not.

There is nothing but the truth which can satisfy the intellect. God has made us so. Say that two and two make five, it does not satisfy the intellect. Say that there is no difference between him that serves God, and him who serves him not, it does not satisfy the moral sense; indeed, but neither does it satisfy the intellect. Two and two make four; two and three make five. It sometimes seems in these days that you are sure of nothing, even of your arithmetic. But here is the Author of one book who is sure. Here is one book that affirms unconditionally. Notwithstanding all that a man may say about his free-will and his independence, there is nothing that pleases him better, or stimulates him more, than to encounter One who speaks with authority; as though he had a commission from God and a communication to make. It was a part of the fascination of the Saviour's speech. The mathematics of the skies is perfect and authoritative, when Kepler comes, when Newton comes. But what dreary wastes men called the truth before! Dugald Stewart says, "Descartes stands to psychology as Francis Bacon to Nature;

he is the father of the experimental philosophy of the human mind." This is doubtless true. But recall for a moment this man's argument against gravitation: To conceive this, he says, we must not only suppose that every portion of matter in the universe is animated, and animated by several different souls which do not obstruct one another, but that those souls are intelligent and even divine; that they may know what is going on in the most remote places, without any messenger to give them notice, and that they may exert their powers there." It was one soul, one law he needed; the one Being, in whom all things consist. I have spoken of the imbecility of the pseudo-Gospels. There is no imbecility greater than that of pseudo-science. The Cartesian theory of the universe, which held its ground in Europe for nearly a century, was full of such imbecilities as the above. Hume complains of Lord Bacon because he rejected the Copernican system. But Hallam replies, "If he had accepted it, he would have been a quarter of a century before his generation."

A great many people think that the same uncertainty has attended the truth of the Bible; that theological science has been full of similar vagaries. Let us see how far this is a mistake. The symbol that we call the Apostles' Creed, and which embraces all the fundamental truths of Christianity, we can date back only to about the fifth century. But its substance and almost its form are to be found in the creeds of Irenæus and Tertullian: "Complete faith in one God Almighty, of whom are all things, and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom are all things, and his dispensations by which the Son of God became a man; also, a firm trust in the Spirit of God, who hath sent forth the dispensations of the Father and the Son, dwelling in the successive race of men, as the Father willed," is the creed of Irenæus. "The rule of faith is altogether one, irremovable, and irreformable, in believ-

ing in one only God omnipotent, the Maker of the universe, and his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised again from the dead on the third day, received into the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, and about to come to judge the quick and the dead, through the resurrection of the flesh as well as of the spirit," is the creed of Tertullian. Irenæus was born A.D. 140, and Tertullian A.D. 160; that is, they were only a little more distant from the Saviour's death than we are from the Declaration of Independence. These creeds cover the main facts of Christianity. Respecting the philosophy of them, respecting things secondary, there has been a vast amount of difference and discussion; some of it puerile, some of it erroneous.

Lord Bacon said, "When man seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of providence, then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of Nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair." But has this been the fact? At no period of the world has the cosmological argument for the being of God been so strong as it is to-day. From the mollusk to the man, it has been the same; one thing dependent upon another. The doctrine of evolution ought to make it seem impossible that this system of things can exist without a God. For, the more humble the beginnings, and the more complicated and comprehensive the conclusions of the system, the more difficult to believe that this economy, this genesis of things, this vast procession, can travel without an infinite Author. These conclusions at which human science arrives so cautiously and slowly and hesitatingly, the Word of God proclaims with full voice; as an organ with all its stops open: "For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers: all things were created

by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist."

I do not think the observation of the facts of Nature necessarily results in making a man a theist. Charles Darwin says that in his boyhood he was fond of poetry, but that the time came when he did not care even for Shakespeare. Just so, too, he once had the orthodox belief in God and in the immortality of the soul. In his journal in the midst of a Brazilian forest, he once wrote: "It is not possible to give an adequate idea of the higher feelings of wonder, admiration, and devotion which fill the mind." But this also he lost. And in 1868 he writes to a friend: "I am glad you were at the oratorio of the Messiah. It is the one thing I should like to hear again; but I daresay I should find my soul too dried up to appreciate it as in the old days. And then I should feel flat: for it is a horrid bore to feel as I constantly do, that I am a withered leaf for every subject but science. It sometimes makes me hate science." Darwin lived seventy-three years, and was the greatest scientist of his generation. This is what science did for him. To the subject of religion, he says he gave very little study; and though he never called himself an atheist, he thought he ought to be classified as an agnostic. There might be a God, but he did not think Nature proved it. He rejected the argument from design.

Charles Kingsley, the novelist and poet, a clergyman who was alive to all the claims of Christian thought as well as Christian activity, who studied Nature with Bible in hand, wrote the great naturalist on the receipt of his treatise on "The Descent of Man": "All I have seen of it awes me; the heap of facts and the prestige of your name, and the clear intuition that if you be right, I must give up much that I have believed and written! But I have gradually learned that it is just as noble a conception of Deity to believe that he created primeval forms capable

of self-development, as to believe that he required a fresh act of intervention to supply the lacunas which he himself had made. I question whether the former be not the loftier thought." This is the manner in which this noble Christian thinker adjusts himself to a new scientific situation. The last had been taught to look at truth as the Bible reveals it; to be accepted and obeyed. And when Nature seemed to say, "This is God's method," he could only answer, "Even so. For so it seemeth good in thy sight." He did not any the less think that science had found the thoughts of God.

The Bible says, "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, until now." It does not look so on the surface: the flowers by the brook-side, the birds in the trees, the lambs in the fields, the cattle on a thousand hills—as Milton sings in "L'Allegro,"

"Russet lawns and fallows grey,
Where the nibbling flocks do stray:
Mountains, on whose barren breast
The lab'ring clouds do often rest,
Meadows trim with daisies pied,
Shallow brooks and rivers wide"—

seem to speak a different language,—the language of peace and joy. But, as a matter of fact, there is no peace in Nature. Nature has no such evangel. The warfare in nature is perpetual; earthquakes, tempests, storms on land and deep, animals arrayed against animals, plants against plants, insects destroying trees, living upon each other. Warfare and death everywhere. And this is the testimony of all science. The very doctrine of the survival of the fittest is a doctrine of the strong overpowering the weak; Nature moving in epicycles of bloodshed toward what? Natural Science needs a Mediator, as much as Theological. The prophetic word, "Then shall the wolf dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together";

when, out of Christ Jesus, shall this be fulfilled? When shall be Nature's armistice? What arbitration shall there be, except that on Calvary? For Nature herself must learn this sentence: "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." It is the new race in Christ Jesus that is to meet the earnest expectation of the creature. Nature herself is waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God. She has no panacea for her own troubles, no solution of them.

III. The Bible brings absolute truth to bear on the intellect with reference to conduct. It thus keeps the balance between the abstract and the concrete; it always reminds man that his nature and mission are twofold; that he is in a world where thinking for its own sake, whether it be about Nature or Religion, is at a discount. This is the only wholesome method of thinking; with work in hand, doing truth as well as believing it. "Action alone," says Vinet, "gives the true measure of things. It is *on foot*, not by the eye, that we measure distance."

The greatest metaphysical thinker, the greatest theologian of the Bible—greater than Augustine, than Calvin, than Edwards—is at the same time what we should call the most active Christian worker. This is not all. Lest he should still lose his balance, he supports himself by the work of his own hands; making tents for a living.

In his autobiography, the naturalist Darwin again says: "As for myself, I believe I have acted rightly in steadily following and devoting my life to science. I feel no remorse from having committed any great sin; but I have often regretted that I have not done more direct good to my fellow-creatures." In work for man he would have kept his balance. Hermit-thinkers, who eschew the battle of life, run this risk; becoming one-sided: an atrophy passes over some portion of their nature; it becomes paralyzed. David Livingstone used to carry about him a

pocket edition of Burns. In the voyage on the Beagle, embracing two years of absence from home, Darwin says of himself: "As I was not able to work all day at science, I read a great deal on various subjects, including some metaphysical books. About this time, I took much delight in Wordsworth's and Coleridge's poetry, and can boast that I read 'The Excursion' twice through. Formerly Milton's 'Paradise Lost' had been my chief favorite, and in my excursions during the voyage of the Beagle, when I could take only a single volume, I chose Milton." As has been intimated, this æsthetic taste, and indeed all kindred ones, at length died out. It was because his studies dissociated him from man and from life. What an awful experience also was that of the great political economist, Stuart Mill, when he discovered that even if all that which he wanted men to believe, and meant to make them believe, should be received by them, he would not be satisfied! Then his knees became weak and his hands hung down. It was the stretching of his infinite nature upon the dead body of a finite science. In one sense, there is more elevation in the study of great social, economic, and moral questions as they relate to the human race, than in the study of coral-reefs, fan-tails and pouters. But the isolation and absorption are the same. Darwin came to say, "It is really a great evil, that from habit I have pleasure in hardly anything except Natural History; for nothing else makes me forget my ever-recurrent, uncomfortable sensations." And Stuart Mill's remedy for the depression that overtook him, he found to be reading Wordsworth, and seeking the living companionship of his fellow-mortals; in breaking away from the cold stoicism and reserve in which his father had brought him up, and finding some beings to love and help: in other words, in conduct; in science as applied thinking; thinking that has passed into life.

The thoughts which the Bible engenders are thoughts which lead to personal activity. Far be it from me to criticise the pursuits of great naturalists. But the Apostle says, "Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." The motion of a bicycle keeps it erect. Man must move in order to do safe thinking. Even such pursuits need to be sanctified by the Word of God and prayer. The only manner in which thinking can have its highest dignity and highest usefulness, can be wholly worthy of man, made in God's image, can be really safe for a finite being, is on the principle, "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." If that is a man's calling of God, he can just as really find God in the laboratory, as in the pulpit; and God may as really speak to him in some scientific discovery as he spoke to Mosès in the burning bush. But he must take his shoes off his feet, as Moses did, and stand reverent before it.

Pascal says, "Man has a secret instinct that leads him to seek diversion from without; which springs from the sense of his continual misery. That is man as he is by nature. The new man does not require diversion but occupation. God requires it of him. Our Elder Brother has said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." Hal-lam says, "The satellites of Jupiter and the phases of Venus are not as glorious in the 'scutcheon of Galileo, as his discovery of the true principles of mechanics." There he touched the earth. There he touched man. And Galileo tells us that he wrote his treatise on this subject "because he had seen the fruitless attempts of engineers to raise weights of small force; as if with their machines they could cheat nature." It was a contribution to humanity. The Bible lays hold of men just where they happen to be, and plunges them into service. "Wherefore," says the Apostle Paul, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." "Wherefore, I conferred not with flesh and blood."

He found out what God had for him to do. Thus it was that he made the whole known world feel the power of his presence. He, the logician, the metaphysician, the theologian, put the gospel that he preached, into his life. If he had not thought God's thoughts, he would have done nothing. If he had done nothing his thinking alone would have led him into darkness. His high thinking about predestination and foreknowledge and election and redemption did not hurt him one particle. For he lived among men; he earned his daily bread. It was applied Christianity,—this life of his. He studied these subjects practically. This often led him into great straits. It exposed him to great dangers. "For he thus judged that if One died for all, then were all dead; and that he died for all, that they who live should not live henceforth unto themselves, but unto him who died for them and rose again"; that he was created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God had before ordained that he should walk in them; that he was debtor to Jew and Greek, to bond and free." And he was just as great descending a city wall in a basket, as standing before Cæsar.

Speculative religious thinking, alone is not profitable. After you have looked at the mighty intellectual achievements of Jonathan Edwards as his published works illustrate them, remember that the way in which he held the great truths he taught, led him to take the dying Indian missionary Brainerd into his own home in Northampton, to nurse him as a son, himself to record his dying experiences, and utter the last words over his dust; led him to devote seven years of his own marvelous intellectual life to the same missionary work among the Indians on the banks of the Housatonic; led him to such a life of practical godliness, that to call him saintly is no exaggeration. The time never will come in the history of this nation

when through his thinking and the thinking of his descendants, his influence will cease to be felt.

In the Colonial period, men's minds were occupied with the greatest political themes ever discussed. Their fathers had discussed theology and they discussed civics. But they discussed in pine meeting-houses, built by thinkers, who held an ax in one hand and a gun in the other. The poet says, "They builded better than they knew." But, if they had not put their thoughts into the act, they would never have known how to build at all. The log school-house and church, the newspaper, the town meeting kept their souls all on fire; and they wrought on, whether it led them to honor or dishonor, to success or martyrdom; and their working made safe their thinking. This is the secret of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson; men who thought themselves to heroic deeds and great institutions.

IV. The Bible stimulates the human intellect by presenting the life of every man as under moral obligation. A large part of the highest and best thinking of the world has been done by men whom the Christian idea has seized and inspired. The blind Milton speaks of doing his work under the eye of his great taskmaster. This taskmaster, God, is not One who expects bricks without furnishing straw; for he is a faithful Creator. But he expects bricks.

The great universities of the world have been founded for the promotion of the study of the revelations which God has made of himself, the divinities and humanities. "The languages are the scabbard in which the sword of the Spirit is hidden." This was Luther's plea for Hebrew and Greek. It is as good as ever. It was a poor Congregational minister of New England who, dying, gave his money for Harvard University; as much again as the Colony had given. It was a company of ministers of the same denomination who founded Yale, bringing some of their own books for a library. Princeton had a similar

birth. It was born of the prayers of Jonathan Edwards and his son-in-law. There are to-day between four and five hundred larger colleges and universities in the country. There is scarcely ten of them which had not a professedly Christian origin; did not come from intellect stirred by the Bible. And, so far as I know, there is not a single one of them whose aims are unchristian. I never knew of an infidel college or university. Infidels get hold of schools founded by Christian funds. They steal the livery of heaven.

The instrument of intellectual culture is literature. And it is a wonderful providence which has not only put the best literature of the world into the Bible, but has given a Christian type to nearly every great writer of English literature. The few poetical writers, which men are bound to read till the end of time, have thus been retained on the side of Christianity. The canon is closed. No more Shakespeares, no more Miltons. Browning and Tennyson too are Christian. Pindar in his odes celebrated the victors in the Olympic games; but what were the Olympic games to the Colosseum full of Christian martyrs? We are taught that we ourselves are compassed about with a far greater cloud of witnesses than ever inspired the participants in such a contest as those in that vast amphitheater; God and Heaven are spectators. Homer said the heroes that met and fought around the walls of Troy were fighting the battle of the gods. But Milton has shown us far more important battle-fields than they were; and Bunyan has shown us one in our own souls. We read of the greatness of Athens and Rome; the modern world has its great cities too. But greater than these is the New Jerusalem, that comes down out of heaven from God; of which we may all be citizens, if we will be naturalized at the Cross. Each generation has its great human characters. None are greater than the names enrolled in the Lamb's

Book of Life; and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honor to the city of the great King.

There are not less than one hundred and fifty thousand students in our higher schools, colleges, and universities. They are largely there from a sense of duty to their day and generation. It has been said to them in the silence of their soul, "Who will go for me?" There are some exceptions, to be sure. But as a rule it is true, that duty stimulates them to study. If they are Christians we are sure of it. They are coming forth in their turn, to do thinking, to put thought into act, to crown the work of previous generations. And there is a woe upon them if they do it not.

V. By stimulating the intellect to thought with reference to conduct, the Bible makes a man, the man of his own period; keeps him in his own generation, where alone he can do anything, whether for man or for God.

The best justification of the theological thought of the last three centuries are the thinkers who have illustrated its meaning. They have all been creators. Says Principal Fairbairn in his "City of God," "Calvinism was a system of splendid doing, of courageous consistency in all its parts; a reasoned system; and the reason that understood it, it had under control. It was the universe in its making, in its rule, in its purpose and destiny, explained by the conception of God; and though the conception might not be the most generous, the men who held it felt as if they had their feet upon the last and highest reality; as if they had not simply a way of salvation, or a path of peace in death, but a system of absolute truth that helped a man to look at all things as if it were from the standpoint of their Creator. And a faith so strong and comprehensive made strong and commanding men. It entered like iron into their blood, and braced it for the most heroic endurances and endeavors. It made the men who in France

fought the noble battles of the Huguenots; the soldiers and citizens who in the swamp of Holland resisted and broke the cruel and tyrannical power of Spain; the Puritans who in England and the forests of the far West formed all that was, and is, bravest, brainiest, manliest, in our religious life; the Covenanters who in Scotland through years of persecution held aloft and nobly followed the blue banner that proclaimed the sovereign rights of Christ."

Goethe says, "Duty is the demand of the passing hour." The Bible says so. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling: for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure." Yesterday has no duty for me. I am done with it. To-morrow has none: I may never see it. Only to-day. How can a man know his duty to-day, unless he will adjust himself to his present environment, where God has put him, and hear the voice that speaks to him from it? His environment is here. No other man ever had one precisely like it. God is here in his own Book, interpreted by his own Spirit, who gives every man wisdom, according as he will ask it; gives it liberally, without upbraiding. A man cannot do the thing that God expects, unless he will allow the Bible to stir him to thought here and now; to thought that embodies itself in action.

Natural religion exists only in the material world and to the mind of him who studies it. Of supernatural religion, we may say: It is in this Book, and in the lives of thinking men and women, whom this book stirs to thought and duty; who in their day and generation undertake by its light to grapple with the great practical problems which confront them. Thinking without action perplexes them, staggers them: makes them either fatalists or pessimists. Thinking with action makes them courageous and strong. They are like the soldier in battle. They only know that

the conflict of their age is upon them and they report for duty. The trumpet-call dissipates all their empty speculations. Action clarifies all, explains all, harmonizes all.

The poet Milton would not prolong his stay in Greece to visit the Acropolis because, he said, "it would be dishonorable to be lingering abroad, even for the improvement of his mind, when his fellow-citizens were contending for liberty at home." There was culture versus duty. In the same spirit two missionaries of the American Board during the Civil War found themselves face to face as chaplains, in the trenches about Atlanta. The call of their Mother was so loud they could not resist it. They felt, with Webster, "This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit." And so they reported here for duty. If the hope of the world was threatened, they wished to be there to save it; and so, unknown to each other, they came, neighbors at home in Turkey, and neighbors again under the banner of their native land.

It is said of Moses, that, "having served his generation according to the will of God, he fell asleep." That means that God's Word stirs up men to do something which is applicable to them in their own period, which they can do, and which perhaps no one else ever would do. "His generation, according to the will of God." For men who do the will of God, there is always a future. God's will is always germinating. If they will work with God, God will give them work to do. Moses had a beginning which was very discouraging. "Wilt thou slay me, as thou didst the Egyptian?" Was Moses ever reproved by God for that? It sent him out of the country. Forty years he kept the sheep of Jethro, his father-in-law, in that very wilderness where God was to make him the shepherd of his people, when he made them go forth like sheep and guided them

in the wilderness like a flock. And then, how he drew back from his commission: "O Lord, my God, I am not eloquent, neither, heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant. But I am slow of speech and of a slow tongue." This was what he said, this man who was to divide the seas, to cleave the rocks so that water should burst forth, to feed that multitude with manna from heaven; who was to mold those delivered bondmen into such a people as God could use to prepare the way for the kingdom of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord. It was this service of Moses to his generation that made the people of God great in the earth. In them, he put to trial the jurisprudence of the world. Recall the grand simplicity of the Bible history of first things: where a single phrase opens golden-hinged portals that show us the Paradise of Eden; gives us a glimpse of man there in God's image; where a few paragraphs string upon their thread the great facts and events which have always attracted the human mind as a magnet: God, Creation, Man in God's Society, the Apostasy from God, the Promise of Redemption. Then arises that solitary figure, Abraham, moving with a dignity and majesty his own, the friend of God, the entertainer of angels, the prophet with a glimpse of Calvary. And then begins the new act in the drama: God beckoning man back to himself; the encounter of the redemptive purpose and civilization in Egypt: the great Lawgiver Moses, having stolen Egypt's wisdom, for himself and God's people; amid portents and wonders, leading forth his army of men and women and children to be a people separated to Jehovah. Then comes the heroic period: the period of Gideon, and Barak, and Samson; then the transition from nomadic to agricultural life. Then arise the kings, moving in succession across the stage: Saul and David and Solomon, that wear upon their brows the round and top of sovereignty, and then the two diverging lines of Israel and Ju-

dah, in all their competitions and contentions. Then Jerusalem besieged by people that know not God, and yet who are fulfilling the Hebrew prophecies. Then, the seventy years' captivity; the only captivity of a nation that ever came back to their native land. Then the return, like the captivity, under the auspices of a Gentile king. Then the long break of the prophetic series. Then, in the fullness of time, Christ comes, incarnate God; the great Prophet, Priest, Sacrifice: in him all things complete. Then the Gospels and the Epistles; and the book of Revelation, in which the mighty angel stands, rainbow crowned, and swears that Time shall be no longer. Then comes the New Jerusalem, adorned as a bride, and the Second Paradise!

The bare enumeration of the themes is itself history, poetry, logic, all in one. Yes, take the One Book. As the poet makes Ophelia say of the pansy, "It's for thought." It is the one book that awakens thought, and stimulates thought, and satisfies thought. For it brings us where we must all come, or be restless forever. It brings us to the foot of the Cross; to the great harmony-climax of Nature and Revelation; to the hymn of the ten thousand times ten thousands and thousands of thousands: "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing"; and to that response of every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them: "Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever."

ARTICLE II.

KANT'S THEORY OF THE "FORMS OF
THOUGHT."

BY JAMES B. PETERSON.

AMONG the philosophers of modern Europe, Immanuel Kant has held a conspicuous place. It is now more than a century since his philosophy was given to the world, and the popularity which it speedily attained in the land of its birth has continued to the present day; and, though it has never been equally popular elsewhere, it has long been recognized as one of the leading systems of modern thought. Kant himself believed that he had wrought a revolution in philosophy comparable to that of Copernicus in astronomy; and his admirers have used even stronger expressions to indicate their estimate of the value of his work. Professor Max Müller, in the preface to his translation of the "*Critique of Pure Reason*," gives some of these expressions, a few of which may be cited here. Goethe declared that "on reading Kant we feel like stepping into a lighted room"; Fichte believed that "Kant's philosophy will in time overshadow the whole human race"; and Schopenhauer pronounced the "*Critique of Pure Reason*" "the highest achievement of human reflection."¹ Still more enthusiastic is the estimate given by Professor Ludwig Noiré at the close of the sketch of the history of philosophy which he contributed to the first edition of Professor Müller's trans-

¹*Critique*, Vol. i. (translator's preface, pp. xxix-xxx, xl, xli). My quotations are all from Professor Müller's translation (1st ed., in two vols.).

lation: "It is therefore not too much to say that Kant is the greatest philosophical genius that has ever dwelt upon earth, and the 'Critique of Pure Reason' the highest achievement of human wisdom."¹

Whether these estimates of Kant's work are correct or not is the question I now propose to consider. For this purpose, however, it will not be necessary to review his whole system nor even the whole of his principal work, the "Critique of Pure Reason"; for his philosophy, far more than that of any other thinker, depends on one fundamental doctrine, our acceptance or rejection of which will determine our attitude towards the whole system. I allude, of course, to his theory of the "forms of thought."

First of all, however, we must be sure that we understand the doctrine itself; for Kant's disciples have often accused his opponents of misunderstanding him, and no man has the right to criticise a doctrine that he misunderstands. It must be said, though, that Kant himself is largely to blame for such misunderstanding of his doctrines as may have occurred; for not only is his thought often confused and obscure, but his mode of expression aggravates the difficulty of understanding him. The "Critique of Pure Reason," in truth, is written in the most horrible jargon that perverted ingenuity ever devised, and parts of the work are admitted, even by his own disciples, to be unintelligible. Happily for our present purpose, though, those parts of it that we are here concerned with are in the main better expressed than some of the rest, and there is, I believe, no real dispute as to their meaning.

The theory we have to examine is, briefly, this: That time and space, substances and their attributes, cause and effect, and other elementary constituents of the world in which we live, are not realities at all, as we suppose them to be, but mere forms of our thought, created by our

¹i. 359.

minds and existing only in our minds. Time and space are forms of perception, while substance, cause, and the other so-called "categories of the understanding" are forms of conception. What Kant means by "form" is thus stated: "In a phenomenon I call that which corresponds to the sensation its *matter*; but that which causes the manifold matter of the phenomenon to be perceived as arranged in a certain order, I call its *form*. . . . The matter only of all phenomena is given us *a posteriori*; but their form must be ready for them in the mind *a priori*, and must therefore be capable of being considered as separate from all sensations."¹ He then goes on to argue that time and space are not realities nor relations among real things, but mere forms of our sensuous intuition, modes of our perception, having no existence apart from our thought. Time is the form of internal sense, and space the form of external sense. Objects as they are in themselves are neither in space nor in time; but when objects are presented to our senses, we produce space and time from our own mental resources, and view objects under those forms. Hence our knowledge is valid only for human intelligence, and other intelligent beings may know things in some entirely different way. Kant sums up his doctrine of space and time as follows: "What we meant to say was this, that all our intuition is nothing but the representation of phenomena; that things which we see are not by themselves what we see, nor their relations by themselves such as they appear to us; so that, if we drop our subject or the subjective form of our senses, all qualities, all relations of objects in space and time, nay, space and time themselves, would vanish. They cannot, as phenomena, exist by themselves, but in us only. It remains completely unknown to us what objects may be by themselves and apart from the receptivity of our senses. We know nothing but

¹ ii. 18.

our manner of perceiving them, that manner being peculiar to us, and not necessarily shared in by every being, though, no doubt, by every human being."¹

But sensuous intuition is not the only source of our knowledge; there is another, namely, understanding. "We call *sensibility* the *receptivity* of our soul, or its power of receiving representations whenever it is in any wise affected; while the *understanding*, on the contrary, is with us the power of producing representations, or the *spontaneity* of knowledge. . . . Without sensibility objects would not be given to us, without understanding they would not be thought by us. *Thoughts without contents are empty, intuitions without concepts are blind.*"² Kant then proceeds to what he calls "a dissection of the faculty of the understanding itself, with the sole object of discovering the possibility of concepts *a priori*, by looking for them nowhere but in the understanding itself as their birthplace."³ The concepts which he thus discovers are such things as substance, cause, quantity, quality, and so forth, which he calls "categories of the understanding," and which, we are expected to believe, "spring pure and unmixed from the understanding"⁴ itself. When our sensibility receives impressions from objects, the understanding produces these concepts, and applies them to the impressions, thus completing the process by which our knowledge is obtained. Kant does not mean simply that the *ideas* of cause, substance, and so forth, together with those of space and time, originate in the mind, for that is admitted by all; he means that cause and substance themselves, with space and time, exist nowhere but in the mind, being, in fact, products of the mind itself. Hence it follows, and is expressly maintained by Kant himself, that the understanding is the source of what we call the laws of nature. "Although experience teaches us many laws, yet these are only particular determinations

¹ ii. 37. ² ii. 45. ³ ii. 58. ⁴ ii. 59.

of higher laws, the highest of them, to which all others are subject, springing *a priori* from the understanding; not being derived from experience, but, on the contrary, imparting to the phenomena their regularity, and thus making experience possible. The understanding, therefore, is not only a power of making rules by a comparison of phenomena, it is itself the lawgiver of nature."¹

Such is the theory we have to examine; and if it is true, some very important consequences necessarily flow from it. If time and space and the categories are mere "forms of thought,"² to which nothing in the real world corresponds, the objects of our knowledge, as we know them, are virtually constructed by our own minds. Thus we know nothing but phenomena, by which term Kant always means representations in the mind; while of things as they really are in their own nature we can know nothing. Kant's utterances on this point are explicit and unmistakable. He maintained, indeed, that "things in themselves" exist external to the mind; "for how," he asks, "should the faculty of knowledge be called into activity, if not by objects which affect our senses, and which either produce representations by themselves, or rouse the activity of our understanding to compare, to connect, or to separate them."³ But though objects thus exist independent of our minds, we know nothing of their real nature, because we can only know them under the forms of space and time, and so forth, which transform them into something totally unlike the objects themselves. Kant's doctrine, therefore, is one of complete skepticism, so far as the main objects of philosophic thought are concerned; and this was expressly admitted, or rather proclaimed, by Kant himself. "There arises," he says, "from this deduction of our faculty of knowing *a priori*, as given in the first part of metaphysic, a somewhat startling result, apparently

¹ ii. 110-111. ² i. 448, 487. ³ i. 398.

most detrimental to the objects of metaphysic that have to be treated in the second part, namely, the impossibility of going with it beyond the frontier of possible experience, which is precisely the most essential purpose of metaphysical science. But here we have exactly the experiment which, by disproving the opposite, establishes the truth of our first estimate of the knowledge of reason *a priori*, namely, that it can refer to phenomena only, but must leave the thing by itself as unknown to us, though as existing by itself."¹ The objects of metaphysic, which he here alludes to, are elsewhere said to be "the freedom of the will, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of God,"² the second and third of which are certainly beyond the range of our experience, and therefore, on his theory, forever unknowable by us.

Thus the outcome of Kant's philosophy is essentially the same as that of Hume's. His disciples, indeed, tell us that he has "answered" Hume; but in what the answer consists I am unable to see. To be sure, he held, as we shall see, that we have a kind of knowledge independent of experience, which Hume denied; but he maintained that even such knowledge was limited to objects of experience, and the final result of his philosophy is a skepticism as complete, though not as profound, as that of Hume himself. In his ethical works, indeed, he argued that on moral grounds we were justified in believing in God, freedom, and immortality; but he admitted that they can only be objects of faith, not of knowledge³; so that in this respect also he agrees with Hume.⁴ Indeed, if Kant's theory of knowledge and of space and time is true, the ultimate problems of philosophy are forever insoluble, and the only use of philosophy is to show that they are so; and we have now to consider whether the evidence for that theory

¹i. 372-373. ²ii. 684-685. ³i. 380; ii. 638.

⁴Hume, *Inquiry*, Part ii. sect. 10.

is so convincing that we are obliged to accept it. Kant himself seems to have felt perfectly sure of its truth; for he says in one place that "there is no danger of its being refuted, though there is of its being misunderstood"¹; and his followers, who include most of the German philosophers, have adopted and advocated the theory with an enthusiasm that is quite remarkable. I trust I have shown that I don't misunderstand the theory, and we will now inquire whether it admits of being refuted.

When a thinker announces a doctrine that is new and strange, we expect him to present some cogent evidence of its truth; and as this doctrine of Kant is not only strange but paradoxical, the evidence for it ought to be more than usually strong and clear. The evidence presented by Kant consists of a single argument, the gist of which is that, if space and time and the categories were objective realities, we could not have *a priori* knowledge, that is, knowledge independent of experience. Yet we have, he maintains, a knowledge of certain truths which are universal and necessary, such as the law of causation and the axioms of mathematics; and these cannot have been derived from experience, because, as all thinkers admit, experience cannot assure us that any truth is either universal or necessary, but only that so far as we have observed there is no exception to it. These truths, therefore, must be *a priori*.² He then goes on to argue that there is no way by which we could attain to the knowledge of truths *a priori* except by ourselves creating the objects to which they relate.³ His meaning is that whatever we produce by the action of our own minds must be perfectly known to us, while objective realities, such as space and time are commonly supposed to be, can only be known imperfectly; and he expressly says that "we do not know of things anything *a priori*, except what we ourselves have put into them."⁴

¹ i. 388-399. ² ii. 1-2, and elsewhere. ³ ii. 41-43; i. 398 ff. ⁴ i. 372.

Hence he concludes that space and time, together with causation and the other concepts of the understanding, can be nothing but subjective forms of our thought and knowledge.

Such is the argument; and its validity obviously depends on the assumption that there is no way to get knowledge *a priori* except by the method that Kant suggests. Yet there has long been a theory prevalent in philosophy, and commonly known as the intuitional theory, which gives a much more reasonable account of such knowledge than he has given. What he calls *a priori* knowledge is the perception of certain necessary relations in the objects of experience, and the intuitionists hold that these relations are discovered by reason in the objects themselves. We are not born with a knowledge of those relations in our minds, as the old doctrine of innate ideas implied, neither do we create them ourselves, as Kant teaches; but when the objects in which those relations exist are presented in experience, our reason discovers the relations, and perceives their necessity. This theory, which is that of Aristotle and the Scotch philosophers, is certainly more reasonable than Kant's; for it must surely be easier for the mind to discover relations in nature than to create them. Kant, however, seems to have been either ignorant or unmindful of this theory, for I do not find any reference to it in his discussion of *a priori* knowledge. Yet unless it can be disproved, his own doctrine cannot be established; for what the mind can discover, it has no need to create.

On the other hand, the objections to the Kantian doctrine are weighty and, in my opinion, insuperable. It is certainly strange that mankind should have lived on earth some thousands of years without ever suspecting that time and space and most of the other things they know are nothing but products of their own minds, and that it should

have been left for Kant at so late a day to find out what they really are. But as Kant and his followers have always treated the common beliefs of mankind with contempt, I will not dwell upon that point. It may be justly objected, however, to the Kantian doctrine of space and time, that it is inconsistent with the infinity of those objects. That they are infinite Kant himself explicitly affirms. "Space," he says, "is represented as an infinite given quantity. . . . All parts of space exist simultaneously *ad infinitum*."¹ By an infinite given quantity he evidently means an infinite actual quantity, as distinguished from a mere potentiality. With regard to time he remarks: "To say that time is infinite means no more than that every definite quantity of time is possible only by limitations of one time which forms the foundation of all times. The original representation of time must therefore be given as unlimited."²

But surely, if space and time are infinite, they cannot be mere forms of human thought nor products of the human mind. The human mind is a finite cause, and therefore cannot produce infinite effects; and even if it could produce them, it could not contain them. The little mind of man with two infinities in it would be a curious spectacle. Obviously, whatever is infinite must be external to the human mind and independent of human thought. Finally, I must add that the admitted infinity of space and time is inconsistent with the Kantian doctrine that our knowledge is limited to objects of experience; for we have certainly no experience of infinity.

The foregoing arguments are effective against that part of Kant's theory that relates to space and time; but there is a fatal defect in the theory as a whole, though, so far as I know, it has never been noticed. The theory is admittedly based on the alleged fact that the forms of thought,

¹i. 414. ²ii. 28.

including causation, substance, and the rest of the categories, are produced, or created, by an act of the mind. But what is the nature of that mental act? Surely it is a fact of causation, and, as surely, it cannot be a form of thought, for it takes place before any form of thought has come into existence. It is the cause of all the forms of thought, and the cause cannot be one of its *own* effects. That mental act, therefore, if it ever really takes place, is a case of objective causation. Moreover, the category of cause is not the only one involved in the case; all the rest, except those of space, are likewise present. Causation, as Kant himself affirms, takes place only in time, the cause preceding, the effect following; therefore the mental act which produced the forms of thought must have occurred in objective time. And since the mind thus acts as an objective cause in objective time, it must be a substantial entity of some sort, with causality and existence in time among its attributes; therefore substance and attribute are objective realities. Yet, according to the Kantian theory, substance and cause and time can be nothing but subjective forms of thought; and thus the theory is suicidal.

There is no escape from this conclusion. It cannot be maintained that the act of mind which produces the forms of thought is itself one of those forms; for that would imply that the forms of thought are created by one of themselves, which is too absurd an idea to be entertained. It may, perhaps, be said that we can conceive ourselves as having been present when the mental act in question took place, and that, if we had been, we should have viewed it as a form of our own thinking, the observation being regarded as a hypothetical extension of our experience. But such a hypothetical experience is impossible, because experience cannot begin until the forms of thought have been produced. But perhaps some follower of Kant may try to get out of the difficulty by means of the distinction, so

prominent in his philosophy, between phenomena and things in themselves. Kant himself, in his ethical works, made use of this distinction in his attempt to prove the freedom of the will. He admitted that in the world of experience the will is subject to the law of causation, but contended that in the extra-phenomenal world the will is a thing in itself, and, as such, not subject to law. And so his disciples might now argue that, though as an object of experience, the causality of the mind is nothing but a subjective form of thought, yet as a thing in itself the mind may act as an objective cause, and do anything else that the Kantians may require it to do. But that argument is inadmissible, being, in fact, a vicious circle. The distinction between phenomena and things in themselves is based on the theory of the forms of thought, and therefore cannot be employed to support that theory. The distinction has no existence except for those who accept the Kantian doctrine, and they cannot be allowed to beg the question. They must first establish their theory of the forms of thought, and not till they have done so can they assume the distinction between phenomena and things in themselves; hence they cannot invoke that distinction to remove the contradiction from their theory. That subterfuge is not available, nor is there any means whatever to make the Kantian doctrine consistent with itself.

There is also in Kant's doctrine another and very palpable inconsistency, which his own disciples have pointed out; I mean his assumption of objects external to the mind and acting upon the mind. To the assumption itself I have no objection; but its inconsistency with his theory of the forms of thought is obvious; for in the action of objects upon the senses causation and all the other categories, including those of space, are involved. Kant's followers, accordingly, have endeavored, though with poor success, to get rid of this "thing in itself," the external

object, and to prove that the mind creates not only the forms of its knowledge, but also the objects that it knows. But whatever may be thought of those attempts, the assumption of causation by the mind prior to the existence of any form of thought is just as inconsistent with the Kantian doctrine as the existence of external objects is; yet it cannot be got rid of, because it is the necessary foundation of the doctrine itself. Causation and the other categories are nothing but subjective forms of human thought; yet one case of objective causation is necessary to bring the forms into existence. Thus the Kantian theory of the forms of thought contains an inherent contradiction, which no sophistry can hide, and no ingenuity explain away; and so the theory perishes by philosophical suicide.

I must add that Kant's whole procedure in constructing and supporting that theory was illegitimate, it being an attempt to make consciousness contradict itself. His theory involves the absurdity that our consciousness is mistaken in regard to itself, taking its own attributes for objective realities; and such a mistake is impossible. Our knowledge is just what we know it to be; its being consists in being known, and it cannot possibly be unknown nor falsely apprehended. The idea, which underlies Kant's theory, that we do not know our own knowledge, but mistake its elements and forms for something else, is the most preposterous idea that has ever appeared in philosophy. Let us hope that it may never appear again.

The outcome of our discussion is that Kant's theory of the forms of thought is untenable; but if that is so, what becomes of his philosophy? The whole system is avowedly based on that theory, and must stand or fall with it. Most of the skeptical doctrines with which his works abound have been derived from that source, and if that has to be abandoned, there will be little left of the Kantian "criticism." It is obviously unnecessary for one who

rejects that theory to spend much time in discussing the rest of Kant's philosophy; the more so as that is by no means the only illogical doctrine his works contain. For instance, the "antinomies," by which he undertakes to show that human reason is in conflict with itself, are vitiated by a palpable absurdity running through them all; namely, the attempt to make an infinite out of a series of finites. Other fallacies occur in the same discussion. Thus, in the antithesis of the first antinomy he argues that the world cannot be limited in extent or in duration, because, if it was so, it must be limited by empty space and empty time, and that such a limitation is nothing. But if, as most philosophers hold, and as Kant himself believed, there exists an Infinite and Eternal Cause, from which the world has proceeded and on which it depends, the world is limited both in space and in time by the Infinite Cause. Kant's argument, therefore, is an *ignoratio elenchi*.

That there are many things in his writings that are true and valuable, I do not deny; but they relate to special points only, and are independent of his peculiar doctrine of the forms of thought. His system as a whole, however, since it rests on that doctrine, seems to me a complete failure. As Kuno Fischer says: "Kant's doctrine of space and time is the foundation of his doctrine of knowledge and the way to his doctrine of freedom. Nothing, therefore, would remain of the Critical philosophy if *this* doctrine be rejected."¹ Nor is his own system the only thing whose fate depends on that of his "forms of thought"; the whole German philosophy hangs on that peg, and if that gives way, the entire system must fall. But if the German philosophers have based their philosophy on a falsehood, they must take the consequences; and I do not know that the rest of the world will have any reason to mourn. How much of their work will remain as a per-

¹ Critique of Kant, trans. by W. S. Hough, p. 15.

manent contribution to human thought, time only can tell; but it will be vastly less than they and their partisans suppose.

But whatever may be the fate of their ideas, it is certain that their mode of expressing them, which originated with Kant, will not permanently endure. Professor Max Müller, indeed, says: "Kant's language, and by language I mean more than mere words, has become the *Lingua franca* of modern philosophy."¹ That it is a *Lingua franca* I am not disposed to deny; certainly it is not the language of civilized life. But that it is, or ever can be, the language of true philosophy I cannot admit; on the contrary, it seems to me all that the language of philosophy ought not to be. Not only is it disagreeable to read and hard to understand, but it covers and conceals a vast amount of sophistry and commonplace. Indeed, if it is true, as Talleyrand said, that language was given us to conceal our thoughts, the German philosophers are the greatest masters of human speech; for they seldom fail of concealing their thoughts except when they have no thought to conceal. The style of German philosophy can never be popular except with those who mistake obscurity for profundity; a mistake which philosophers, of all men, ought never to make. Deep waters are clear, but muddy streams are shallow; and the thinker who cannot or will not express himself intelligibly may justly be suspected of both shallowness and sophistry. I believe that the German philosophers are chargeable with both, and that the "light" which they shed in the world of thought is little better than "darkness visible."

But I must bring these remarks to a close. In his "Prolegomena to any Future Metaphysic," Kant says: "He that undertakes to judge, or still more to construct, a system of Metaphysic must satisfy the demands here made,

¹ Vol. i. (Translator's Preface) xiv.

either by adopting my solution, or by thoroughly refuting it and substituting another. To evade it is impossible."¹ I now return the compliment, and invite the adherents of the Kantian doctrine either to refute my arguments or accept their logical consequences.

¹ *Prolegomena* (trans. by J. P. Mahaffy), p. 11.

ARTICLE III.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND IN THE
VICTORIAN ERA.¹

BY THE REV. JAMES LINDSAY, D.D.

THE present writer once received the more quaint than salutary advice for pulpit oratory—to have a good beginning and a good ending, what comes between mattering but little. Religious thought in the Victorian era conforms to these requisites; with bright beginning and lustrous ending, it has mid-spaces that yield but little. But, so apt is religious progress to proceed in seemingly spiral manner rather than in rectilinear fashion, that these apparently barren spaces were really fruitful of silent growths. When young Victoria stepped upon the throne at the close of the fourth decade (1837) of our century, the time was big with influences that made for enlarged charity and wholesome intellectual breadth. These influences proceeded largely from a pair of writers whom foreign theologians account two of the greatest dogmatic theologians of our country in this century. Of these the first was the quiet, contemplative, brooding layman of deeply religious turn, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. Little known as his books now are, the independence of his work is memorable. Just before him had gone the influence of Schleiermacher in Germany, and of Coleridge in England. The inward or experiential aspects on which they laid stress were quite independently reached by Erskine. To him, as to Jacobi,

¹The substance of an address on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations, in June, 1897.

religion was a thing of the heart. For him the truth of the gospel was proved by its suitability to man's nature and needs. He loved to dwell on God as the loving Father of all men. He voiced the spirit of those who, as an English paper once put it, had become "insurgent against the dismal Calvinistic decrees." Strong in spiritual insight and rich in religious feeling, Erskine was weak in dialectic skill or argumentative force.

The second influence was Dr. Macleod Campbell, whose deposition from the ministry of the Scottish Church every one now laments. It was Campbell's aim to make the atonement more spiritual and more real to men. Christ had for him made a confession of our sins, which was a "perfect Amen in humanity" to the Divine judgment on our sins. He would have men brought into assurance of God's love. Both he and Erskine put ethical inwardness before the forensic externality then so common. These influences—however we may judge of them—gave religious thought an impulse within Scotland such as it never lost, and there were fruitful results beyond. In England, they stamped the theology of Maurice with the best features it bore. This expansive feeling, this progressive spirit, is what first marks our era. We do not, of course, forget the evangelic zeal of Dr. Andrew Thomson, of *Christian Instructor* fame, nor the theological pungency of Dr. Thomas Chalmers. Their influence made for churchly movement, however, more than for progress in religious thought, and need not now detain us. Dr. Thomson died, ripe in service and rich in honor, in 1831—the year in which Campbell was deposed.

When we enter the next decade (1840-50), we find it a momentous one for all three Presbyterian churches in Scotland, although we are not now to go into that. Enough that it was momentous for the Establishment, since, by the secession of 1843, it should lose so much of its best blood, and have years of trial before it; momentous for the seced-

ing church, because of the years of anxiety before it; momentous for the United Presbyterian Church, because in 1847 it was destined to take hopeful and vigorous rise out of the union of the United Secession and the Relief churches.

It should be remembered that Carlyle was, during this and the next decade, in the zenith of his influence as a religious teacher. His "Sartor Resartus" was issued in 1838, the year after the Queen's accession. It was Carlyle's merit to be the first to make German thought, in all its depth and richness, a living thing to this country, with broadening and inspiring effect for its religious thought. Carlyle brought to his countrymen a new enforcement of the prime duty of self-renunciation (the *Entsagen* of Goethe), gave them a new sense of the great word duty, but there are more important things to be said. For these things were insisted on by him because of—and were for him sealed by—the fact that God is actually in the world, is present, is working, in it and in us, here and now. For so to feel God in one's own soul was the main thing with Carlyle. It was much that he so appreciated the spiritual in Christianity and fought materialism so doughtily. He greatly aided the advance of religious thought by his own peculiar mode of insistence on the duty to seek first the kingdom and righteousness of God. The pity was that he so inadequately realized the historic grandeur and vitality of the Christian faith, and remained so much in the sphere of isolated personalities and detached events. Pity also that he never rose to the conception of real Divine Personality, but there are still those who have not risen to that.

In this same decade did the influences flowing from John Stuart Mill begin to be felt. Mill's "Logic" was published in 1843, his "Examination" of the Hamiltonian philosophy not till 1865. Such matters as human freedom and the presence of design in nature have with advantage been

recast in the light of Mill's criticisms, though the untenableness of a theism so tenuous as Mill's has been laid bare. It was but natural that, in the circumstances of the time, both the Established and the Free Church should, for the period lying between the two dates just mentioned, have been largely shorn of power to give systematized form to their religious thought. Sir William Hamilton published his "Discussions" in 1852, whereby we are brought up to the time in which he, and his English disciple, Mansel, paved the way for religious agnosticism.

The Burnett Lectures of Thompson and Tulloch on Theism appeared in 1855. Interesting it is to note how, in Thompson's, the compatibility of a progressive theory of creation, from the scientific standpoint, with theism, is put forth, in connection with the influence of the then famous work on "The Vestiges of Creation" (1844), by Robert Chambers. Thompson thought much remained to be done before it could be said that a theory of development could be "applied to living beings." But the sons of men are poor prophets, and he little thought that Darwin's "Origin of Species" would appear in 1859. So comes it that, since about the year 1860, the single word "evolution" has proved, even in Scotland, the most revolutionary and fruitful in the whole range of thought. Exceedingly far from new to German philosophy or German science was the idea of development, but Darwin and Spencer have given it new applications in Britain.

It ought now to be well understood how unfortunate was Darwin's setting forth of the theory introduced under the phrase "natural selection." The idea of development, though so far from new, has become invested for the past generation with new power. Our religious beliefs, no less than our scientific theories, have been tested in the light of this all-embracing law. If the Victorian era has been one of expansion, in nothing has that expansion been seen

more than in its religious thought. That expansiveness has brought, not a mechanical evolution—not an evolution in which God has no place—but one in which he has larger and worthier place, is, in fact, “first and last and midst and without end.” It is bare fact to say that the real exhibition of the progressiveness of modern Christian theology, and the extended application of the progressive principle to the truths and doctrines of the whole Christian system, belongs to the last decade of our century.

We come back to say we are now in the midst of the time when Dr. Robert Lee exercised a widening influence on men's minds in things liturgical and hymnological, as Dr. Norman Macleod, great-souled man, did in the matter of more rational Sunday observance. Principal Cunningham's “Historical Theology” (1862) pertains to the period of which we are speaking. In 1864, Dr. R. S. Candlish delivered the first series of Cunningham Lectures on “The Fatherhood of God,” in which he maintained a particular and adoptive theory. This was opposed by Dr. Crawford, to whom the Fatherhood was universal. Candlish's theory did not lack in logical self-consistency, but the trend of modern thought has been favoring to Dr. Crawford's contentions. Professor Smeaton's “Atonement” appeared in 1868, Crawford's in 1871. Such works as those of which we have just been speaking may not have had the spiritual warmth or religious glow sometimes to be found in works of more recent date, but they were highly meritorious productions of their time, by whose light they should be judged.

Professor Robertson Smith published his article “Bible” in the “Encyclopædia Britannica” in 1876, the year in which Professor Bruce issued his “Humiliation of Christ.” Robertson Smith adopted the main positions of the Wellhausen or advanced school of Germany, with the result that he was sacrificed (1881) as a professor, though not as

a preacher, his adherence to essentials being beyond question. But progress comes only by sacrifice. The deposition of the Rev. David Macrae from the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church took place in 1879, in consequence of divergence from the confessional teaching on matters of retribution.

We are now brought, in this very rapid survey, within reach of influences that more nearly touch our own time. After more than a quarter of a century from the severe weakening induced by the Disruption, the Established Church had become sufficiently assured to be free to catch the influences of the time-spirit. These influences made for intellectual freedom, breadth, and religious charity. Tulloch and Cunningham were conspicuous in church leadership; the brothers Caird, Drs. Matheson and Flint, in the leadership of thought. Dr. John Service belonged to what may be regarded as a left wing which existed at this time, and sang, so far as the leaders were concerned, its "undisturbèd song of pure concent." But the appearance of the volume of "Scotch Sermons," in 1880, led to Mr. McFarlan's (of Lenzie) being brought before the General Assembly. The result was only an admonition, sure proof of the growth of a more tolerant spirit within the church by this time. Of the theological execution of this volume we prefer now to say nothing, as its influence on religious thought was really not great; its hope for the future, however, as expressed in the Preface, was certainly a good enough one, lying in "a profounder apprehension of the essential ideas of Christianity." But "a profounder apprehension of the essential ideas of Christianity" need not mean a reduction of Christianity to philosophical ideas or to a product of the religious consciousness: Christianity may remain a historic fact the while it is essentially a spiritual revelation. In recent years Principal Story, Dr. Archibald Scott, and the late Dr. John Macleod, of Govan,

have been among the most noted leaders of the church.

The importance for Scottish religious thought of the influence exerted by the great Hegelian school at Glasgow certainly calls for special mention, although there is no occasion to overestimate, as some writers have done. For, though young and susceptible minds were easily enough swept away by the Hegelian current, powerful and corrective influences were never wanting. The University of Edinburgh, for example, remained all through singularly untouched by this influence, and it would be hardly ingenuous, in any national view, to ignore such a fact. Nor is there occasion to forget the cases of conspicuous independence of thought even among those who at Glasgow felt the spell, but without surrendering their individuality. Mere "fashion" is an affair of quite subordinate importance in things affecting the question with whom the truth lies, and the progress of theological thought cometh not with the outward observation that some are so prone to desiderate. Taking, however, this type of Hegelian thought to have been so dominant as some have supposed, are we then to find in this fact an explanation of that decay of theological interest in the Established Church of Scotland which has, in recent years, been often broadly affirmed? If so, this type of thought would have a very doubtful claim to gratitude. But this unfavorable influence for theology is precisely what has been laid to the charge of this type of idealism, and one which facts would seem to go to some extent here, as elsewhere, to justify.

This decay of theological interest in the Established Church is patent to every fair-minded and careful observer: the strange thing is that church's own lack of enlightened concern. To take a single illustrative fact. While almost half a dozen magazines for theological ends have existed practically under Free Church influence, the church that calls itself the Church of Scotland, and should be *decus et*

tutamen patriæ, has not had theological interest or enterprise enough to start *one*. The Church Defense Movement, also, has made, perhaps necessarily, for the conservation of teinds rather than the cultivation of theology. The sad fact remains that the Established is admittedly the least inspiring of the three Presbyterian communions in things pertaining to theological interest. In a paper lately contributed to that church's official needs, Dr. David Hunter properly laments this "grave defect in our present church life in Scotland, that so little encouragement is given to the pursuit of theological learning. Quiet scholarship is little regarded: the pressure on every side is towards practical work, parochial organization, and the various methods of raising money. And yet the need is greater than ever it was that the ministry of the church should be able to guide the intelligence of the community on theological subjects." The few theological workers in the Establishment have thus worked under conditions that greatly augment their credit.

The Scottish Church Society influences, too, have been unfavorable for theological development, save of the narrowest, most provincial, and confessional type. It has even been possible for some of its most noted members to write on theological subjects with an innocence of German theological thought which a churchly-minded layman might envy. As if the most robust intellectual strength could not be wedded to the intensest loyalty to evangelic essence! As if the triumph of Christian truth were to be achieved through a timidity that simply intrenches itself in churchly dogmas before scientific and critical assaults on the faith, instead of allying itself with that true *Christian* rationalism which, conjoined with the profound spirituality of the gospel, is able to match every adversary, and vindicate revelation in its appeal to the whole nature of rational and spiritual man! As if the simplicity that is of

Christ were more surely to be recovered by an elaboration of church services and unmeaning sacramentarianisms than by a return to apostolic substance of the faith once delivered to the saints, and again and again obscured by the traditions and commandments of men! No wonder that good men among us have been perplexed to know whether their Bible is a revelation or a discovery, and have been unable clearly to discern the senses in which it is *both*.

The old descriptive terms, "Evangelical," "Broad," and "High Church," no longer suffice, save for such one-sided types as remain. No rich, full theological type is found merely after any one of these patterns. Mere Broad-churchism too easily passes into mere narrowness, while remaining sublimely unconscious of the fact. Mere Evangelicalism easily passes into a narrowness of its own also, with a disastrous dearth of intellectual interest and outlook. Of High-churchism enough has already been said. But each type has its merits. Broad-churchism began well, and was useful as a reaction against evangelical narrowness and even intolerance, but it rapidly lost all constructive tendency. Evangelicalism will still and always furnish the elements of deepest spiritual fervor, of profound and living warmth, and it is fatuous for Broad-churchism to dream that it can be otherwise. High-churchism, too, has a truth to declare—that the beautification of life and service may go hand in hand with the breadth of charity and the fervor of piety. What doth hinder any one from uniting in himself elements drawn from *all* these types? There is no conceivable reason why the robust intellectualism, or even high speculative tendency and interest, compatible with Broad-churchism, should not dwell in the same mental home with intense evangelic fervor and with the profound insight into Christian mysteries that comes of religious experience. If, on such a union, there be superinduced such

a reasonable High-churchism as is consonant with it, the upbuilding will be an innocent operation.

It will be seen that the time is long past when it was possible to talk of arrogance in the claim of the Free Church to be the church of greatest or most widespread theological interest in the country. She has been, on the whole, most wisely guided in the theological activity she has sought to develop. The theological productiveness of Dr. Bruce has been great, although his work leaves something to be desired on both the speculative and the mystical sides. The services of Dr. Marcus Dods as a theological critic have been of quite unique worth in our country. They, with others too numerous for mention, have exerted so clear and decisive an influence in the direction of theological interest that nothing in any way comparable to it is to be found in the Established Church. The main pity is that such theological movement should sometimes have assumed a rather self-centered cast. The Established Church has lacked theological cohesiveness or unity of movement, and whether she will do any better in the future remains to be seen.

It cannot in truthfulness be said that the Scottish universities have done for the fostering of theology what they well might have done—a fact deeply to be deplored. Their encouragement has been too conventional, hesitating, uncertain. They have all sinned in this respect, and come short of the glory of true University ideal. Our only hope for the prospects of the Reformed theology is in the fact that truth exists for man, and that his spirit will not always be satisfied without seeking the truth. We come back to say that the primacy of Principal Rainy in church leadership has in the Free Church been unquestioned.

The United Presbyterian Church has made the creditable experiment of putting the Kerr Lectureship into the

hands of the younger clergy. An excellent start was given this lectureship by Dr. James Orr, who is the best example of speculative knowledge and interest outside the Establishment, his work, however, suffering at times from a certain lack of speculative boldness. Drs. Whitelaw, Hutchison, R. A. Watson, A. R. MacEwen, and Mair, have in recent years—since Principal Cairns and Dr. John Ker passed away—been among the more influential guides of this church. Besides the influences already noted, Dr. Hutchison Stirling and Professor Andrew Seth have, in the religious as in the philosophical sphere, made quiet but not ineffective impress.

Noteworthy influences have existed outside the three great Presbyterian bodies. From the year 1843 the Evangelical Union took rise on an Arminian basis from Dr. James Morison, whose teaching had a liberalizing effect on Scottish theology. He had before been deposed from the United Secession Church for holding to the universality of the Atonement. Scottish congregationalism has been ably represented by such names as Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, and, yet earlier, Dr. Ralph Wardlaw.

Now, the interest of these movements of religious thought is not bounded by the clergy. For the intelligent worshiper they have this interest, that they have brought nigh him—so that there should be in his mouth and in his heart—the aspirations, sentiments, truths, and principles, of a wiser, fuller, and stronger spiritual life than would otherwise have been possible—a result of unspeakable importance. They have this further interest that they have resulted in a heightened religious activity over our whole country, and made the prospects of Christianity in the latest stages of the Victorian era far more hopeful and inspiring than they were at its beginning.

We have seen the saying lately once more approvingly quoted that our history as a people “contains nothing of

world-interest at all" but the "Reformation by Knox." But now, should this be accepted as true or sufficient? If true, would it be altogether creditable? Are we to suppose that there is "nothing of world-interest" in the way our Calvinistic religion has survived, having undergone profound modification at the hands of the newer philosophy and science, and the dictates of the logic of life? We do not hesitate to profess that, for our part, the preserving, adjusting, purifying, deepening, broadening, and developing, of our religious thought through the crises, doubts, perplexities, and perils, of the century now drawing to a close, present issues in some senses hardly less momentous, and in other respects more informing and inspiring, than any offered by the work of ancestors so memorable as Knox and his confederates. If only our past—and that past a remote one—is of interest, the sooner we make something of the present the better. But we shall not begin by belittling the present—its needs, its possibilities, its achievements, or its hopes.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CATECHUMENATE: ITS ACHIEVEMENTS
AND ITS POSSIBILITIES.

BY THE REV. THOMAS CHALMERS.

THE painful conclusion which the spirit of the times appears to have reached with regard to the evangelical church is, that she has been weighed in the balance and been found wanting. Bitter charges and insinuations are found in the daily press, in current popular literature; they are heard from actors on the stage, from political economists and social reformers on the platform; they are the axioms upon which a multitude of new sects are forming, for, if a man wishes to catch the ear of the public for some new theory, he plans to preface the defense of the peculiar principles of his system by a diatribe against the church. And sadder perhaps than all this, these charges constitute the principal justification of the conduct of the vast mass of non-churchgoers. Without wasting time declaiming against the cruel injustice of these accusations, we should set about the simple discharge of our task as the best means of driving our accusers to the wall.

Evangelical Christianity has her opportunity in the times when society is enthralled in moral evil and when the latent moral earnestness of the race needs to be called to the conflict. Evangelical Christianity is the only power that has ever been able to bring this moral earnestness to bear triumphantly on the forces of iniquity. The present age presents us an opportunity similar to that which was seized by the apostolic Christianity of the first three Chris-

tian centuries; by the Protestant Christianity of the sixteenth, and by the Puritan Christianity of the seventeenth.

THE GENESIS OF THE IDEA OF THE CATECHUMENATE.

The natural reply which we would expect the Christian moral earnestness of our race to make to the Prince of evil when he points to the desolation he has wrought on the succeeding generations, and reaches out his hands for the only generation he has not yet touched, is, "The children of the past generations are yours; these children are God's." Here lies the foundation for the idea of the catechumenate. It is the acceptance of Satan's challenge with regard to the youth. It is the earnest and systematic attempt to guarantee to all the children of *our* generation a solemn warning as to the plans of Satan, and an assurance of the counter purposes of God with respect to their souls. It is the method that, at all earnest times in the moral history of the race, the church has relied upon with greatest success. And with a keen sense that the moral evils of our day are great enough to call for the most earnest and humble searching of means by which they may be stayed, we have been led to an old method as a practical plan for social regeneration. And having tried this method, we are convinced that the church has in it a more efficient means for the solution of the purely moral problems that vex society than it has for a generation or more seemed to appreciate.

THE HISTORY OF THE METHOD.

The Greek word *κατηχέω* is used in the New Testament only by Luke and Paul, and is rarely found in classic literature. The ecclesiastical usage of the word *catechize* must therefore have been determined for the ancient church by these two writers. And as the usage of the word by the ancient church was that which the word *catechize* still carries, and as the original word *κατηχῶ* signified also *an*

echoing back, we must conclude that the common meaning of this word before the days of Luke and Paul and during the centuries that have followed them, must determine also the idea they were attempting to express when they employed it. It is safe to infer, therefore, that this word has in the New Testament more of the meaning of our word "catechize" than is to be conveyed by our simple English word "teach." The clear indications are that every intelligent believer in the first years of the Christian church, from the apostles and evangelists down, had his catechumens whom he carried for days or weeks or months through the instruction that led them into the kingdom of God. These courses of instruction varied in length according to the intelligence of the catechist or catechumen. The responsibility of the catechist for the catechumen never ceased until the certainty of Christian truth was impressed upon the latter. Luke appears to have written his two treatises for the confirmation of the faith of Theophilus, and doubtless also of his other catechumens, "that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been catechized (*κατηχήθης*)."

Catechetical instruction as the term is used in the early church, and as it is used in this article, involves more than an elementary recitation of short questions and answers on moral and religious themes. It involves the idea of careful, systematic instruction, a reasoning from facts to principles, and a carrying of the instructed step by step to a definite and satisfying conviction of the truth and grandeur of the Christian religion. Such a course of instruction differs from a course of sermons before a popular audience. In catechetical instruction the class does not vary, and the catechist can assure himself at any time that he is not going faster than the reasoning faculties of the catechumens permit them to follow. Intellectual difficulties are thus easily removed, and the conclusions are not vitiated, as is

the case with a sermon when the premises by which a conclusion is reached have been tacitly rejected or misunderstood by a part of the congregation.

Precisely what forms of instruction were used by the individual apostles and first Christian teachers cannot be stated. The earliest extant model of a catechetical work is the "Didache." Athanasius alludes to it as among the books not included in the canon, but "appointed by the fathers to be read by those who are just recently coming to us and wish to be instructed in the word of godliness (*κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον*)."

The title of the "Didache" would indicate that it was expressly prepared as a catechetical work for the Gentiles (*τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*). And as it was written only a little over ninety years after the crucifixion, almost within the span of a lifetime from Calvary, we are permitted to conclude that it furnishes us a fair model of the training the catechumens received from the first generation of Christian teachers—from those who had seen and known our Lord. The "Apostolical Constitutions" reproduce and amplify the "Didache," and present a new outline of catechetical instruction, which became the generally accepted model for such training during the succeeding centuries. The catechumenate grew out of the awful conflict that was waged in the dying Roman Empire between sin and holiness. Its purpose was not to prepare candidates for baptism, as it has been superficially defined, but to warn men from moral and eternal damnation, and to lead them into the way of life. The first words of the "Didache" strike the keynote of all catechetical effort, "There are two ways, one of life and the other of death, and there is a great difference between them."¹ The catechumenate was the mightiest engine of the early church against the frightful moral cor-

¹ Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαθορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

ruption of the day. The triumphs of the church were not won by liturgy, sacrament, or sermon. At the close of the great persecutions, when the church arose each time in new power, it was the catechumenate that closed her door in the face of the morally insincere. The classes of the catechist were thronged, and a faint impression of the tremendous moral earnestness with which the catechumen was handled, and the telling blows that were delivered against the vices of the age, can be formed from a reading of the patristic literature. It is a historic fact that the catechumenate was the chief agency by which the Christianity of the first centuries made itself what Lecky calls "the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of man." Whatever may be the intrinsic worth of the catechetical method, it is certainly an impressive coincidence, that the age in which the church achieved the greatest results in transforming society was also the age in which this method was universally esteemed and employed. During the Middle Ages catechetical instruction was almost entirely abandoned, and the social life of people and clergy became frightfully depraved. Efforts were made by the evangelistic labors of the preaching orders to regenerate society. These movements resulted in the formation of rare types of Christian virtue, but not in any general arrest of vice. There was no systematic attempt to lift the masses of the people out of their moral degradation.

The second great age of the catechumenate is that of the Reformation. It is the immediate method that the Reformation used to root out moral evil, and to implant its religious principles. It wasted no time seeking other methods. The church visitation in Saxony revealed to the German reformers the deplorable condition of the people. The immediate, and as Schaff says "the richest, fruit of the Saxon visitation was the catechisms of Luther, intend-

ed as a remedy for the evils of ignorance and irreligion," and the success of the method is shown by the actual social regeneration which followed, by the multitude of other Protestant catechisms written at the time, and by the fact that Luther's Small Catechism and two or three others of the sixteenth century have not been abandoned to this day. The restoration of the catechumenate in the days of the Reformation grew out of the eternal, God-given moral earnestness of the race, and was in no way dependent on the previous history of the method. It was the desperate determination to begin over again with the children that Satan had not yet touched. As Luther expressed it, with characteristic vigor, "If the older ones are so inclined, they may ever go to the Devil, but where the youth go neglected and uninstructed, there is the blame with the authorities."¹

Calvin's Great Catechism, written in 1536, grew out of his appreciation of the needs of the dissolute French city of Geneva, and it wrought results similar to those accomplished by Luther in Saxony.

Calvin championed the restoration of the catechumenate. "If this discipline," says he, referring to catechetical instruction, "were observed in the present day, it would certainly sharpen the inactivity of some parents, who carelessly neglect the instruction of their children as a thing in which they have no concern, but which, in that case, they could not omit without public disgrace; there would be more harmony of faith among Christian people . . . some would not be so easily carried away with novel and strange tenets."

No more determined and stubborn attempt was ever made to embody an idea than that which resulted in root-

¹ "Wollen die Alten ja nicht, mögen sie immer zum Teufel hinfahren. Aber wo die Jugend versäumet und unerzogen bleibt, da ist die Schuld der Obrigkeit."

ing the catechumenate in the soil of Scotland, and in no other nation has it shown more striking evidence of the power to bring moral and religious order out of chaos. From 1560, when the First Book of Discipline was adopted, till towards the close of the seventeenth century, the most persistent attempts were made by the General Assembly, against great odds, to establish a systematic parochial catechumenate. Year after year through one whole century they ceased not to insist that "catechizing be constantly observed in every kirk." In 1639 the Assembly, "considering that the long-awaited-for fruits of the gospel so mercifully planted and preserved in this land, and the reformation of ourselves and our families so solemnly vowed to God of late in our covenant, cannot take effect except the knowledge and worship of God be carried from the pulpit to every family within each parish," appointed that "every minister, besides his pains on the Lord's day, shall have weekly catechizing of some part of the paroch." In 1648 the General Assembly ordained, as one of the "remedies of the grievous and common sins of the land," that "ministers catechize one day in every week," and that "young persons be catechized from the time they are capable of instruction." The following year it ordained that ministers shall be put on trial, every half-year at least, as to their faithfulness in catechizing; and if the Presbytery "shall find any of their number negligent therein, they shall admonish for the first fault, and if after such admonition they shall not amend, the Presbytery for the second fault shall rebuke them sharply, and if after such rebuke they do not yet amend they shall be suspended." The invigorating effect of this one hundred years' campaign on the intellectual character of the people may be understood by King James's slur at Hampton Court Conference, when he said that "in Scotland every son of a good woman thought himself competent to write a catechism." The

experience of the catechumenate in Scotland is repeated only on a smaller scale in the early history of New England. "In Massachusetts," says Palfrey, "the first step taken by the central government in respect to education was a request that the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion."

In our advocacy of a restoration of the systematic catechumenate, we are often met by the objection that it is aping the Roman Catholics. As a matter of historic fact, it seems hardly necessary to state that the restoration of the catechetical method in the Roman Catholic Church follows the rise of Jesuitism, and was a shrewd application of lessons learned from the Protestant enemies, and was the mightiest means by which ground lost by the Roman Catholics was regained to them. The great Roman Catechism prepared by decree of the Council of Trent, and apparently modeled after Luther's, follows the Heidelberg Catechism by three years, Calvin's by thirty years, and Luther's by thirty-seven years. Abbé Fleury, the Roman Catholic historian, in his "Catechisme Historique," referring to the ignorance in his own day, describes it as not in any way comparable to that which reigned for two hundred years before Loyola and his Jesuit disciples *restored the custom of catechizing the young* in the Roman Catholic Church.¹

We now turn to the moral condition of our own civilization; and without any feeling of pessimism we must pronounce it, for the most part, sad. Commercial selfishness was never more heartless than it is to-day. Political dishonesty has not been diminishing during recent years, and the onslaught on the honor of sex has been terrific. Not only have we the vast institutionalized system of prostitu-

¹ "et quelque ignorance qui reste parmi les Chrétiens, elle n'est pas comparable à celle qui régnoit il y a deux cents ans avant que saint Ignace et ses disciples eussent rappelé la coutume de catechiser les enfants."

tion, which, if we had made the progress that was made in the first three Christian centuries, would have been long since utterly rooted out of our Christian civilization,—but we have the intimation of new and more ruinous forms of prostitution, the moral contribution of unnatural industrial conditions to our social life. Of the great institutions of our day—the theater, the daily press, the saloon, the ball-room, the church—we may venture to say that all but the church are rather accelerating than retarding this moral degradation, and the efforts of the church to stay it are not systematically vigorous. The present attack on marriage and sexual fidelity is only a degree less powerful than that which laid the Roman Empire in ruins, and I do not think we will claim that the ecclesiastical insistence on sexual fidelity employs anything like the same measure of energy to-day that it did in the early church. The resistance is not equal to the onslaught, and the social order still stands like a film, against which the pressure of the atmosphere is increasing on one side while a vacuum is forming on the other. There is no despair in this pessimism, if so it seems. More than once has the church shown herself too mighty for the cohorts of Satan, and her usable power was never greater than to-day. Though her enemies may seem to be increasing, there is yet no institution that holds as she does the destiny of society in her hands. The hope of the world is in the church, but not in the church that slumbers on the battle-field. “Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old.”

OUR PORT HURON EXPERIENCE.

About three years ago, by the transpiration of events which we cannot here mention, we learned in detail of the well-organized methods by which young men are debauch-

ed, and girls are procured to perpetuate an iniquitous traffic. With a feeling of unutterable sorrow and wrath we awoke and swore ourselves no rest until we had slain the dragon in Port Huron. The Ministers' Union led. A powerful civic federation was formed. The Mayor made appointments on the Police Commission which blocked our extreme measures of extermination. The frightened traffic retired into temporary seclusion, with the assurance of withdrawal from the city. The wave of righteous wrath passed over, and the movement became a matter of local history, leaving beneficent effects, warning many a young man from the pit of destruction, diminishing the demand for the traffic in the city, but failing in its ultimate purpose. We withdrew from the heart-sickening conflict to the citadel of the church of God with a new sense of her sacred mission, a new appreciation of her redeeming history, a new awe of her might, and a new hope in the promise that the gates of hell should not prevail against her. In our battle with Satan we had had experiences with editors in their sanctums, with civic officials in the city hall, with politicians in the city council, with timid merchants in their stores, and lawyers in their offices, and the more we saw of all this the more we loved the church. Our first thought was for the children yet unstained. We determined to be frank with them, and not leave them to learn the lessons of evil from the agents of evil, but to warn them of evil from the sacred ramparts of the church at a safe distance, and under the instruction of a pastor who loved them, and who was aware of the perils that awaited them. In short, we determined that connection with the parish of the First Congregational Church would be a guarantee to every family that the children of that family would be given a systematic course of sound moral and religious training. A search for a text-book led us to an examination of

THE HISTORIC CATECHISMS.

A careful study of the historic catechisms reveals characteristics which may have been virtues once, but would be serious defects to-day. In the Westminster Shorter Catechism one is conscious that the task on hand is the development and support of a system of doctrine. It reflects throughout the doctrinal conflicts of the time. For instance, the decrees of God appear for treatment as early as the seventh question. From Questions Eight to Twelve there is a treatment of the abstract distinctions between God's works of creation and his works of providence—unimportant from an ethical point of view. The doctrinal statements concerning sin, from Question Thirteen on, are more metaphysical than moral, and are chiefly concerned in connecting the significance of sin with the disobedience of our first parents. Sin is so handled that one can hardly avoid suspecting that the aim has been to lead up to the doctrine of election in the twentieth question. And yet the Shorter Catechism is a classic, and no truer, more comforting, or more uplifting statement of the purpose of existence could be conceived than the answer to the first question.

The serious omissions of Luther's Small Catechism are its principal defects. It contains no definition or even mention of many such important doctrines as justification by faith and the atonement, and it contains no doctrine of the church.

The Heidelberg Catechism is better planned than either of the two just mentioned, and it is peculiarly rich in the evangelical affectionateness of its expressions. It begins, where such a manual ought to begin, with a treatment of the sense of human need. Catechetical instruction should not begin with definitions of God or the Holy Scriptures or the Trinity. The natural mind has no interest in such

matters until it is led to it by a consideration of the spiritual needs of the human soul and the moral perils that surround it. Such considerations lead the natural man to God. But a genuine defect in the Heidelberg Catechism is that the moral law, the Decalogue, instead of coming in in the first division, where it might serve to emphasize the sense of our moral shortcomings, and act as the schoolmaster to lead us to Christ, is introduced in the third division, where thankfulness for redemption already obtained is presented as the motive for obeying it. The doctrines of redemption in the second part lead up to the law in the third.

The defect with many recently written manuals is that they aim only at clearness and succinctness of theological statement in summarizing the heads and propositions of apologetic science, but are unsuitable for the purposes of the practical catechumenate.

The catechism which our times need should contain the strongest possible statements on sin and virtue, should embody the longing of the age for social righteousness and justice. It should carry on every page, with the keen abhorrence of sin and wrong and heartlessness, the unction of triumphant faith in the eternal God and his eternal church. It should make a free use of the best the past can give us,—not living in the past, but using it as a flashlight on the future.

THE CATECHISM CLASSES.

Two years ago our church adopted a catechism that had been specially prepared, and voted that every child in the parish should some time, between the ages of twelve and fifteen, pass through the pastor's hands in a definite course of instruction based on this book. Thus we had the sanction and authority of the church, and were compelled to go ahead, whether we wanted to or not. Attendance on these classes is not left to the option of the child. We don't be-

seech the children to come. We have thought it best to assume that there yet lingers some such notion as parental authority, and this gives us a chance to draw it out. Even where parents are not members or even attendants of the church, we leave the whole responsibility with them; we tell them when the classes are to be organized, and ask them to see that their children are present. And it has already served to bring a large number of such parents into the parish *esprit de corps* and into regular church attendance. In a church-membership of seven hundred we have about sixty children between twelve and fifteen, and over fifty have presented themselves for enrollment in our catechism classes. Our difficulty now is to keep the classes down to proper size, and we have had to adhere rigidly to the rule not to admit any over fifteen or under twelve. The rate of attendance in these classes is but slightly lower than the rate of attendance in the public schools. One of our rules is that the children shall also attend church on Sunday morning. These two classes have resulted in an average increase in our Sunday congregations of thirty-two. If we can come into close touch with fifty new boys and girls in Port Huron every year, and add a good proportion of that number to the regular churchgoers, we shall feel that we hold the key to the situation. At the end of another five years there will be between two hundred and two hundred and fifty of the young people of the city who will have passed through our instruction in morality and religion, and over whom we shall have won an influence that will guarantee at all times an access to their souls. This is why we have not turned this work over to the Sunday-school. "The time is short," and we must take it by the forelock. Two hours a week in such work will be a great time-saver for any pastor.

In conclusion, let me say that this method is not offered as a sure remedy for all the social ills of the age, but if it

will do again what it has done, it is worth determined and systematic application. And we firmly believe that for the neglect of this definite pastoral catechumenate there are souls this hour being dragged to ruin and the grave. A weeping, sin-stricken civilization is weighing us in the balance; the day of summing up is approaching, and the thieves and harlots will be our judges.

ARTICLE V.

THE MISSION SUNDAY-SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL
AND ETHICAL LEVER.

BY THE REV. H. FRANCIS PERRY.

THE city of Chicago is separated into three natural divisions by the windings of the Chicago River,—the North Side, the South Side, and the West Side. This inquiry limits its data to the South Side of the city.

The population of the city of Chicago in 1898 was 1,851,588. Of this number 680,527 reside on the South Side of the city; 222,215, or about one-third, are under fourteen years of age. The number of scholars attending our schools and educational institutions, other than Sunday-schools, on the South Side of the city of Chicago, are,—

Pupils in the public schools.....	79,330
Pupils in kindergartens.....	2,718
Pupils in private schools.....	3,666
Pupils in church or parochial schools.....	30,576
Pupils in other educational institutions.....	18,801

135,091

In the city of Chicago there are about 600 Protestant churches, or one church to 3086 inhabitants. These churches have a membership of something like 160,000 communicants, or about one to every twelve of the entire population. These churches conduct about 750 Sunday-schools, with about 170,000 scholars. Of this number the schools known as Mission Schools, or schools connected with mission churches, are 120, with 25,657 scholars. If

we compare the number of pupils in the day schools on the South Side of the city of Chicago with the number of scholars in the Protestant Sunday-schools we find that there are 104,515 in the day schools, or other than parochial schools, while there are 60,434 scholars in the Sunday-schools, which gives a very creditable showing for the voluntary Sunday-school system, since it numbers about three-fifths of the day-school attendance.

There appears to be an increasing apprehension, among those who are studying the great institutions of society, that it is imperatively necessary to attempt to formulate the definite ends to be sought by the particular institution as well as the stating of the relation which this segment of society bears to the full circle of life. We are therefore asking, What is the exact function of education, of religion, of political life, of social science, and how are these related to the outer circle, which we call righteousness, of the great concentric system of being? What are the desirable ends of social and ethical life? It is no easy task to closely define either the end or the ends which are to be sought in fullest life. The supreme end which is desirable has been found by various schools to be pleasure, happiness, utility, welfare. It is not until we reach idealism, with its dynamic of love, that a worthy and sufficient end for fullest and richest life comes into view. We may call this end "welfare," or "love," "ideal good," or "righteousness." Whatever the name may be, there must be the content of self-sacrificing love, loyal to the inner standard of normal life. If we let the broad term "welfare" summarize the end which is ample enough to cover the activities and aspirations of the noblest souls, what definite ends shall be sought in the application of the law of love? The well-known division of life into Health, Wealth, Sociability, Knowledge, Beauty, Righteousness, will cover the desirable ends.

HEALTH.

The golden mean between animalism and asceticism furnishes a body which is best fitted to become the physical foundation for a superstructure of highest welfare. The body is to be held sacred to its purpose in the great plan of life. It is not to revert to animalism; it is not to be impaled on uncalled-for asceticism; it is not to be sublimated into pantheistic unreality, but is to perform the honorable acts of physical reality.

WEALTH.

Property is not robbery. It is a necessity of civilization. However cogently one may argue that wealth at present is often wrongly acquired, wrongly congested, and wrongly used, this does not vitiate the fact that in some form, perhaps not yet reached, wealth is a necessary means to welfare. The conception of wealth as a part of welfare is larger than the mere attainment of wealth. It also has a message on the function and the use of wealth. Wealth must be rigorously relegated to the position of servant, not master, and used as a means to higher ends.

SOCIABILITY.

The individual has laboriously emerged from the mass, but he has arisen, not to stand forth as a solitary unit without association or affiliation, but to associate himself under the law of collective individuality without losing his individual strength in the new combination. We are not even in sight of the final goal as long as other individuals are belated in their exit from unsocial or anti-social conditions. These too must become a part of the force to bring in the kingdom of God.

KNOWLEDGE.

Past generations generously lay at our feet the results of investigation in science, the information gained through

discovery, the records of the struggles of the race, the flights of imagination in fiction and poetry, the interpretation of the supernatural revelation from God, and invite the candidate for comprehensive life to fellowship in the knowledge of the world. To know one's own self and the movement of one's times is necessary in addition to the knowledge of the past.

BEAUTY.

Ugliness is not an element of welfare. The strong may be beautiful without any sacrifice of strength. Mere brute force or unchiseled massiveness cannot longer appeal to the man who has mastered the preceding elements of welfare. Perfectness of life needs the æsthetic manifestation. Lily work on the top of the pillars in Solomon's Temple was not incongruous with the strength of the pillars. He whose tastes are not vitiated and suppressed has a place for the beautiful in his consensus of life.

RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Righteousness completes the forces which are working in social welfare. It is a conscience responsive to God and magnetic to truth. It is a consciousness of the great law of moral righteousness which should reign in the world. The conscience may be demagnetized and the consciousness may be deranged, but the normal conscience and consciousness will be true to God and self. While righteousness may be said to be a part of welfare, it is really the dynamic of highest life, and vivifies and elevates all the rest.

The following list of questions was submitted to the Mission Sunday-schools on the South Side of the city of Chicago:—

"1. In what way does your Mission Sunday-school touch its neighborhood as an elevating social force? Is there a perceptible uplifting influence from your school on the homes from which the children come?

"2. Do you hold gospel services at your Mission? If so, what proportion of the families from which the children come attend such services?

"3. Do you have other means of influencing the neighborhood, such as sewing-schools, day nurseries, kindergartens, reading-rooms, lectures for parents, relief work, in connection with your school?

"4. Ought the Mission Sunday-school to seek to have a larger relation to the social and ethical needs of its neighborhood? If so, will you kindly suggest some lines which would seem to you practicable?

"5. Can workers in Missions help to increase attendance at public school?

"6. Can they aid the public authorities in improving sanitary conditions of houses and streets?"

The replies to the questions which were sent out have been very gratifying indeed. A large number of excellent responses have been received.

In reply to the first question, "In what way does your Mission Sunday-school touch its neighborhood as an elevating moral force? Is there a perceptible uplifting influence from your school on the homes from which the children come?" the declaration is unanimous that the Mission Sunday-school is, at the present time, a great moral and ethical blessing to its community. Eight lines of betterment have been pointed out:—

1. *Cleanliness and Neatness.*—Greater cleanliness and order in the home has resulted from the Mission School. Simultaneously the children and the home have improved: the children, in dress, manners, and general appearance; the home, in cleanliness, order, and comfort. From the Immanuel Mission, at 6848 State Street, comes this direct testimony: "Through noticing the slovenly and neglected appearance of a number of the Sunday-school children, we were led to organize a Mothers' Endeavor Society. The meetings were held in the homes of the members. Interest was maintained by having a leader, mentally, physically, and spiritually prepared to talk upon such topics as 'The Care of the Body,' 'Morals and Manners,' and 'The Physical Needs of a Child.' 'Obedience, and How

to Win It,' was discussed. In three months' time the change in the appearance of our Sunday-school as a whole was amazing. No longer the offensive sight of dozens of children with soiled, ragged clothing, dirty hands and faces, and uncombed hair—their faces wearing an expression of 'I don't care how I look and act.' Our eyes were delighted by seeing one child after another come in with clean though probably patched clothing, with face shining from a liberal supply of soap and water, and with hair neatly combed or braided. What we taught in the home had been put into practice."

2. *Politeness*.—A different politeness in address and a marked courtesy in social relations has been the reflex influence of the school upon the home.

3. *Better Discipline and Order*.—This is seen in the home, in the streets, at day school. Better conduct is easily discerned in those who remain under the discipline of a well-conducted Mission School.

4. *Ambition for the Children's Welfare*.—Parents who behold the love and interest that teachers and friends in the Mission School show, soon have a new ambition for their own children. "This is shown by the longer time they keep their children in school. They also secure for them music lessons. Papers are taken, books and pictures are purchased."

5. *A New Type of Literature*.—The baser literature is displaced by the higher kind of reading. In addition to the Bible, which gains an entrance to the home through the Sunday-school lesson leaf, there are illustrated cards, tracts, papers, and Sunday-school books, which, while not ideal, are vastly superior to the ordinary reading which otherwise might be found in the home.

6. *A Higher Standard of Morals*.—A new outlook upon moral life is gained. Sunday baseball has been evicted in some neighborhoods by the Missions. Drink

habits have, in some instances, ceased, and children have led their parents to Christ and to a higher moral life. The æsthetic nature has been cultivated, and home has been made more attractive. "I know of many instances where there was drunkenness and misery in the families, but now there is temperance and happiness; where there were parents that depended upon charity, but now they work; where there were children that stole, but now they help to earn their own living. It is difficult to estimate the influence for good our Sunday-school is exerting." The Armour Mission, with an enrollment of 1600 scholars in the Sunday-school, declares, "From the first it has been a powerful social force in the right direction. Many homes have been touched by the schools, and have been transformed. The Mission Sunday-school ought to be a center for temperance work, and in behalf of purity and good morals generally."

7. *Friendliness and Neighborliness.*—Continued house-to-house visitation has generated a friendly feeling. Socials and entertainments at the Mission have brought together many families which did not know each other before, but now have become fast friends. "The tie of a common Sunday-school helps to bind the children together in their play. This in turn reflects upon the home, and the parents are thus brought into contact with one another, and acquaintance leads to friendship. People who may not be on speaking acquaintance with their neighbors who live next door to them are well acquainted with the family in the next block, and explain it by saying, 'I met them at the Mission last week,' or 'My children met their children at the Sunday-school.'" Another worker says, "We have receptions in the homes and church where those who are socially our best people meet and mingle with the less favored, which in a very short time has a marked influence upon the manners, dress, and general appearance of the

poorer people." "The Mission School creates an *esprit de corps* for the school among the children, and this reacts on the parents. The homes feel a decided uplifting influence."

8. *Habits of Thrift and Saving*.—"The Sunday-school has developed habits of thrift and saving in the children, which the parents have noticed and spoken of to me. One little girl, so her mother tells me, carefully saves her pennies until she gets a dollar, which she turns over to the Mission for its work, and begins on the next dollar. It is the almost universal opinion that the children are happier, more obliging, more willing to help about the house, for having identified themselves with the Mission."

The second question was, "Do you hold gospel services at your Mission? If so, what proportion of the families from which the children come attend such services?" According to the reports, a large number of families, at least as far as attendance is concerned, are reached through the schools. Many of the parents have been led to a Christian life through this influence. The proportion of families who attend the religious services is estimated from 75 per cent, in the largest estimate, to 10 per cent in the lowest; the average for those reported being over one-third of the families. In the Mission connected with my own church, two gospel services are held each week,—on Sunday and Thursday evenings. Fifty per cent of the families from which our children come attend either one or the other of these services. Another 25 per cent, I should say, drop in occasionally.

The third question: "Do you have other means of influencing the neighborhood, such as sewing-schools, day nurseries, kindergartens, reading-rooms, lectures for the parents, relief work, in connection with your school?" About four-fifths of those who have reported, have some direct means for influencing the neighborhood socially. The two most common branches of work are sewing-schools

and relief work. One-half of the number have sewing-schools, one-half do relief work. Only one-fourth have kindergartens. One-fifth have one branch; one-fourth, two branches; one-fourth average five branches. The Mission School which has the most departments includes the following: Kindergarten, sewing-school, boys' club, girls' club, relief work, country week, music class, shorthand.

The fourth question: "Ought the Mission Sunday-school to seek to have a larger relation to the social and ethical needs of its neighborhood? If so, will you kindly suggest some lines which would seem to you practicable?" A very large majority express the conviction that more should be done by the Mission for the social welfare of the community. Mr. Stuart Muirhead, the Sunday-school Missionary of Cook County Sunday-school Association, says, "I am very much interested in the replies to the questions you are asking from each school. From my study and observation of the Mission Sunday-schools of Chicago, I believe the majority of them are not the factors they should be in social reform; and, instead of simply having a hall and holding service on Sunday, and in some cases on a week night, I believe they ought to be institutions reaching all the phases of human life in the sections of the city where mission work is done. I would suggest that they ought to have in connection with them a lecture course where such subjects as Political Economy, The Home and its Relations, The Bible and its History, etc., should be presented; also gymnasium and bath, cooking-schools, sewing-schools, employment bureau, boarding-house register, and regular visitation of the homes, so as to study the surroundings and find out how they could be improved, and many other phases of the work which, as circumstances demanded, ought to be carried on by these schools." About three-fourths give suggestions which would increase the efficiency of the social work of the Mis-

sion. The rest of the returns either left blank the space for the answer to this point, or did not see how more could be done with the limited funds at their disposal. Among the methods suggested by these workers from their practical experience are:—

1. *Systematic, Tactful, and Frequent Calling upon the Families of the Neighborhood.*—"If the families of our workers lived in the neighborhood, instead of merely coming into the district on Sunday to teach a class, the effect would be salutary."

2. *Have the Mission a Social Center.*—Let it be the headquarters for lectures, entertainments, clubs, and societies. "Form clubs after the plan of Chicago Commons and Hull House." "Have entertainments to attract the men from the saloons." "Have lectures on social subjects, on the care of the home, and on civic obligations." "We have an organization among the young men. It is called 'A Castle of the Knights of King Arthur.' Membership is confined to boys over twelve years of age who are members of the Sunday-school. There are three grades of membership, with increasing obligations for each. The third can be taken only by professing Christians. Members are all required to be habitual attendants at Sunday-school, to be gentlemanly and reverent, to abstain from the use of alcohol, tobacco, and profanity, and to be pure. They have a club parlor and a gymnasium. The parlor is being fitted with pictures, games, papers, books, etc. We have found the institution of great value in holding the boys at the age when they are most likely to be led away into questionable places of amusement. The original outline was that of a secret society, but we have changed it into that of a club. The organization is subject to the control of the church session, and the pastor is supposed to exercise personal oversight over it."

3. *Mothers' Meetings.*—The home would be largely

helped by such gatherings. In our own Hope Mission, situated at 6149 Halsted Street, we are to begin at once a weekly mothers' meeting under the direction of some of the Women's Christian Temperance Union ladies. We are to work on the principle that much of the intemperance of the day is the fault of the mothers who do not know how to bring up their children. They are to be instructed in these meetings along this line, as well as in the proper preparation of food, in sewing, in physical care of the children, in methods of making the house neat and attractive, so that husband and boys will wish to remain at home evenings.

4. *Direct Instructions along Practical Lines.*—Sewing-school, kindergarten, day nurseries, reading-rooms, instruction in music,—all of these are suggested.

5. Be alive to the *Special Needs of the Community*.

Questions 5 and 6 are "Can workers in Missions help to increase attendance at public school?" "Can they aid the public authorities in providing better sanitary conditions of houses and streets?" To Questions 5 and 6 the answers give evidence that these lines have not been considered as the duty of Mission workers. In two instances it is plainly stated that this is not the kind of work for a Mission. "It is not the work of the Mission, yet of course our influence should be given to that side of the question if it comes up." Under Question 6, "It is entirely out of the line of work which a Mission is appointed to do." About one-half of the answers merely suggest a "yes," under both questions. Two correspondents think there is not need of such work in their particular neighborhood. Another despairs of improving sanitary conditions with the position of authorities such as it is. Among the more hopeful replies which I find to Question 5, there are three which declare that the parents will heed an appeal based on the money value of education. "Attendance at public

school can be increased chiefly by showing the parents the money value of education." "By suggesting the absolute need of a thorough education and its advantages." "By proving to parents that the future of the child's life depends largely upon the quality and extent of early education." The results of definite effort are thus declared. "Were it not for my advice, several families would have kept their children from school, when the age of twelve was reached, because the children did not wish to go to school any longer, or because the parents were intending to send them to work." "I have seen remarkable results in the attendance upon the higher schools as well as the lower grades, through showing the parents that education ought to be given not for a mere livelihood, but as a preparation for the best life." The methods suggested under Question 6, "Arouse the ambition of people to seek better things." "Give instruction in cleanliness, teaching the children to always come into the Mission with clean faces and hair combed." "Let Mission workers keep themselves and their houses clean." "Cleanliness should be one of the first lessons which ought to be taught waifs."

It is very evident from the research, that the Mission Sunday-school can and does stand for a great social force in the community. It is, however, probable that the Missions from which answers have been received are above the average in their social work; for the Missions which would be most likely to respond would be those most interested in such work. I therefore fear that too optimistic a view of the present social work would be given, did I not make this qualification. It is, nevertheless, very certain that the Missions on the South Side of the city of Chicago are even now too valuable in their social work to be overlooked in the tabulating of social and ethical forces.

I have received no testimony that social work has been tried, and that dismal failure has attended it. It rather

seems to be an untried experiment in any large sense, in most missions; but where it has been attempted, much good has been done.

The plan of this research calls for the investigation of the actual social work now done by Mission Sunday-schools, and also requires that some tentative program, incorporating what is already done, shall be presented for the further social service of Mission Sunday-schools. In the consideration of plans for the welfare of the community, the primary obligation must be to secure a systematic knowledge of the community. By liberal coöperation among the various churches and missions, it would be possible to secure fairly definite information about the present condition in all lines, making for and against the welfare of the South Side of the city of Chicago. The Bureau of Charities and the Social Settlements would certainly coöperate in this work, and these various social forces would doubtless be responsible for certain districts. Cities are already thus covered for political purposes. Tammany Hall in New York City has so systematized its power that every voter in a precinct is personally seen by the captain in charge of that precinct. Its work is done with individuals, through individuals. The whole city, divided into polling precincts of about four hundred each, is covered with a system which resembles "a net of fine mesh." In the appeal which Buffalo makes for the coöperation of social forces, the seed of the plan which is now called "the Buffalo plan" is, "If you could district the large cities, and induce the churches to look after those districts, as the politicians look after the voters in those districts, there would follow such an uplifting of the masses as has not been known since the coming of the Master." Buffalo has attempted to join all its social forces in an organized attack on human misery and vice. Seventy-five churches are now coöperating with the Charity Organization Socie-

ty, and it is hoped that the future work of this plan will cover the entire city. In New York City, St. Augustine Cure, Trinity Parish, has made an elaborate investigation of its densely populated field, which contains German, Jewish, and Italian national quarters. The enumerators and tabulators were obliged to investigate:—

- 1st. The family.
- 2d. The occupation (skilled and unskilled).
- 3d. The wages.
- 4th. The hours of labor.
- 5th. The rooms.
- 6th. The rentals.
- 7th. The creeds.
- 8th. The social and sanitary conditions.
- 9th. The agencies (bad and good).

The accurate knowledge thus received made improvement possible. One following out some such plan could surely canvass the part of the city which is being considered, for parts of it are already remarkably covered by Mission stations. When, some little time ago, my own church was seeking a new Mission location, there was only one available vacant field within a radius of a mile from our church. Having gotten some knowledge of the community, and having mapped out the districts, it is necessary to have some program prepared on the basis of the social ideals which we have seen to be a part of social welfare. The Mission Sunday-school ought to have an interest in:—

1. *The Health of the Community.*—It already has some general idea of the dignity and importance of the physical health of the community, since it knows the body to be the temple of God. A deeper study of the fundamental relation of health to general well-being would show that normal health must be sought for the community. The people must be shown the evils of filthiness and disease, and the far-reaching results upon life of abnormal

sexual relations. Habits which impoverish the health will be seen to be a social wrong. The Mission forces should combine against unsanitary conditions, as well as against the liquor and social evils. Let the reports of unsanitary conditions be given at Mission meetings, and referred to the proper authorities with the indorsement of the Mission. Let the children of the Mission be organized into a Clean Street League, and be taught that the streets and alleys should be properly cared for by the city.

The Mission Church, or Mission, can bring the sunshine of a country trip into the lives of the children of its locality, and health will be surely conserved. The Galilee Mission Church, Rev. D. C. Henshaw pastor, in 1897 demonstrated the practicability at small expense of sending children and families to the country during the summer months. Ninety-one people received benefit from this plan; and, deducting what could be paid by the people themselves, the total cost was only \$54.80. It was also proven that many of the people who need such an outing are desirous of paying their own expenses as far as they possibly can, when the charges of such a trip are reduced to a minimum. This plan was pursued again in 1898, with excellent results. "A 'Home' was established to which mothers and children were invited for one week. This was located at Ravinia, twenty miles north of the city, on the Lake Shore. A large eight-room house was furnished with cots and such other articles as were necessary for a mere living. A competent woman superintended the house, and others helped in the work. The work was gratifying throughout, both in the domestic department and the entertainments. The workers were all choice Christians who withheld neither time nor energy. The house opened July 5th and closed August 24th. In that time the whole number of workers engaged were eleven, and there were besides these one hundred and twenty-seven

guests. The workers averaged nearly fourteen days each, and the guests six days. The whole equaled 916 days of board. The entire cost of the work of transportation, board, certain articles of furniture, house, etc., was \$202.57. This fund was contributed by about twenty-five people from all parts of Chicago, and the guests were drawn from churches and Missions representing the three sides of the city. Surely this plan is practicable for other schools to emulate, particularly when they are Missions of our well-to-do churches. It probably would be easier to raise money for such a purpose from the benevolently inclined than for ordinary mission work."

2. *The Wealth of the Community*.—By wealth we mean the supply of the necessary needs of physical life. When the satisfaction of these needs falls below the minimum, it may be because of perverted economic conditions or vitiated personal conduct and ignorance, or both. If the times are out of joint, it is not strange that individuals are abnormal. No conditions are equitable or just which make it impossible for a sober, industrious man to obtain a fair amount of wealth. The Mission must interest itself in the bettering of economic conditions by agitation of a wise sort, and by the teaching of brotherliness. It must also lend its aid to the training of the individual in economic betterment.

This will include:—

(1) *The Training in Useful Handiwork*.—For a Jew, in ancient times, to neglect to teach a son a trade, was to be responsible for making him a criminal. "He that teacheth not his son a trade, he does the same as if he taught him to be a thief," said Rabbi Judah. A trade is a great foe to idleness and improvidence. Eighty-six per cent of the criminals in Elmira and Philadelphia, according to a recent examination of statistics, lacked industrial training. Manual training is commending itself more and

more as a part of education. Dr. Behrends, in "Socialism and Christianity," says, "Our penitentiaries second the admonition that comes from the alms-houses—introduce manual training into the public schools, even at the sacrifice of grammar and the cube-root." The vacation school to which such attention is now being given, is organized to take the child of the tenements out of temptation and crime, and to give him something to interest him, as well as to profit him. One sees the needs of such a school in summer, for the juvenile arrests increase sixty per cent during the summer months, over the other months of the year. The attendance is voluntary. Mornings in July and August for six weeks are given to this work, the exercises consisting of kindergartens, manual training, nature study, clay modeling, drawing, music, gymnastics, and sometimes cooking and domestic teachings. While the older boys are learning manual training, the older girls are taught elementary housework and sewing. Such a plan as this, with necessary modifications, could be carried on in our Mission schools. The Ruggles Street Church, Boston, has this training for boys and girls every Saturday morning, as a regular part of its work. The pastor writes me, "We have an Industrial School Saturday A.M. in which is taught sewing, housekeeping, cooking, millinery, carpentry, drawing, etc. We have also evening classes for instruction in arithmetic, shorthand, German, etc."

(2) There is no greater foe to improvidence than a *Wise System of Saving*, begun with pennies.—The Penny Savings System is admirably fitted for this work, and encourages the saving of small sums from one cent upwards. Its essential features have been copied from the Postal Savings Banks of Europe. Stamps, attractive in appearance, are sold from one cent up to twenty-five cents, and a stamp card is given for the pasting of the stamps. This card can

be exchanged at any time for the lump sum represented by the stamps. The depositors are advised, and assisted, when their savings amount to three dollars, to deposit it in a savings-bank, where it can draw interest. In Buffalo, of the churches coöperating with the Charity Organization Society, six have the Penny Savings System. In Chicago there are but three Mission Sunday-schools which have the Penny Savings System. A great deal of economic good could be done through the Missions' utilizing this system of saving the pennies.

(3) *Wise Relief Measures.*—When the ovens of the poor are cold and empty, the faces of the mob are feverish and dangerous. There is much danger here of unwise, unsystematized giving to the poor without investigation, which may do more harm than good. The tramps have a name for their companions who impose on Missions, and claim conversions—"Winter Christians." The Mission Workers who desire to see what a consecrated worker can do in the giving of wise relief to a locality, should study the Mission Parish of Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow, and then behold the continuation of the work in the person of the gifted daughter of the great preacher, Miss Helen Chalmers, in Edinburgh. Her home is in an alley, surrounded by drunkenness, poverty, and suffering. Every night she goes out with her lantern into the lanes of the city, and rarely returns without one or more girls found on the midnight streets. If Chalmers' plan finally broke down, it was because of its exclusiveness. It ignored other agencies, and proposed to bear the burden alone. The purpose, divorced from its exclusiveness, is of great value to the social worker.

THE WORK OF THE CHURCH IN SOCIABILITY.

The church has a large duty to perform in the giving, by example and precepts, of brotherliness to the commu-

nity. Here must be the place where all social classes shall find their common humanity. The great truth, submerged so often by present-day economics, of the real significance and dignity of general manhood, must be accented by the Mission. Men are not "hands," but men; they are not to be considered as the cogs in the wheels of industry, to be readily replaced by new cogs when broken or worn out, but as human beings of inestimable value in the sight of the Father in heaven, and of value in the brotherhood of man. Let the unceasing protest of the Mission be made against lessening the value of our common humanity. There is a great need of creating sociability among the poor, for social caste is as marked among themselves as between the rich and the poor. A shop-girl will have little to do with a domestic, clothes and position creating a barrier between them. The residents at the Settlements have at times much trouble to get the spirit of brotherliness, for which they are giving their lives, into the people for whom they are giving. Among the very poor, caste has its place.

The church, by its inherent principles, is peculiarly fitted to socialize, as well as to moralize and to Christianize, men. According to its own authoritative statement, through the revelation which came also from its Founder, "God . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us." "But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." In itself it is a union of people with diverse gifts from various stations in life. Its common sacraments and songs, its common worship and work, its common fellowship and faith,—all have made the church the greatest friend of sociability which the world has ever known. Some to-day

who give no love to the church, claim to work in social betterment independent of the church, received their initial impulse from the church, and when the impulse slackens, it is a question whether mere humanitarianism can ever surcharge lives which have known higher energy. The Mission, as a part of this great social force, if true to its Master and itself, will never be false to sociability. Let it organize clubs for boys, and societies for girls. Let it hold mothers' meetings, and give a place for the discussion of burning questions by men; but, after all, its greatest influence may be itself and its more distinctively religious life.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

The Mission Sunday-school has a relation to the quickening of the intellectual life by all legitimate means. One of the avenues which leads to a life of iniquity is ignorance. Illiteracy and sin are very companionable foes; while to know is not always to do, yet not to know is usually not to do. The Mission can cooperate with the forces which seek to secure the attendance of all children at the public schools, and show the parents, as has already been practically done, as seen in the answers to this inquiry, the value to the children and to themselves of an education. This is only a segment of the full results of an educated life. The Mission quickens the intellectual life of the neighborhood by its teaching of the Bible, by its Sunday-school library system. There might also be found a place for a free circulating library of general good literature, a reading-room with current magazines and papers, lectures upon subjects which would broaden the mental horizon, and discussions of problems of civic importance. There can be opened up before the neighborhood the fact that the well-informed man studies not only books, but also society movements and tendencies, and that no subject

is more fascinating or practical than knowing the movements of one's time.

ÆSTHETIC LIFE.

While at first a cultivating of æsthetic tastes might seem to be far removed from the most important work of a Mission Sunday-school, yet, on a more careful consideration of the problem, it will be found that æsthetics is a part of general welfare which cannot be overlooked. There is an æsthetic side of our nature, and the Creator has beautified his earth, in part, for the gratification of the taste which he implanted in man. If the Mission is to do its broadest work, there must be a contribution to the æsthetic side of life. The Mission room itself ought to be a place with more than bare walls and uncarpeted floor and hard chairs. It should have appointments which, while not sumptuous, would be comfortable and beautiful. Entertainments of a high order, art exhibitions, music, flower displays, should have a place in the æsthetic work of the Mission. Let the young girls form a junior choir, and the older girls an intermediate choir, for instruction in music. The refining influence upon the members of such choirs has been found to be great in the Broome Street Tabernacle work in New York City.

It is, after all, the home which must displace the saloon, and the home must be made attractive. If the Mission has already helped in the cleansing of the house, it must next beautify the home. To do this, pictures must be loaned or bought. The little deft touches which can be given by a woman's hand, with but slight expense, must be taught. A very little money will buy some attractive books. Potted plants in the winter can be secured, and in the summer a little space of ground can be made to blossom beautifully. The money which is spent in the saloon by the poor would be more than sufficient to supply all

these things. The poor are not poor when stimulants and tobacco are to be bought for the husband, and candy for the children. If one-half of the amusement fund of the poor could be turned toward social purposes, much of the degradation would be eliminated.

RIGHTEOUSNESS.

We have seen, by the outline of the social ends which are desirable, that righteousness is the dynamic of all the other elements of social welfare, the outer circle of a great concentric system, the coördinating of all the other factors of welfare. Let the Mission first and primarily teach of Jesus Christ as the great Saviour of the lost. Without this, the rest will fall flat and powerless. Let the emphasis be placed upon personal redemption. If this is not accepted, do not slacken work in other lines. The use of the other elements may help to show a man his need of the larger inclusive circle; but if he can be shown at once, and made to accept, this largest circle, he will, in developing life, accept the lesser. In the more congested districts where the missions are established, those who are regenerated soon leave the old neighborhood, and move to some suburb of the city where they start life afresh under more favorable circumstances. No better evidence could be presented of the radical change which has been begun in the lives of these mission converts than their new desire to live life where all the ends of welfare shall be possible. Men who preach righteousness through Jesus Christ have a duty to the social life of those who do not accept the fuller message, and, in as far as they can influence them for good, must gain what they can upon unsocial relations. If social life can be purified, and opportunity enlarged for a respectable life, the new man in Christ Jesus will have less assaults from temptation, and the man who has not accepted the personal fellowship with Christ will not have

been submerged as completely in the deadening vices of immoral life. Especially for the sake of the new recruits in the army of life, whose susceptibility to spiritual impressions is soon lost by vicious environment, must every energy be used to improve the social and ethical condition of our cities. There should be a chance given the children to live up to their best as well as their worst heredity.

But the chief work of the Mission, the widest work, the most permanent work, the central work, is the appeal to the individual to forsake sin and accept Jesus Christ. He then will be redeemed from the old motives, will be a disciple of a Person and a principle, will be a part of the new force to be exerted against all forms of unrighteousness. The purpose of the Mission School, then, should be to introduce Jesus Christ into the hearts and homes and society of men whose personal life and whose environment have been blasted by the power of evil. The preaching of the full gospel includes a message to the social and ethical relations of life.

The message of economics is strikingly like that of religion in regard to the true dynamic of life. Gide, in discussing the motor forces possible in actual life, is positive that altruism could indeed be the dynamic for the true solution, but fears that one cannot hope for its realization now. "Before man makes up his mind to work purely out of love for his neighbors, a more radical transformation would be necessary than could be brought about by any social revolution. Man would have to procure a new heart."¹ The authoritative declaration of religion is that the new covenant, made in Christ, between God and his people, provides for a new principle in human nature: "I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them." Fellowship with Christ gives exactly the motor power that the world needs. "Therefore if any man

¹ Principles of Political Economy, pp. 23-24.

be in Christ, he is a new creature." "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." The old promise, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you," includes in "all these things" every necessary impetus for the realizing of the ideals which the social worker considers most imperative. A well-rounded life, a symmetrical development, will be unable to omit a single element of welfare. Health, or physical righteousness; wealth, or economic righteousness; sociability, or fraternal righteousness; knowledge, or mental righteousness; beauty, or æsthetical righteousness; religion, or dynamic righteousness;—all these find their unity in righteousness, and omit their motor force if righteousness be removed.

ARTICLE VI.

MY TIME AT RUGBY (1869-74).

BY THE REV. HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

FIRST PAPER.

OF course on both sides of the Atlantic we have long been familiar with the strife of parties, and with the tenacity and virulence of the passions which they engender. In unregenerate humanity, and in much that is taken to be regenerate, the spirit of faction and what St. Paul (Gal. v. 20) calls *ἐπιθείαι*, will never be wholly extinct. But in England it was a novel experience in 1869, when I was elected Headmaster of Rugby School, to find that spirit raging in a public school, poisoning the fountain of wholesome discipline, and tending to subvert authority in its administration. Rugby stands in that central England which is rich with the memories of St. Chad, Wicliff, and Shakespeare, and contains such battle-fields as Evesham, Worcester, Bosworth Field, and Edge Hill. The School forms one of the nine foremost ancient public schools, the group which is led by Winchester, Eton, and Harrow. Its normal strength is about five hundred boys, not now often entering until they reach their lower teens, and staying mostly into their upper. Indeed, I found one good fellow who was quietly coming of age, owing to a mistake in the record of his birthday, as it were unbeknown, and was earnest in begging that he might be allowed to return after the then summer vacation, in which case he would have attained his majority before leaving. But I said to him, "I'm delighted to find that Rugby is so beloved of its

alumni in the present; but, though sorry to shorten your happiness, yet the time, I think, has come to part now, as you can't stop here for good and all." So he was reconciled to his fate, I hope.

The five hundred contained but a small element of the purely local residents, for whom the founder intended his benefit; these, known as "town boys," frequenting it as a day school only. The great majority were recruited from nearly all parts of the British islands, with a predominance perhaps from the northern and north-midland counties, and were grouped in eight boarding-houses, each under a senior master, the largest, known as the School-house, being that of the Headmaster himself, which in my time had over seventy inmates, the others receiving from about five and twenty to forty each. The whole five hundred were principally grouped in an ascending order of "forms," culminating in the Sixth Form, Upper and Lower; both these last pursuing some studies under the Headmaster in person, while for others in which they were too unequal in proficiency, the Lower Sixth would be detached. Each form in the School had normally its own form-master, who guided the classical and general studies, with promotions normally more or fewer, at the end either of a "term" or of the school-year, which included three terms. For mathematics, natural science, etc., other divisions existed under masters specially qualified, but still reckoned on the general staff. But besides all this there was attached to every boarding-house, and similarly to the town-boys, a tutorial system, with its own course of special and distinct studies, between which and "form-work" the curriculum was divided; and every form-master was ordinarily a tutor as well. Thus any boy might be doing form-work in one school-hour and tutor-work the next, or alternating between the two in the course of, at any rate, every other day. As he rose from

form to form a boy would come successively under the form-master of each of them. But from the lowest to the highest grade he commonly retained the same tutor, even as he continued in the same boarding-house throughout. In the "School-house," however, the number of its boys being large, and the Headmaster, its domestic chief, being multifariously occupied, there were usually two tutors, selected by him from among the form-masters, as his special deputies in his own house, for that function. And I found two such carrying on the tutorial work of the School-house, but appointed by my predecessor.

The relation of every tutor to the boys placed under him was usually regarded as confidential, and closer than that of the form-master to those of his form. The tutor, being attached to the boy from first to last, was able to study the development of each character closely, and without violating discipline to temper its application to the individual accordingly. He might correspond with the boys' parents, and report confidentially to the Headmaster. To work such a system with harmony and success, it was of course a primary requisite that every tutor should be thoroughly in the confidence of the Headmaster. But above all was this necessary in the case of the tutors of the School-house.

The Sixth Form were trusted with great authority and a large share of the oversight out of school hours which good discipline requires. This their function was called that of a "prepostor," and it was a point requiring careful study that the forty or fifty Sixth-formers who shared it should be duly distributed throughout all the boarding-houses in some proportion to the boys in each. It will be seen from the above outline of distribution of authority that, apart from and below the assistant masters and tutors, the Headmaster's two main governing organs were (1) the Sixth Form and (2) the School-house. The first

gave him the topmost horizontal stratum of the whole graded mass of boys; the second gave him a vertical section of it, including all grades and ages and attainments. It was hardly possible for any morbid symptom to spread and gather head without its being at once manifest in one or both of these. By carefully noting any current of feeling in either of these two, the Head would, as it were, have his finger upon the pulse of the school at large.

Of the assistant masters about one-half, the senior half, enjoyed a privilege as "foundation" masters, the chief point of which was that, although appointed by the Head, they were not removable by him, but only by the trustees and governors—a body mostly of peers and country gentlemen connected with the midlands and the county of Warwick, about sixteen in number. They appointed the Headmaster, administered the endowments, and were responsible to the Court of Chancery and to public opinion, but did not ordinarily interfere with management, with appointments on the staff, with teaching, or with discipline. A vacancy among the trustees had been uniformly filled by their own coöptation up to the time of my appointment as Head by them. But, owing largely to certain political movements then recent, a revolution in their relation of Governors to the School was impending. A new "Governing Body" had been provided for, to consist of two about equal moieties; one taken from the trustees themselves, the other elective, and representing various universities or high functionaries, together with one member to be chosen by the Head and assistant masters jointly. The trustees might have avoided this by simply coöpting at their own choice four representatives of literature and science to be associated with them in governing the School. The time during which this was possible had, I believe, just expired when I became Headmaster, or was then running out with the year 1869. The reason why it is neces-

sary to explain the above features of the School and its Governing Body will be apparent in the sequel. However, the trustees who elected me continued to govern until near the close of 1871, when the new Governing Body was duly constituted from old trustees and newly-elected members, as stated just above.

My predecessor at Rugby, Dr. Temple, had been a vehement and prominent party-politician; and the vacancy was caused by Mr. Gladstone's (Prime Minister in 1868-69) bestowing on him—what wonder?—the first vacant miter, that of Exeter. On July 31, 1868, Parliament was prorogued; with dissolution to follow. It was the summer vacation at Rugby. Forth went Mr. Gladstone on the stump for a Division of Lancashire, and forth went Dr. Temple following him, like an esquire attendant on a knight. At Clitheroe in that county, where I was invited to a public function in 1874, I found that the memory of Dr. Temple's visit and share in the electoral campaign of 1868 was still green. His efforts in the Warwickshire region I learned in closer detail. There, I was told, his neophyte zeal led him to attend meetings of not only his own, but the *opposite* party, and denounced its policy under its own platforms. This was viewed as against the rules of the game, voted an intrusion, and resented by ejection. Indeed, before I had been long at Rugby, I was introduced to "the gentleman who had turned Dr. Temple out of the room." Of course in 1869 the memory of such incidents was still recent. They easily admit of exaggeration; but I did not find that his admirers seriously disputed his share in the campaign of canvassing—they rather gloried in it. Equally, of course, such incidents could not escape the notice of the Trustee-Governors, among whom were several peers and four county M.P.'s, and if these novel heroics of partisanship inspired disgust, that feeling was not lessened when the new Parliament, elected under the above aus-

pices, proceeded to confiscate in 1869 the Irish branch of the United Church, and to deprive the English of its oldest common-law right—that of the maintenance of its fabrics and worship out of the public rates.

My own political life had been one of studied neutrality. I had given votes twice on grounds of personal friendship to men whom I esteemed. But when, in 186—, Mr. Gladstone was ousted from the Oxford University seat by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, when the waves of party ran tempestuously high, and my own college was conspicuous as a storm-center, mine was among a few score of votes *not* recorded. Neither had I signed any of the various protests which have vexed our church during the time that I have been in her ministry, including the most indignant of all, viz., that called forth by the appointment of Dr. Temple to the Exeter see. I am not parading this attitude as meritorious, but merely stating a fact which has an important bearing on the cavils and insults which the spirit of faction heaped upon me shortly afterwards. The same dislike to partisan connections has followed me all my life.

In short, the more I admire politics, the more I abhor party. It seems to spoil the best men, to blemish conscience, and sully the sensitiveness of honor. The man, good generally, becomes good at promises, excellent at excuses, and, in proportion, good for little else. At every general election there is a fall in the moral barometer all over the kingdom. You are used to that sort of thing in the United States, “only more so.” I can call to mind no one man on whom party spirit has had an elevating influence; and if such there be, he must have been of a singularly low type to start with. I can call to mind scores whom it has tarnished or debased. The late Mr. Gladstone should be a high authority on this question, if on no other. “He concluded,” says the recorder of his conversations, “with the melancholy observation, ‘Nowhere does the ideal enter

so little as into politics, nowhere does human conduct fall so far below the highest ethical standard. *I did not always think this, but am convinced of it now.*'"¹ What a pathetic note of unavailing regret sounds in the last words! Thus in the maturer judgment of a veteran in the service, the tarnish of character is the *Nemesis* of "politics." That veteran thus turns "Kohleth" upon his own career, and condemns it of "vanity." And the same recorder proceeds next to quote a remark of the late Lord Beaconsfield to the same tenor. This bitter root of truth had not been, I suppose, however, dug down to in 1869, either by the leader or by his enthusiastic follower, Dr. Temple.

Yet the newspapers would have it that I was an orthodox conservative, and the word was taken up on both sides with noisy zeal as by hounds in full cry on a false scent. The *London Times* even declared that my election "was calculated, if not designed, to revolutionize Rugby in the interests of conservatism." Upon this one of the trustees wrote a public letter, quoting that statement, and traversing it as follows:—

"I wish, with your permission, to give this statement an unqualified contradiction; and to inform you that I knew nothing, and I believe that none of the trustees had any means of knowing anything, about Dr. Hayman's political opinions, except this—that in one of his testimonials, not, as far as I can remember, a printed one, were words to this effect:— 'As regards his politics, I should best describe them as being of a negative character, for I do not think he has ever taken one side or the other. . . . What we did know of him, apart from his scholarship, in which he appeared quite equal to any of his competitors, and what I own did influence my individual vote, was his character as a very sound churchman, free from any peculiar high or low tendencies. How far this qualification on his part may have been the cause of the formidable conspiracy deliberately organized from the first day he set foot in Rugby, it is not for me to say.'"

Who the individual trustee was that wrote the above, I never knew nor sought to know. The late lamented Earl

¹ Talks with Mr. Gladstone, by the Hon. L. A. Tollemache, p. 168.

of Warwick, however, being one of the same body, pronounced later on the same calumny:—

“ While I positively deny the statement and hope to disprove it, I protest against the assumption that a man's political opinions, be they conservative or be they liberal, ought to disqualify him for the position of Headmaster in a public school, unless those opinions are so conspicuously aggressive as to make them offensive to the parents of the boys. . . . Dr. Hayman was to me an utter stranger, as were all the other candidates; nor did any one canvass me on his behalf. After satisfying myself as to his classical ability, I was drawn to him by the earnest care in the religious teaching of his pupils, on which his testimonials lay great stress. Of this I am not ashamed. Up to the last, however, I was uncertain for whom to vote; and I therefore determined to apply for advice to one high in the church and to whom I was scarcely known. His name, could I mention it, would be a guarantee for experience, judgment, and impartiality—a Liberal in politics, and appointed to his position by a liberal Government. Placing the testimonials of all the candidates before him, I simply and without comment asked his opinion. That opinion was in favor of Dr. Hayman.”

I here venture to assert the belief that Lord Warwick's referee was my distinguished predecessor in the same Headmastership, Archbishop Tait, who had been nominated to the Deanery of Carlisle and the bishopric of London “by a liberal Government.” He was moved to Canterbury in 1868, when Mr. Disraeli was hardly more than nominally in power, and under influences which deprived the appointment of any party significance. But to have been more precise in that respect would have been almost equivalent to naming him, which Lord Warwick was obviously reluctant to do. From the Archbishop, as my troubles at Rugby thickened in 1873–74, I received much personal kindness; and I may here quote a passage, from his published life,¹ illustrating his own Rugbeian practice:—

“ More than once he protested in his sermons against introducing boys prematurely to political and religious controversies. . . . In the ferment of thought which he found existing at Rugby [where he came next after Dr. Arnold], he doubtless thought it well to allay rather than excite the fever. . . . In the Rugby of that day a little cold water from time to

¹ Vol. i. pp. 142–143.

time kindly administered was not without its uses. Stanley's Life [of Arnold] had greatly excited us, and the danger was that boy-life would lose all its naturalness and unconsciousness, while striving prematurely after effect."

Some twenty years later, for Dr. Tait guided Rugby in 1849, the Rugbeian furnace of party was "heated some seven times hotter" than it had been when Dr. Tait sought to mitigate its blast. Had not its Headmaster been posing as a platform star in at least two counties the very year before I was elected? Such prominence, bruited abroad in all the papers, could not but have an inflammatory effect upon the boys. My first sample of this effect was in the School debating society, to one of whose meetings, in my first visit of a week to Rugby in December, 1869, Dr. Temple himself introduced me. There, to my surprise, I found one of his assistant masters in the chair, and the custom thoroughly established, that masters and boys met in the fence of debate, in all the rhetorical array of mutual chaff and bombast, "from lively to severe," on apparently equal terms. I can hardly imagine any system more certain to aggravate the feverish symptoms which Tait had labored to abate. By all means let the young fellows exercise their lungs and their wits, as well as their limbs and their endurance, in rhetorical as well as physical athletics; let them blow off their nonsense-steam *ad lib.* I had myself, in the halcyon days of B.A., when we believed in Gladstone, led the Oxford Union, and divided its debaters two to one in his favor, contributing doubtless my full quota to any unwisdom there talked. But our deans and tutors did not mix on that floor. It would have been thought against privilege if they had offered to interpose. This democratic or demegoric republic, a "Pnyx" of boys and masters, seemed to me non-conducive to good discipline; but I waited my time to interfere.

In July, 1871, the Rugby *Meteor*, a should-have-been schoolboy periodical, but this too, I believe, edited by a

master on the staff, reported a "debate" with an "amendment carried," "that the Commune of Paris was justified in the means it adopted by the ends it had in view"—a rather Jesuitical standard of ethics, even given the "ends" as unimpeachable. But seeing that a shudder of horror had then lately passed over Europe at the dare-devil atrocities enacted by the said "Commune," this seemed to me rather too red-hot for the decencies of humanity. Of course once published in the *Meteor*, it might be recopied to the world's end, coupled with the fact of the presidency of a Master. I therefore gave a hint to my colleague the president, which led to his resigning the chair, and the voice of Rugby debate *sublato iure nocendi*, I will not say, *turpiter obticuit*, like the Comic Chorus of old, but continued without further notice from me. The presence and speechification of the other masters had been withdrawn earlier, as soon as I became Head.

It is well known that English boys are tenacious of traditional usage. The custom of displaying a sprig of oak on May 29th, the anniversary of the Stuart line restored in Charles II., has probably come down from the time when Busby wielded the birch at Westminster, has long survived that line's tenure of the Crown, was *in* (literally) *viridi observantia* when I was a schoolboy myself and when I went to Rugby as Head was flourishing still. From the upper windows of my house commanding the close or play-field, a Sixth-former, "coated and sprigged," as the heralds might say, was observed to cross the field of view. Enter to him a master capped and gowned. Dumb show only was observable. The latter stopped the former as with an air of challenge, and was seen to point with deprecating gesture and look of aversion to the oak-sprig as unworthy of a Rugbeian bosom. The youth with sheepish look was seen to extract and throw it away. This was the form the "ritualistic" controversy took in Rugbeian

politics. Thus "the wearing of the green" has become a text of offense on both sides of the Irish Channel. The incident is trifling, of course, but shows the priggish pharisaism of scrupulosity, like that of a Hebrew of strict orthodoxy purging out leaven on the eve of the Passover, which distinguished some of my colleagues—those fore-chosen, I mean of course, by Dr. Temple.

As an example of how boys will play at politics even when let alone, take my own experience at my first school of any bigness, and when I was of no bigness myself. As the bell rang us in one morning, I found the vestibule kept by two uppers, who asked each boy (the year would be 1831-32) on entering, "Is your father a Reformer?" If he had asked, "Is your father a Supralapsarian?" I should have understood as much of what he meant. But catching an omen, as I thought, of the affirmative from his eye, I rashly answered, "Yes, he is," only to find myself wholly in the wrong box. I was told off to have my "head punched" after school. But I believe the authorities got wind of it; for that final act of the tragedy never came off. Probably from that incident my aversion to party designations may have dated, and anyhow has increased with advancing years.

And here, with these neutral proclivities, I was called in 1869 to succeed such a fire-eating ballot-boxer as Dr. Temple, who was just gone, as it were, from the "stump" to the crosier; and who handed over to me a staff of masters and boys trained on the "mutual improvement system" (including, I suppose, mutual admiration) of declamation on half-holidays. That prelate-elect had a few years before helped to set his church's hair on end with a volume of "Essays and Reviews" to which he contributed. His (one of seven) was probably the least aggressive of the lot. It seemed to me to arrogate too much to the voice of conscience in the individual, and not to

draw the line clearly between this and the verdicts of natural scientists on certain biblical statements. But the volume lit up a wild-fire blaze and he suffered from the bad company into which perhaps by accident he fell. Matters came very near to a quarrel between him and Tait (then Bishop of London) in consequence. He has since followed Tait into the chair of St. Augustine. And I foresee that what I say of his conduct to myself will not gain credence with many in consequence of that elevation—a step for which the church here has no more responsibility than for the palace intrigues of China. The rule here is to “shut your eyes and open your mouth” to swallow whatever Primate the slave of the ballot-box (who is then at once the autocrat of men and miters) may send; and then, once swallowed, to keep your mouth shut for ever after. But this, by the way. I had before 1869 once seen and heard Dr. Temple in the Oxford pulpit preaching before the chief scientific society of the day (1860). The relations between science (i.e. natural science) and religion was the subject, and the discourse, from a purely deistic standpoint, was a model one. If the Apostles’ Creed had consisted of its first clause alone, the doctrine would have satisfied it completely. “Did you ever taste orange peel and water?” says the child “slavey” in one of Dickens’s works, adding, “if you only make-believe a great deal, it’s quite nice.” So of this discourse, “if you only make-*dis*believe a great deal, it’s quite nice.” There is one passing reference to the “ministry” and “message of Christ” as facts of human history, much as one might speak of the ministry and message of Mohammed. But as the pulpiter of 1760

“Never mentioned Hell to ears polite,”

so he of 1860 was careful not to mention Redemption to ears scientific. I dare say the then preacher may have become a very different man since I was his three-days’

guest nearly thirty years ago, but I write of the facts of that time, not of this.

Among them the most noteworthy was a visit, at the close of the week in which my election took place, from a Mr. Potts, then leaving Rugby School to become principal of Fettes' College, Edinburgh. I perceived at once that his visit was not a friendly one. He bore a letter signed by himself and, I think, nearly all the assistant masters. One of them only, who had known me before, the Rev. L. F. Burrows, had refused to sign it. It impugned my election, impeached my testimonials, insinuated an undue use of some, declared the "traditions of Rugby" violated, and not obscurely intimated that my proper course was to withdraw. The fact was, as I learned later, that these assistants, led by Dr. Temple, had strongly backed another candidate, a Mr. Theodore Walrond, of high distinction, but a layman, and later M.P. for a Scotch seat. I also found out later that the alleged "traditions" mostly dated from Dr. Temple's reign; but inquired of Mr. Potts, with some curiosity, how I had shocked them. The remarks on the testimonials question I did not think fit to notice, except to say that the electing trustees were the judges to whom that question pertained. Mr. Potts replied:—

"Every public school rests upon its traditions. Those of Rugby are distinctly liberal, and have been so for a long time. You come among us as a High-churchman and a Conservative, and such an appointment gives a shock to them."

Here the cloven foot of party peeped out—exactly what I had always abhorred. I heard subsequently that my visitor was known among the Rugby boys as "Citizen Potts"—a tribute to his pronounced democratic sentiments; which, combined with his semi-detached position, qualified him, I presume, for his function as the fittest bearer of this missive of defiance. I inquired as to the authority on which the imputed High-churchmanship, etc., rested, and

was only told, "The newspapers say so"—those infallible oracles of party, who hit off any man's likeness, especially if obnoxious to them, by instantaneous process at a moment's notice. The writers of the letter declared their "grief, anxiety, and sorrow" over the

"established traditions of the place, which," they go on to say, "are established and respected because they are just and right, and because *we feel that* they are so."

It takes no far sight backwards to discern the fountain of this mass of "established traditions" in Dr. Temple himself. Dr. Tait, as his *Life* above quoted attests, found the boys feverish with party symptoms, and strove to allay the mischief. His successor, the late Dean Goulburn, was of all men, by temperament and character, the very last who would have rekindled the *fureur*. To him succeeded Dr. Temple, with the results noticed and sampled above. To him, therefore, the "traditions" of political partisanship belonged of right as their source. I had not the reputation of being a traditionist of that stamp or clique. I was therefore set down at once as laying profane hands on the Ark. Here then was a clique, with their leader's reputation founded, if on anything, on casting tradition to the winds and on leading a school of thought which rated Prayer-book and Articles of Faith as nothing, and the Bible as very little; yet declaiming on the sacrosanct character of Rugby "traditions" derived at most from fifteen years back!

I was detected as being no propagandist of shibboleths, as unambitious of platform prestige and caucus honors. It was no holiday amusement to me to spout the war-cries of party over two constituencies. I did not lodge at the famous and popular sign of the "Magpie and *Stump*," was not tempted to provoke a cry of "turn him out," with action suited to the word, at vote-catching meetings. Therefore I was denounced as a reactionary, a zealot of the op-

posite faction. Neutrality is too tame a thing to raise a cry over. "The extremes," says Aristotle, "are opposed to the mean as well as to one another." But if you want to denounce a man, you must paint him not of neutral tint, but of the opposite color. My only ambition was to teach and train boys to be *men*, not party-colored men. My ideals were those higher ethical ones—*probos mores docili iuventae*—so mournfully renounced by Mr. Gladstone as inaccessible to the politician. Nor did I intend to make my Sixth Form a furnace to heat red-hot shot, to serve the "Liberal," or any partisan, batteries. Therefore I was, in the eyes of the faction dominant at Rugby and just then sweeping the board in politics, a reprobate. So they ran up the red flag, with three cheers for Bishop Temple, "Citizen" Potts, and the sacred "traditions," not "of the elders," but the youngsters.

No wonder they eked out the assertion that those traditions "were just and right" with the subjective assurance, "We feel that they are so." I saw at once that my seat was to be in a hornets' nest. When the matter came, as it did nearly five years later, to trial at law, this letter of the assistants was universally condemned. Even the counsel who, on behalf of Bishop Temple and the New Governors, then opposed me, admitted that it was indefensible. The only step I took was to forward it at once to the trustees who had elected me, and were the official superiors of the assistants and the Head alike. To them it was an indirect insult, as implying that they had elected me upon flawed testimonials. Myself it insulted directly, as charging me with a dishonest use of them. There were other absurdities in the letter such as arrogance and self-conceit betray men into, but I care not to dwell upon them now.

A week later I received an invitation from Dr. Temple to spend the last week of the term at Rugby. It included my wife, and seemed civil enough; and I accepted it, in

order to study Rugby "traditions" in their native soil. Examinations and football-matches were the chief feature of the *terminalia*. The routine of the School and of the School-house was complex, that of the scholastic finance much more so. To become conversant with these details in a few days would have been difficult, even had every one been disposed to befriend me; and I had to study them under the cheerful presentiment that any slip I might make would meet with criticism the reverse of friendly. While Dr. Temple's guest, I invited the hostile masters to a conference, in hope that personal contact might allay their *virus*, and determined to keep the door open for reconciliation and loyalty as long as possible. I took brief notice orally of most points in their letter, urging the unreason of their assailing myself, when the trustees who had chosen me should be the *forum* for any appeal against that choice. This indeed was so childishly obvious and palpable, that I could only suppose that they thought to frighten me into resigning by a personal attack of the kind. I concluded by expressing a hope that, for the sake of the School, prejudices might be sunk, but that any who could not work cordially with me would let me know in time, that the School might not suffer. To this no response was made. I had but slender hopes that differences would be composed, judging from their manner of receiving what I said. But of course, if I had not held the conference, the insinuation was ready that I had not had the courage to face them. At an interview with Dr. Temple later, I expressed as politely as I could a hope that he, at any rate, would use his influence with his late colleagues, to dissuade them from extreme courses, which could only damage the School in the public eye. On this he broke out into a rude tirade to me, his invited guest, under his own roof, upholding their attitude, and approving their conduct, vilipending my previous experience and denouncing my ap-

pointment as disastrous; and adding that he felt it a duty incumbent on him to impart that opinion to the trustees. Of course I saw at once that he and the rebel masters were acting in concert. They were to try to intimidate me, and he the trustees, in the hope of getting the election quashed, in case the masters failed in driving me to resign by their insolent letter. I briefly replied that, as he held that view, I would no longer trespass on his hospitality; and abruptly withdrew to the friendly roof of my one friend, the Rev. L. F. Burrows, for the few remaining days of my stay at Rugby.

Dr. Temple wrote his letter to the trustees. It may rank as a classic of personal controversy. So far as it framed anything reducible to charges, they were three:—

(1) "I had not in 1845 made any impression on the University of Oxford."

This I think I may contradict. I was in the spring term of that year placed on the committee of the Oxford Union Society—the first term in which its honors were by law accessible to me; and later in the same year placed on a select committee of three, to reduce to organized method the laws of that society—being the first time such an attempt had been made. I was in the same spring term offered an oar in the annual boat-race with Cambridge University.

(2) "If I had been capable of taking such a post as the Headmastership of Rugby, I should not have reached the age of forty-five without being much better known than I was."

Thus, it will be observed, I was at once too obscure in my own profession to be worthy of succeeding my traducer; and yet conspicuous enough politically "to revolutionize Rugby School in the interests of conservatism." This sounds sufficiently absurd. But, I may add—and if "I have become a fool in glorying," yet the traducer has

"compelled me"—that I had been for some years on the staff of the *Saturday Review*, in what I have since seen spoken of as its most brilliant decade, in company with Sir H. Maine, Professors Freeman and Owen, and other more famous names. I was also on the staff of the *Dictionary of the Bible* and of the *Christian Remembrancer*—this last analogous in class to the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA on your American side. I did not seek such notoriety as Dr. Temple had achieved.

(3) "My testimonials contained many of old dates," with an insinuation that, had it been known that they would be used for Rugby, I should not have obtained them.

Dr. Temple continued :—

"He [myself] is quite incompetent to perform some of the most important duties of this place. His friends speak of him as possessing considerable ability, and he has the ability implied in a clear perception of his own purposes, much power of expression, and extraordinary strength of will. [Possibly the trustees may have thought that these, especially taken as the admissions of an avowed enemy, were no bad qualifications, as far as they went.] But in the true insight into character which will alone enable a man to deal justly with the elder boys, or to govern able and high-minded men [how the "high-minded men" were employing themselves about this time, I will presently show], he is absolutely deficient. . . . His government of the Sixth will assuredly fail, and he will never get men of high mark to work under him. The confidence of the parents will be justly withdrawn."

On these latter strictures, Sir R. Malins, V.C., in court remarked :—

"How in that visit of three days which Dr. Hayman made . . . the Bishop had discovered that he was deficient in all these qualities, entirely passes my comprehension !"

On the Bishop's *Acte d'accusation*, my friend Mr. George Long, of hard-headed scholarship at Cambridge in his day the type and flower, wrote as follows :—

"I have read Temple's ill-written letter with amazement. I could not have believed that a gentleman who had left a school would write such a letter about his successor. It is mean, ungenerous, and arrogant. The charge about the testimonials is absurd. Old testimonials are often used, and there is no reason why they should not. They carry on their face

the evidence of what they purport to be. And I think that a man who can . . . produce both old and new testimonials, offers more evidence than a man who can only produce either old or new. He charges you with being 'absolutely deficient in true insight into character.' I don't see how he could know that. It is very difficult to judge a man's character; and want of insight into character is part of a man's character. . . I know something of a man's character when I see what he does; and I thought I saw into Temple's character when he made a long foolish speech in Convocation, when a wise man would have said little, and a wiser man would have said nothing. The way in which he speaks of your ability is absolutely intolerable in a gentleman: it may be allowed in a bishop-elect, perhaps. I suppose that by 'a clear perception of his [your] own purposes' he also has intended a sneer. He gives you credit for 'strength of will,' which is a great thing when it is well directed. . . Can Temple suppose that you have any purpose except to manage the School in the best way? Which means best for the School and for yourself, for your interests and those of the School cannot be separated. A man may be mistaken about the way of accomplishing a purpose; but Temple's words imply that you have a particular purpose of your own, which may even be a bad purpose. Clearly he allows us to see into his interiors, as some philosophers speak. He has not a clear head; or if it is sometimes in a tolerable state, passion and, I think, something worse than passion, obscured his vision when he wrote this letter."

Mr. Long is probably still known on both sides of the Atlantic by his editions of Cæsar and of Cicero and his erudite contributions to the elucidation of Roman law. Few can recollect him personally now; but those few will, I think, agree that he was about the last man to be warped by any personal partiality in the judgment expressed above. I should add that I knew him only on paper, and had never seen him in my life. As regards the predictive element in Dr. Temple's letter, a prophet who pulls the wire of accomplishment on behalf of a party of accomplices ready made to back him alike from within and from without—on the school-staff and in the press—need never despair. I almost think I could on these terms turn oracle myself.

But on one point the facts signally falsified the oracle. The new colleagues who accepted positions on my staff at Rugby were unsurpassed in their high mark of efficiency,

attainments, and power of winning golden opinions from their pupils. And the ladies of Rugby, whose suffrage counts for something, declared that the masters whom I appointed "were such gentlemen!" Dr. Temple's letter also contained some disparaging remarks on my "credit as a laborious scholar" which might invite reprisals—but I forbear. Certainly they do not admit of a *tu quoque*.

But I must show next how the "high-minded men" of the Temple following exemplified that character. While their late chief was delating me to the trustees and they were prosecuting their appeal against me there, they were busy "earwiggling" my former pupils of the three schools at which I had previously been Head, of course in hope of strengthening the case against me. From such former pupils I received two cards of name and address of such emissaries as had called upon them. On one the surname was the same as that of one of the Rugby masters, my opponents. The other bore the surname of one of the unsuccessful candidates against me, who had earlier been on the Rugby staff of Dr. Temple. The young Oxford men, my informants, wrote with the generous indignation of youth at the attempt thus made upon their loyalty; and one added, that he talked with absolute unreserve, as certain that, the more he told, the more he should disappoint his questioner. Another, "One man basted him [the emissary] so hotly, that poor — had to take his departure very suddenly, to avoid worse treatment." My old friend, the late Warden of Bradfield College, under whom I had been Head, informed me that they had sought to pump him too; and I learned later that similarly at Cambridge a branch of the same private inquiry was opened. This game of fishing the backwaters in quest of mud to fling, is so despicably base, as to put those who pursue it out of court, wherever gentlemen form the panel. It can only be described by a word which gentlemen seldom use, and

which therefore I here refrain from using, although it slipped from Mr. Gladstone's pen on one memorable occasion of controversy. If I had not had the most irrefragable evidence of these malpractices at first hand, I should not here speak as I do.

As no dirt was fished up to fling, it was necessary to have some invented. My detractors had at once recourse to the sympathetic obloquy of the press. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of December 18, 1869, had the following in reference to my last previous post:—

“Is it true that the B. College had materially fallen off in numbers under his [my] care? that he provoked a rebellion in the College by violent and very injudicious severity to one of the oldest of the præpositors? and that, as a result of the rebellious feeling which his policy excited, some of the elder lads were expelled, but received back again on the express understanding that no apology for their conduct should be required of them?”

This suggestion was mendacious in every particular. Owing to causes wholly *antecedent* to my joining, there had been a fall in the numbers of the College which the shortness of my stay there, only eighteen months, did not enable me to overtake. The string of malicious suggestions was prepared and timed, to just precede the meeting of the trustees, known to be fixed for the 20th of December, for consideration of an appeal which the assistant masters had made to them against my election, concurrently with Dr. Temple's letter denouncing the same. If anything had been extracted from my former pupils to my detriment, it was of course to have been used in support of that appeal. But as this resource failed the appellants, the only thing left was to malign me in the press.

The trustees' meeting was duly held, the allegations of Dr. Temple's letter and the appellant masters was in a brief minute of December 20 unanimously dismissed as unfounded or insignificant; coupled with a declaration that “Mr. Hayman has acted with perfect good faith in the use

made by him of the testimonials laid before the trustees." But they added no rebuke of the insolent cartel which I had received from the masters a month before and had laid before them; giving herein the first sample of official poltroonery which drew other and worse consequences later. It practically assured the insolent of impunity. And one of these masters accordingly, some months later, reminded me in my own study, that "the masters had taken up a position *from which they had never receded.*" Of course the trustees ought to have given at any rate the seniors and ringleaders the option of retracting that insolence or retiring; and I suppose I ought at the time to have insisted on this. But, having held out the olive-branch at our meeting in Dr. Temple's house previously, I was willing to hope that time might heal and sympathy of work efface differences, and accordingly for an entire year I forbore any such step, in order to await the experiment. The trustees' support to me was like a battery fired with only half-charges in the guns, unable to reach and pierce.

Next to Dr. Temple my most prominent assailant was Mr. (since Dr. and Dean) Bradley. He had himself written me a testimonial in 1866, which I had included among the others of older date sent in for the Rugby post. He had himself been previously on the Rugby teaching staff, and knew most of those there in 1869. Of course they made the situation unpleasant for him. Accordingly, being a man of vigorous character, he, to make them amends, (1) began a correspondence with myself, I presume with the idea of inducing me to withdraw; (2) wrote to the trustees against me; (3) wrote to the *London Times* a letter expressing his "anxiety," so dated as to appear on the morning of the 20th of December. He and Dr. Temple, thus pledged to oppose me from the first, were afterwards, with the usual unscrupulousness of political faction, placed on the new Governing Body over me, and behaved there

in a way worthy of their antecedents. They both knew Rugby from top to bottom, and had thus every resource of detail available for ambuscades; and of course soon acquired the influence on the Board which such knowledge gives.

The first term of 1870 was only a few weeks old when one of the Sixth Form in my House innocently brought to my study a letter signed "F. Exon," Dr. Temple having by then been consecrated bishop. Some question of school discipline had troubled the prepostorial mind, and the boy at once wrote off—I cannot think he would have done this unless primed by some other influence—to consult his *former* chief on the subject. The bishop's letter dealt with the question raised, and gave advice upon it, as though he were still filling the post which he had vacated. The letter contained no reference to my authority. You might suppose from it that the writer accepted the *rôle* of direction and claimed to be, besides a bishop, a sort of Headmaster *in partibus*. The obvious tendency of such correspondence was to intercept the growth of confidence between myself and the Upper boys on whom I was to rely for discipline. Whether that was also the motive, I must leave others to decide; having regard to the bishop's prediction, that I should never get on with the Sixth Form and his denunciation of my appointment as disastrous. He behaved, at all events, as if resolved to do his best to make it so.

An easy machinery for the propaganda of disloyalty to myself lay ready to hand in the constant resort of Old Rugbeians to the School on all occasions of interest. Between the customary matches of "Old against Present," and the fact that the Tercentenary of the Rugby Foundation was nearly due, to be celebrated by the enlarged school chapel, by the new gymnasium, and other structural additions to the school buildings, now more or less advanced, such oc-

casions were extraordinarily frequent in my first two years at Rugby. The "Old Rugs" thus revisiting their *alma mater* were by custom the guests of the boarding-houses to which they had belonged; and, being thus on free and easy terms with masters and boys alike, were an apposite medium for conveying to the latter the sentiments of the former. Whether the "high-minded men," who were not above essaying to pump *my* former pupils to my detriment, as described above, were likely to be scrupulous about using *their own* as conduits of disaffection towards me, is a question which any reader can decide for himself. But I invite readers to decide it in the light of the following public fact, to which numerous living witnesses could depose.

At recurring intervals the School gave a concert or other reception, to which the masters invited their friends, and any "Old Rugs" within reach were privileged by custom. Custom equally required the proceedings to close with "Three cheers for the Headmaster." Not once but often, so recurrently indeed as to show set purpose, some perfervid zealot of the Temple faction would vociferate instead, "Three cheers for the Bishop of Exeter!" The motive was unmistakable—to efface the Headmaster and supersede him by keeping his predecessor in the public eye. Considering that all who were not present officially were there as my guests, the rudeness of the affront was equally evident. It was persisted in periodically, until the nuisance was abated by one of the senior Rugbeians present calling out, "Three cheers for Archbishop Tait!"—the antepenultimate Head. This *reductio ad absurdum* was followed by an appreciative burst of laughter, and the unmannerliness was killed by ridicule. I may here add that Templeian Rugby as I found it was not a school of finished manners, more especially in the School-house—my own. There were gentlemanly young fellows there in dozens or scores, but the average "Rug" was somewhat

rugged; as though he had caught the manner, and was a "Templar" more or less pronounced.

In illustration I may quote an anecdote, with which one of my children, visiting at a house where an "Old Rug" of the School-house was in company, refreshed my memory lately, from which it had lapsed. He said: "Did you ever hear of the tea-table row of your father's time?" "No, what was it?" "The fellows had a bad habit of flinging lumps of sugar at each other across the room at teatime." "Well, and what happened?" "Oh, the Doctor [myself] put us on soft sugar for a while, and that had the desired effect." Great are the virtues of soft sugar. It gives the *suaviter in modo*, without so much of the *fortiter in re* as is presented by the angular cubes of its hard-edged brother. Let me recommend it to my successors in office as that which

"Emollit mores nec sinit esse ferus."

The Christmas recess of 1869-70 was, I believe, editorially considered, a flat time, and newspapers were glad of a bone to growl over. So presently the whole *ménagerie* of penny-a-liners broke out in howls of discord over the appointment to the Rugby post—a semichorus of war-whoops on each side, of which I was the center. The radical party, considering itself aggrieved, led off with its weeklies and dailies. The *Spectator*, I believe, was first to give tongue, whom the *Daily News* quoted, following, and denouncing the trustees' choice, and their audacity in abiding by it, as "an insult to Rugby, its past, present, and future." Then followed a letter in the *Times* of a column and a half long, "from the unmistakable pen of a Rugby Master" (so described by one who, signing as *Oxoniensis*, commented upon it in another paper). The *Echo* was true to its name; of the *Pall Mall Gazette* a sample has been given. Some fastened on the testimonials question, some on my supposed politics or church views, some on the sa-

cred *depositum* of Rugby "traditions" profaned, some on my previous career, published works, etc., mingling true and false, black and every darker shade in bewildering confusion, and spreading the sail wide to catch every breath of calumny. Sometimes the statements showed such an inner knowledge of Rugby as to prove that information was supplied; sometimes they were so wild and wide as to show an editor at the last gasp for a sensational novelty. On the other side the *Standard*, *Globe*, and more rarely the *Morning Post*, were equally emphatic; while in the provinces the *Birmingham Post*, *Manchester Courier*, *Edinburgh Courant* (I really forget on which side some of these were) were all busy in writing me up or writing me down—nice holiday reading for my pupils!—until I was as weary of my defenders as of my assailants, and ready to cry, "A plague on both your houses!" Some carried the war into the enemies' camp, by dwelling on Dr. Temple's early achievement as principal of "Kneller Hall," which "failed utterly, after costing the country enough to build a frigate"; or pilloried him as a political bishop, who would "never have found a place there if he had not been an ardent radical," etc., etc. To me personally all this was amusing rather than irritating. But to the School it boded disaster. I was dragged into the arena—a non-combatant—for the war of pens to go on over my body. Novel topics editors must have. *Unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere*. I suppose, also, that my studied silence was a contempt of court, an offense to their Areopagus of calumny. I would not drag the affairs of a great school into the circle of quidnuncs' gossip, and my taciturnity was my condemnation in their eyes. The big battalions of votes were just then on the side of the Gladstone-Bright-Temple party; and all the skirmishers of scribbledom who wait on "the jump of the cat," thought mine was the losing side, and flung wide their columns to invective and de-

traction. I suppose that all the contentious press-matter diffused over all the English public schools together, during a much longer period, would not equal the tenth part of the slips and cuttings which I have preserved; although my collection is by no means complete. The press batteries were concentrated on Rugby, exclusively among schools, for about four years and a quarter. This alone shows the enormous odds against which I had to contend. It shook parental confidence and was, I cannot but believe, deliberately designed to have that effect.

ARTICLE VII.

PRAYER IN WAR-TIME.

BY EDWARD MORTIMER CHAPMAN.

"It is time that humanity learned that praying to some divine power or being for escape from the consequences of violating the eternal laws of justice and goodness, is vanity and foolishness. Prayer may have its consoling and inspiring influences upon minds more or less superstitious, but any belief contrary to the law of cause and effect is demoralizing to the individual or nation."

I HAVE QUOTED these sentences from a daily paper because they voice so well certain popular notions concerning the nature and the place of prayer. They seem instinct with a high moral purpose to preserve the nation and its citizens from "all belief contrary to the law of cause and effect." Belief contrary to the law of cause and effect is certainly a damnable heresy, from which, if it were permissible to pray at all, one might petition to be delivered. They assure us further, that it is vain and foolish to expect that petitions "to some divine power or being" can serve as shields under cover of which the eternal laws of justice and goodness may be violated with impunity. It is sound doctrine, worthy of proclamation in season and out of season. But the writer, though he is evidently suspicious that prayer tends upon the whole to promote the heresy and to corrupt the doctrine, would not therefore condemn it to extinction. He is considerate of the hardness of men's hearts and the frailty of their natures. He realizes that there are minds, "more or less superstitious," to whom the exercise of prayer proves grateful. It exerts upon them certain "consoling and inspiring

influences" which it would be cruel to ask them to forego. It serves as a stimulating intellectual or spiritual gymnastic. What though it be a mere sublimated and beatified tugging at one's own boot-straps in an effort to rise into a clearer and purer air, so long as it has amused Augustine, Francis of Assisi, Luther, Maurice, Bushnell, and Phillips Brooks, the world may bear with it a little longer. Meanwhile, to sneer at it politely, serves admirably as the *cachet* of the superior person, and to smile patronizingly upon the superstition of those who practice it reveals an intelligence that has measured the limits of Creative Power.

It is especially in war-time that the absurdity of the praying man vexes the righteous souls of those who cannot think as he does. The newspaper writer quoted above goes on almost in a strain of bitterness as he thinks of the multitudes upon both sides in every great conflict who will persist in praying. Charm he never so wisely, some among them will not abandon the practice. Nay further, they teach it to their children despite all demonstration that can be made to them of the superstitious futility of their act. Indeed this is the standing wonder of it. That eighteen hundred years ago a man should have told his fellows that "men ought always to pray, and not to faint," is only what might have been expected. It was a rude and superstitious age. It bred men, to be sure; but they were men in whose thinking astrology and astronomy, alchemy and chemistry were not yet differentiated. To-day we stand upon the summits of scientific attainment whose very foothills were invisible to them. We have looked so far into the depths of astral space that some of us have concluded that, if there were any God, the telescope should have brought the hem of his garments to light. We have toiled in our laboratories until we feel assured that our list of the elements must at least approximate completion. Yet he does not appear among them.

In all this searching, moreover, one thing has grown ever clearer. The universe is an orderly one. Despite all seeming independence of events, we have come to possess a reasonable conviction of the Continuity of Nature. We knew it as an instinctive feeling once. We have elevated it to the place of a scientific dogma now. When we are asked to explain a seemingly mysterious occurrence, we cleverly trace the various steps in it back to certain general and immutable Laws of Nature. It is an enlightening and inspiring process. The only difficulty about it is that we sometimes have trouble in making it seem ultimate. We write Law with a capital initial; but, in spite of all, men have an uncomfortable way of asking us how a formula expressive of our observation of Nature can be reckoned with as an ultimate cause. We are always being pestered by this question as to how Law can *do* things. When a man puts that question too persistently, we begin to suspect him of "superstition." And if he go so far as to assert that, to his mind, the reign of Law is but the outward and visible sign of the supremacy of an Ultimate Reason, we hasten to purge our scientific synagogue of him. If he be a man of eminent attainment, we may still bear with and patronize him as a proselyte of the gate, but the sanctuary remains barred to such as he.

Yet in the existence of such as he lies one secret of the persistence of prayer. Men seem ineradicably possessed of this notion that an orderly universe bespeaks the existence of Reason behind and in it. And they seem, as a mass, to be infected with an equally ineradicable instinct that moves them to try to communicate with this Reason. Some outgrow all such puerility, to be sure, and relegate it to women and children. But even they can never be quite certain lest the instinct bewray them, and they be put to confusion by some ejaculatory prayer in time of peril. They are forced to keep the old anecdote of the

unbeliever who began his speech with a hearty "Thank God, gentlemen, I am an atheist," ever before their minds, and to walk humbly in fear of a like fate. Nor do these men and women who pray seem to be overconscious of the embarrassment which their critics say they are perpetually causing God by asking for mutually contradictory things. Yet it would be going too far to deny to all of them a sense of humor. Even the newspaper writer whom I have quoted, although he evidently considers Christian folk as a class "more or less superstitious," would scarcely claim that there is not here and there a man among them who ponders what he does and who has intellectual as well as spiritual reasons for the faith that is in him.

"'Twere to consider too curiously to consider so."

Let us suppose then that our Journalist, querying like Pilate as to what truth may be, lights on such a man, who owns frankly that, if he did not seem to himself to find a rational basis for the act, he would not pray. He maintains, however, that his right to pray is not only indefeasible, but worthy of all respect, so long as he can show reasonable ground for the exercise of it. The Journalist will straightway expect him to begin to quote proof-texts and to multiply instances from Scripture, setting in the forefront of their array the incident of the sun and moon halting over Aijalon, to which he will insist that a literal interpretation be given if any common ground for argument is to remain. But Precator—if Plautus will lend us the word—does nothing of the sort. He even consents for the moment to set Scripture aside,—not because it lacks meaning and authority for him, but because he believes that even one who knew nothing of its message would still have reasonable ground for prayer.

He will maintain, in the first place, that there is a certain suggestiveness in the fact that prayer is an instinctive, or at least a semi-instinctive, act. He would not try to

found an argument upon this fact, but he insists that it has a certain significance. The things that men do instinctively generally have some basis in reason, even when the instinctive action is very crude, or when the instinct simply asserts itself as an impulse that is repressed. Precator will remind his friend of Mercutio's sleeping soldier over whose throat Mab drives her hazel-nut chariot,

"at which he starts, and wakes,
And, being thus frightened, swears a prayer or two,
And sleeps again."

He will of course be told that, if such instances be cited to bolster up the rationale of prayer, they will go quite as far toward suggesting a rationale for swearing. To which Precator will answer, that this does not disturb him, inasmuch as a curse is but a prayer gone wrong through human frailty and perversity. If the objection be further urged, that prayer is instinctive only so far as it reflects the half-outgrown training of men through superstitious generations, the reply is ready, that the things in which men are trained through generations so persistently that they still remain as instinctive acts, are things that have a basis in reason. The training may be bad, and its results may manifest themselves in a fashion that seems sufficiently absurd; but, at the basis of it all, some elements of reason will appear if the training have persisted to the extent which we assume. Though you inspire every mind in Christendom to-day with a dreadful doubt as to whether prayer be worth the time spent in it, men will pray again to-morrow, not merely from force of habit, but because prayer is an exercise upon which the heart would insist, even if the faculty of ratiocination found too little material at its hand to justify it perfectly. And, in the long run, those demands of the heart which persist are pretty sure to be owned by the intellect.

But, in the present instance, Precator will very likely be

bold enough to maintain that there is intellectual justification for prayer without calling in the aid of the heart. In view of the appeal which the universe makes to his individual mind, he even goes so far as to feel that he would contradict his own reason if he did not pray, or at least recognize prayer as a perfectly natural and rational exercise. And searching about for some expression of this appeal that will not at once antagonize his friend the Journalist, as any citation from Scripture would surely do, he lights upon certain words of Marcus Aurelius:—

“One Universe made up of all that is; and one God in it all, and one principle of Being, and one Law, the Reason, shared by all thinking creatures, and one Truth.”

Although the creed of the old Roman may not exactly voice the belief of either of them, still they may well find common ground on it, especially in view of its emphasis upon the essential and fundamental Unity of Being. Precator is as far as his friend can be from regarding the universe as

“That codeless myriad of precedent,
That wilderness of single instances,”

which is so often supposed to represent the only world in which prayer could ever be answered. He is just as insistent as the most determined scientific scoffer in his assertion of the Continuity of Nature and the wide scope of the Realm of Law. He asserts his own belief that under no circumstances is a Law of Nature ever contravened or outraged. In his view neither the “screams of the revivalists nor the wind-jamming of the Salvation Army” (to quote the courteous phrases of the Journalist) can ever put the Law of Gravitation to confusion or cause two and two numerically to equal five. Yet while he yields to no one in his complete recognition of the range and sphere of Law, he believes that he has rational ground for praying and for believing that his prayer is effective if it be honest and

reverent. And he believes this not in spite of, but because of, the fact that the universe is an orderly one.

Summarily his faith may be thus expressed. He finds himself put to intellectual confusion in view of the orderliness of Nature unless he predicates a Reason working in and through it. He is far enough from being inclined to press Paley's old figure of the watch, not because it was logically false, but because it seems inadequate, bald, and meager in view of the scientific advance of a later day. Instead of arguing from the peculiar adaptation of means to end in eye or hand that there must have been a Divine Artificer, he will rather cite the whole stupendous Process of Development facing the student at the end of every avenue of research which he may enter. So far from "holding a belief contrary to the law of cause and effect" it is his profound conviction of the prevalence of that Law throughout the universe which assures him that the ultimate fact for him is the existence of a Supreme Reason.

He cannot conceive of that Reason which is the groundwork of the universe as so separated from it as to be ignorant of, or unintelligent in its attitude toward, the processes of the universe. A demiurge might conceivably have made a world-machine and taken his seat apart to see it go. But there are factors in the present equation which the substitution of a demiurge utterly fails to satisfy. Creation, as the scientific man sees it in progress, is not a series of unconnected cataclysms, but a vast process of development whose very orderliness betokens its issue from a Mind. It is impossible to conceive of this Mind as bereft of those attributes that give to human reason its choicest distinctions and powers. And we are under no obligation at all to think of the Creative Reason as merely inaugurating an automatic process and then withdrawing from all care for or direction of it. Indeed, that seems so irrational that we are under obligation *not* to believe it un-

til it shall be shown by irrefragable evidence. We have no right to regard God as an absentee until the charge is proven.

Precator will be told that this is proven by the evident prevalence of immutable Law. To which he will make answer that the prevalence of Law proves nothing of the sort. It only shows that the Supreme Reason always works in orderly fashion and with a perfect sense of the adaptation of means to ends. Law, in the scientific sense, is only the formula expressive of our observation of this working. But orderliness even when it can be formulated, as in the attraction of two bodies, does not constitute a limit to the ends which power may attain. It only defines the method of the adaptation of certain means. For instance, a man may jump from the window of a burning building at such a height as seemingly to involve his destruction, in view of the force of gravitation. He realizes this, and yet cries to men to save him. How absurd! What possibility is there that these men can tamper with the Law and reduce the force of the earth's attraction for the man's body sufficiently to enable him to reach the ground in safety? Or, granting for the sake of argument that one among them has such power, who, even to save human life, would dare to interfere with the orderly process of Nature? But the firemen do not ask these questions. They quickly spread a life-net into which the man is received unharmed. No law is contravened. No operation of Nature has been suspended. The thing desired has been attained simply by a proper adaptation of means to ends. The phenomenon excites no wonder simply because every step in the process is so familiar and so easily discerned.

But suppose the case were somewhat different. Let a man of scientific temper, but unfamiliar with the modern adaptations of electricity, sit within hearing of a telephone

conversation between Boston and New York. Question and answer alternate in quick succession. After all is over, the complete conversation is reported to him. But he stoutly denies that it could ever have taken place over so great a distance, in view of certain perfectly well-known laws of acoustics. Granting the connection by copper wire, it is impossible, even through copper wire, to propagate sound-waves with sufficient rapidity to warrant the quick interchange of speech he seemed to hear. And if that were possible, it would be still absurd, in view of the fact that sound's intensity varies inversely with the square of the distance, to suppose that through any medium the sound which he has heard could be intelligible so far. Because he cannot discern or conceive of any means whereby this end has been brought about, he denies that it has been brought about. It would be a miracle. Miracles do not happen. Therefore this has not happened. Yet such an occurrence would be no unfair sample of every miracle in which intelligent Christians believe. It is simply a phenomenon so far beyond the scope of man's present experience as to bewilder him when he attempts to account for it.

Now the believer in prayer simply believes in a Supreme Reason behind and in the universe, endowed with such powers as the attributes of human reason faintly reflect. As he puts it briefly, he believes in God. He cannot think of God as so shut out of the world as to be ignorant of, or impotent with reference to, its ongoing. In Law he sees a portion of the method of God's working. He believes that God works everywhere in like orderly manner. But he also believes that God has means at his disposal the law of whose adaptation to ends men have not yet fully discerned, and that through them a thousand things may easily be brought about which seem impossible or at least inexplicable to-day. Under these circumstances it seems

to him the most natural thing in the world that he should communicate with God as a source of power whom he believes to be infinitely wise and righteous. If he be a true believer, he will never frame his prayer into an attempt to dictate to God. He will always rather humbly recognize a higher wisdom and a larger knowledge than his own. But with this proviso he will unhesitatingly ask for what he desires.

It will seem perfectly natural to him that the possession of many things should be conditioned upon his request for them, precisely as any parent or guardian may well condition gifts of a certain sort upon request. It will seem just as natural that for the sake of his training some petitions should be answered literally and to his own temporary confusion. He will remember that

“God answers sharp and sudden on some prayers,
And thrusts the thing we have prayed for in our face,
A gauntlet with a gift in’t.”

It will not surprise him that some petitions are refused, inasmuch as, if he has prayed aright, he has always prayed that a wisdom greater than his own might determine the matter. But in any case he will be first to acknowledge that *petition*, in itself considered, is but one element in prayer, and that often the minor element. Prayer is primarily a communion with God in which petition finds a place. It is a statement of our case to God for aid and comfort according as He shall direct. When a man looks upon prayer in this light—and those who pray most do look upon it in this light—the absurdity of opposing nations offering conflicting prayers vanishes at once. Human requests are bound to conflict. What better lot could befall them than their submission to an infinitely wise and righteous arbitrament? And it is such arbitrament that true prayer invariably recognizes.

No more ridiculous proposition was ever made than the

suggestion of a "prayer-test" which went upon the supposition that prayer is a sort of nickel-in-the-slot arrangement for the gratification of human whims. Prayer is rather a means to the mastery of circumstance. No man has a right to issue his ultimatum to God, that, unless he have one hundred thousand dollars, let us say, by a given date, he will refuse to believe and worship. Such methods of taking the kingdom of heaven by storm are foredoomed to failure. But every man has a right not merely to make humble request for a sufficiency of food and raiment—gifts that very probably are not conditioned upon his request—but for the higher gift of such constancy, that, whether the larger interests of the world entail his poverty or wealth, he may still play the man and not dishonor the image of God in him. Every man has reasonable ground for believing that God can and will influence the circumstances of his life in this world in such fashion that they must minister to his ultimate good if he consent to conform his will to God's. The baldest materialist must admit that in the long run it makes a difference with men whether they pray or not. And he will have difficulty in explaining the phenomenon on the theory that prayer is nothing but a rather transparent device of the "more or less superstitious" for tickling their own imaginations.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE ABIDING REALITIES OF RELIGION.¹

BY PRESIDENT JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D.

WE live in a swiftly changing world. New visions daily come before the eyes, new elements enter into life, new thoughts and convictions occupy the mind. Ours is a world where in every sphere much that is old passes away. As Lowell sang in his great Harvard Commemoration Ode,

"What ever 'scaped Oblivion's subtle wrong,
Save a few clarion names, or golden threads of song?
Before my musing eye
The mighty ones of old sweep by,
Disvoicéd now and insubstantial things,
As noisy once as we; poor ghosts of kings,
Shadows of empire wholly gone to dust,
And many races, nameless long ago,
To darkness driven by that imperious gust
Of ever-rushing Time that here doth blow.
O visionary world, condition strange,
Where naught abiding is but only Change,
Where the deep-bolted stars themselves still shift and range!"

The stars do "shift and range," for the universe is expressed in terms of motion. Life itself means mutation and growth, and thus the thoughts of men are widened. A recent notable article by a teacher in our Seminary calls attention to the lessening area of human confidence now covered by the historic systems of belief.

¹ Baccalaureate sermon before the Oberlin Theological Seminary, May 7, 1899, from the text, "And now abideth faith, hope, love: these three; but the greatest of these is love."

In homely phrase all of us may rightly say, 'It is better to know fewer things than to know so many things that are not true,' or only partially true. There is nothing unique about our experience. The Apostle Paul, whose life and convictions had met a sudden and miraculous transformation in his early manhood, and who even found himself called by a new name, realized to the full the transitory, and even visionary, character of much of human existence, the incompleteness of his childish thought of God and man, and even the fragmentariness of his own knowledge as an inspired preacher of Christianity. But he was also conscious of certain abiding realities in religion, which no progress could possibly render antiquated. There are persistent elements, eternal laws, continuing, though still living, forces in the world of the spirit; and the greatest of these he describes in a prose poem to which we can find no parallel in ancient or modern literature.

It is of these abiding things that I wish to speak. But I am not to give an exposition of Faith, Hope, and Love as qualities of character divorced from what is central to all Christian preaching, namely, Jesus Christ. I hardly need say that we look on him as the author and perfecter of faith, as well as the chief object of it. We look on him as the inspirer of hope and the everlasting fountain of love. The supreme virtues of the Christian religion, like that religion itself, are not separable from personality, and are not independent of the Son of God. Every graduate from this Seminary will undoubtedly say, "Remove Christ from my life and thought, take him out of my public utterance, and I should have no mission as a Christian minister, either in America or anywhere else." I might speak of Christ as the chief abiding reality of the Christian religion; for, although men have lived and died in holy faith and love without any knowledge of the historic Saviour, still in these modern days he is exalted more and more as the one luminary,

the one attractive power, the one divine standard, and the predestined Universal King of human souls. He is the quickener of life even among many who know him imperfectly, and among those who have never received or heard the evangelic tradition.

The faith of which I am to speak is that which he kindles by his holiness, goodness, and wisdom; the hope is that which is born of his Cross and Resurrection; the love is that which his mighty and redeeming affection has most abundantly called forth. It is these abiding elements in Christianity which require our attention. But these abiding elements are not stationary, devitalized, and dead, like pyramids set up as landmarks of a remote antiquity. They are abiding like the constant river, which ever moves onward to the sea, or the vigorous oak, which rises upward toward the skies. But these lasting things in religion do suggest at once that many other things are evanescent, secondary, unessential; things which the church has greatly valued, and may still grasp with instinctive and unintelligent tenacity, or hold with a natural affection, as for things familiar and of ancient origin. But one of the saddest facts in the history of the individual church, as of the Holy Catholic Church throughout the earth, has been its exaltation of the commandments of men above the Spirit of God, its magnifying of unessentials, and building of them into barriers of separation between the followers of the one Lord. We, however, live in a time when the Pauline estimate is gaining rapidly, and multitudes perceive that if their lives contribute anything that is permanent to Christendom and humanity, it must be along the bright and ever-brightening ways of faith and hope and love.

"And now abideth faith." Paul has written of faith as vigorously, if not with such seraphic eloquence, as of love. He penned the most intellectual and profound of his Epistles to indicate the essential excellence, the justi-

fyng and soul-saving power of faith. We who have come to receive the truth, which filled and fired his soul, have learned that by faith the just live. It is a rational and necessary ingredient of the truest manhood. We regard it as the channel through which God's righteousness pours into the soul; as our gate of access into the kingdom of grace, standing like the Propylæa at Athens before the Parthenon, and giving entrance to the temple not only of love, but also of wisdom. Paul went so far as to say that any moral activity into which this quality did not enter was vitiated. In one of his letters he describes faith as the light by which the soul walks, "a light that never was, on sea or land," but which glows in the mind of man. To his thinking this virtue was so needful and important that the whole doctrine which he proclaimed he called by this name. He speaks of "preaching the faith" which he once persecuted, meaning by it both the Christian doctrine and the Christian church. Our warfare he calls "the fight of faith"; so that, in his thirteen letters, from the First Epistle to the Thessalonians to that addressed to Philemon, Paul sounds forth a thousand notes from this golden string. In the Epistle to the Galatians, a sort of a vehement sketch of the same doctrine set forth in his letter to the Romans, he shows how through faith in Christ the soul is justified; and thus, by a stroke of his pen, he swept away as antiquated the observance of the ritual of sacrifice which for a thousand years had crimsoned the brows of Jerusalem. And after fifteen centuries Martin Luther absorbs the same truth from that little letter to the Asiatic Gauls, and with it he changes the intellectual and spiritual face of Europe. He sits down in a fury of mental excitement, and writes a Commentary on Galatians, one of the chief works of Christian history. More than a hundred years later an English preacher reads Luther's Commentary on Galatians, and it fashions his mind, and he writes

the Pilgrim's Progress, which more than any other book shapes the religious thought of the world-embracing Saxon race. After another hundred years John Wesley reads Luther's book on Galatians, and it determines his conception of the gospel, and he founds one of the most influential and wide-spread Protestant churches of the modern world. So that in the light of the Pauline literature and of Christian history, faith begins to loom before us as a word of transcendent power, as a figure of spiritual light and majesty, like the statue of Faith which now overlooks the harbor of Plymouth on the New England shore.

"And now abideth faith." It has an enduring quality. It is no modern virtue. It was present at the birth-hour of the Jewish nationality. It is something which illumines with more or less of brightness the paths of all history, from the call of Abraham to the present moment. I know that some men tell us that civilization has outgrown the Old Testament, and that the nineteenth century cannot sit down at the door of Abraham's tent for instruction in righteousness, any more than Herschel and Laplace, with all the accumulated learning of modern astronomy, could sit at the feet of the Assyrian star-gazers. But have the needs of the human soul ever changed? Altered conditions of external life and better ones we certainly have, but by reason of far deeper knowledge of nature. Are the spiritual wants of mankind different to-day on account of the observatory at Lake Geneva, and the laboratories at Göttingen, and psychological experiments at Jena? Do electricity and liquid air and Röntgen rays make the sorrows and aspirations of our lives to differ from those of remotest time? When it comes to our profounder life, our abiding needs, are we essentially changed from the men of antiquity? If you answer "yes," I will confute you out of the pages of Homer, out of the ancient hymns of India, out of the drama of Job, out of the inscriptions on Greek and

Roman sepulchers. Your holiest aspirations may be expressed in the words of Sophocles: "O for a spotless purity of action and of speech, according to those subtle laws of right which have the heavens for their birthplace, and God alone for their author, which the decays of mortal nature cannot vary, nor time cover with oblivion; for the divinity is mighty within them, and waxes not old!"

It is true that we of to-day have different ideas of God and of duty from those of the pre-Christian era; but men always and everywhere need God, a touch of divine mercy and awful friendship. They need God brought near to them in Jesus the Christ, God the lover of the soul and the forgiver of sin. Without a living faith the spirit of man cannot be brought into the communion with the spirit of God. Faith is trust. Faith is reliance upon a person. Faith is the acceptance of another's love. Faith binds man to the invisible omnipotence and the eternal goodness. Christian faith links the heart of man to the heart and cross of Jesus Christ. Faith is the badge of the loftiest minds; it is grounded in reason, it leads to activity, and is in harmony with the sublimest things of life.

We live in a world as replete with mystery and undiscovered marvels as was the world of Job. Every few months some newly-found property of light or air brings to us a vivid feeling of the wonder of that God who pervades, surrounds, upholds, vitalizes, all things. And so men in the realm of Christian truth are enlarging their conceptions of faith as they discover new elements of power and grace in Jesus Christ. While faith abides, the one living, divine bond between earth and heaven, it is still like a child sent to school, ever learning new lessons, widening its mental horizon, and rediscovering how to give the proper place and proportion to the various elements of ever-expanding knowledge. What we call Confessions of Faith—that is, elaborated statements of intellectual be-

lief — cannot, from their very nature, be continuously adapted to anything so vital and expanding as the intellectual and moral life of the race. New meanings creep inevitably into the old creeds, and this must occur. Since men are getting from science a larger acquaintance with God, this must be a result of our living face to face with Jesus Christ, and beholding him in the light of the new knowledge which he has called forth in the last sixty years. He is found always adequate and always unsurpassable; and one supreme argument for his divinity is that, unlike theological formulas, he never grows old. He is fresh with the dew of an eternal youth, and on his brow are jewels of everlasting verity, flashing immortal splendors.

And I am confident that those of you who are going out to preach the gospel will not neglect to set forth the reasons for believing that the world of true, rational faith is wider to-day than ever before. You will repeat from a personal conviction what you have learned from your teachers here: that this is preëminently an age of faith rather than of doubt. We call ours a century of science; and so it is. But science is founded upon faith in the uniformity of law, and hence in the unity and continuance of the divine personality. More and more science confronts God. We call ours the century of the working-man; and so it is. But the working-man, very often losing hold of the Christian creed and the Christian church, appears to be turning his eyes as never before to the Carpenter of Palestine and His spirit, as the only solution of present problems. We call this the century of commerce and world-conquering enterprise; and so it is. But wherever the Red Cross flag of the British trader covers a new community of the Anglo-Saxon race, there the Bible opens its pages, and the church-bell, whether amid the tropic gardens of Singapore or the snowy wildernesses of Hudson's Bay, summons men to the house of prayer.

Faith stands, with us, as the representative of what is fundamental and distinctive in the Christian world. It stands for God, holy, spiritual, loving; for Christ as man's teacher and Saviour; for the Bible as man's sufficient and authoritative guide; for the Lord's day as the friend of man's higher nature; for the Christian home and Bible school as man's instructors and helpers; and for Christian missions as pioneers of a better future for those who are half-illuminated or in the grossest darkness. Preëminently faith stands for confidence in the loving heart and purposes of God, the Governor of all things: for confidence in spiritual rather than in mechanical forces, as the security of nations; and it was almost yesterday when the penitent souls of believers the world over gave deep response to the prayerful *Recessional Hymn* of a masterful singer, who, beholding multitudes drunk with sight of earthly power, exclaimed, as "the tumult and the shouting" died away, and "the captains and the kings" departed from the world's capital,—

"For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard—
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding calls not Thee to guard—
For frantic boast and foolish word,
Thy mercy on thy people, Lord!"

I was inspired by those who had the largest influence over my theological training and my Christian life, with the purpose to preach the Word of God so as to build up, if possible, an intelligent faith. Such is the inspiration which these young preachers have derived from this *Seminary*. Let us never be satisfied with attacking error, in the church or out of it. You will deem many Christians mistaken in their theological and ecclesiastical views and positions, and you will also believe that many things in Christendom tend to hide rather than to reveal God. And, on the other hand, you will account the materialist, and the agnostic, and those rash theorizers who think almost

anything more credible than the Christ of the Gospels, foes of man's more precious interests and destroyers of his best hopes.

"Nor know I which to hold worst enemy,
Him who on Speculation's windy waste
Would turn me loose, stript of the raiment warm
By Faith contrived against our nakedness,
Or him who, cruel-kind, would fain obscure
With painted saints and paraphrase of God,
The soul's east-window of divine surprise."

But we should aim, in dealing both with the philosophic materialist, the ecclesiastic, and the extreme dogmatist, to discover first what is good and true in their thought, as a point of view for the better conception and the completer truth which we feel that we ourselves have received.

Faith abides and grows in your hearts and mine; and side by side with it is another of the God-inspired graces: white-handed Hope, "a hovering angel girt with golden wings." I look upon Hope as the second great distinctive word of Christianity. It is related to Faith, and indeed is the atmosphere where Faith has its life. While Faith rests down in confidence on the declarations of a faithful God, Hope looks forward blissfully to the realization of those promises, which are the light and life of the Christian Scriptures. While Faith fixes her anchor in the Bible and especially in the evangelical disclosures culminating in Christ, Hope fixes her anchor in heaven, the consummation of this world's great drama. Faith is the assent of the mind to God's truth, and the consent of the heart and will to God's law, but hope is the happy cherishing of the rich and surely-expected blessings of God's love. If we take any broad survey of the Christian religion, we find, from the beginning to the end of its unfolding history, from the foundation-stone to the cap-stone of its doctrine, and from the center to the circumference of its activities, the bright and energizing presence of the Angel

of Hope. And the preacher of our day will do well to emphasize the hopeful aspects both of the Scriptures and of human life. That is what he is for. He is to endeavor to show that, while the things that can be shaken and moved are many, the things that cannot be shaken are our chief possessions.

It would be easy to paint a picture of the world's present condition, even with the effulgent light of the gospel appearing here and there, so dark and threatening as to exercise a vastly depressing influence over your minds. I might tell you that eight hundred millions of the world's inhabitants are thoroughly pagan and sunk in vice and superstition; that nearly two hundred millions are fanatic adherents of Mohammed, and less accessible to the gospel than the pagans themselves; and that, after eighteen centuries, only four hundred millions are nominally Christians, and that a large part of Christendom is fossilized and corrupt, and that in many a civilized country the Christian religion has lost much of its hold on the majority of men and women. I might tell you that one hundred and eighty millions and more in Protestant lands are far from being thoroughly Christianized, and that so much of the commercial spirit prevails, so little of self-denial appears, such faint gleams of holiness are visible, that even those that are spiritually-minded need all the props and inspirations of continual preaching and urging, and all the offices of outward religion, to maintain their poor residue of Christian virtue. I might speak of the evils of mammonism and congested wealth, the indifference to the Christian Sabbath,—such lapses as the Governor of New Hampshire has recently announced, the neglect of the church, and a score of other things by which the stoutest hearts are sometimes appalled. And yet, you all feel that, in drawing this picture, I am making a false representation, that I have not spoken in the spirit of the New Testament, that

such portrayals as these are not keyed to the ringing tones of Christian hope, and that this is not the atmosphere in which the Christian breathes; for, in all these representations, I have fastened your minds on man's weakness and sin and degradation, and not on God's power and purpose, his love and providential wisdom, who knoweth all things from the beginning, who ordereth all things well, who has made no mistakes in the outgoings of history, who is not to be thwarted in the execution of his loving decrees, who sits patient and serene above the storms of time, able to make the wrath of man to praise him, capable of educating good out of evil, "thence on and on in infinite progression." The spirit of the Old and New Testaments ever gives us hope in God. What was Israel's history but the growth and fulfillment of a divine hope? And Christian history ever points to that "one, far-off, divine event toward which the whole creation moves." Hope is kindled by the voice of Him who, standing with a few humble followers on a Galilean mountain-top, encompassed by the kingdoms of evil, seeing only a few leagues of light amid universal darkness, said to these followers with the serenity of assured triumph, "All power is given unto me in heaven and earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations." And from that faint dawn, overhung with clouds, the light has streamed wider and broader and further, until the face of the earth looks to-day like one of those sublime pictures which you sometimes find in the galleries of Holland, with beautiful floods and touches of light here and there, making the darkness luminous, and cheering the soul with bright expectations of the noontide millennium. Wherever the gospel is preached we behold the Angel of Hope advancing, like Guido's "Aurora," surrounded by forms of power and splendor, and chasing the shadows from the face of the world.

"In the darkest night of the year,
Beaten and tossed about
By the bitter winds that blow
From the desolate shores of doubt;
When the anchors that faith has cast
Are tested by the gale,
I am quietly holding fast
To the things that cannot fail.

"And dark though the night may be,
And long though the angels hide,
I know that Truth and Right
Have the universe on their side.
That the rulers must obey,
And the givers must increase,
That duty lights the way
For the beautiful feet of peace."

Christian hope inspired of God leads to hopefulness in our work with men, and especially with the young. The Christian teacher avails himself of the years of greatest promise, to plant in youthful minds the seeds of truth and love. But the Christian gospel is adequate to the hardest things. It has a message to the ruined and the lost which naturalism cannot give, and often does not receive. "Nature," wrote George Eliot, in the pathetic close of one of her greatest stories, "repairs her ravages, but not all." True. But the redeeming God, graciously transcending Nature, is able to take the broken fragments of the human temple, relay the foundations, reset the columns, and to fill the finished shrine with the sweet praises of him who is the Lamb of God, slain for sinners and the joy of every penitent believer. The one chief aim of evangelic effort is to take men who have despaired of themselves, and to fill them with hope in Christ. This is ever the gospel method, and by the confession of unbelievers, this is what the gospel has done. And who does not need a daily renewing acquaintance with the God of Hope, who speaks through the life of Jesus? A man may be enriched with a large measure of native hopefulness; and yet, as

the years go by, may see it dwindle to nothing. He may meet with reverses, such varied experiences of sorrow that, having no Christian hope, his native hopefulness has sunk into confirmed despondency bordering on despair. Christian hope, like faith, is an angel begotten in the soul by the Spirit of God. It is cradled in the arms of Jesus. It is nurtured by the bread of heaven contained in God's word; it flourishes and flowers with 'seraphic loveliness in the holy chambers of prayer; it is made mighty amid earthly weaknesses, it is not cast down by worldly disasters, but rises even from the wreck of the household and the darkness of the tomb, a strong-winged seraph with glad eyes looking toward the gates of pearl.

If I may speak a word out of my own experience in the ministry, I will say that nothing has given me a deeper gratitude—except, perhaps, the comfort which sorrowing souls have received in the darkest moments of their lives—than the expressions which have come to me from fathers and mothers troubled about their children, and from Christian workers depressed by their ill success, to the effect that the word of the gospel had re-heartened and cheered them for endurance or for service. It has always seemed to me that in the Christian ministry the only proper spirit is one of joyful hopefulness; that any other temper is dishonoring to the promises of God, and to the energies which are lodged in the Christian gospel. Ian Maclaren, in his Lyman Beecher Lectures, maintains that the chief need in the sermons of our times is spiritual intensity. The man who has it, together with proper training and intellectual resources, is the man whom the people are compelled to hear. It is said there are three kinds of sermons: those that we can hear; those we cannot hear; and those we cannot help hearing. The preacher who is possessed of spiritual intensity preaches this third kind of sermon. And he gains this mind-compelling power by prayerful com-

munion with the God of Hope, with the word which inspires hope, with the Redeemer who is the author both of faith and hope, and who ever kindles the holy passion of love. The man of spiritual intensity goes to his pulpit with a message which he must utter; and while that message may cut like a sword into sin, it also reveals the redeeming God, who is able to make all things work together for good, who enters human life to destroy the works of evil, and who is not to be defeated. Into whatever community the preacher goes, he goes not only as a critic, but also as a creator; he goes not only to pull down but to build up. And he who contributes to the hope-inspiring forces of the world is working in the path which Jesus followed, and his work abides. And what but Hope, begotten by the God of all grace, and the Saviour of all power, girds us with strength as we toil for "the good time coming"?

" For lo ! the days are hastening on
By prophet bards foretold,
When with the ever-circling years,
Comes round the age of gold;
When peace shall over all the earth,
Its ancient splendors fling,
And the whole world give back the song
Which now the angels sing."

But loftier and diviner than Faith and Hope is that heavenly Love which expresses in human life the very nature of God himself. While Faith and Hope are among the noblest human virtues, Love must be deemed the architect of the universe, the creator and redeemer of man, the power which, as Dante sings in the climax of the *Paradiso*, "moves the sun and the other stars." God himself is Love, a love whose dimensions overpass the limits of our thought and imagination, a love which stretches in a radiant procession of creative and redemptive activities from everlasting to everlasting. If there is one joy in the pul-

pit keener and sweeter than every other, it is the gladness of striving to set before men the New Testament disclosure of the Divine Nature, the sympathy and helpfulness of God, his tender mercies which are over all his works, his glorious and eternal disclosure of himself in Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed forever. George Herbert once sang his wish that he were an excellent divine, having the Bible at his fingers' ends, and skilled in the art of making God's enemies his friends. And who wonders at the joy which so many of the chosen preachers of the world have had in their high calling! What Beecher said at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York twenty-six years ago, is true to-day: "Men say that the pulpit has run its career, and that there is but little time before it will come to an end. Not so long as men continue to be weak and sinful and tearful and expectant, without any help near; not so long as the world lieth in wickedness; not so long as there is an asylum over and above that one which we see with our physical senses; not until men are transformed and the earth empty; not until then will the work of the Christian ministry cease." "It is the sweetest in substance, the most enduring in its joys, the most content in its poverty and limits, if your lot is cast in places of scarcity, more full of crowned hopes, more full of whispering messages from those gone before, nearer to the threshold, nearer to the throne, nearer to the heart of him who was pierced, but who lives forever, and says, 'Because I live, ye shall live also.' " To be the interpreter and minister of Divine Love to this sorrowing and imperfect world is a mission that deserves this eloquent eulogium.

All who have been trained in Oberlin—whether in the College, Seminary, or community—have been brought face to face with the God of Love; not now and then, but daily, in home and class-room and chapel and church. They have been made to feel that a divine affection is back of

all human life and in the heart of it; they should be inspired to praise and set forth that love which is so broad that it covers India and China and the savage tribes of Pacific Islands, as well as the homes of our own land; that love which is so tender and forgiving that no vilest transgressor that trusts it need ever be afraid; which is so high that the angelic imagination of prophet and poet cannot reach its radiant summits, which is so deep that all whose lives are cast in the vales of humiliation and distress will discover that Love has descended below them all, that its strong arms might be beneath them all, mighty to lift them, were they willing, into inheritances which make earth seem poor.

Such being the nature of God, men are bound to be like him, for they are by creation his children, and all their duties are summed up in that love which is the fulfilling of the law. Without love, even faith loses its life-giving power, and zeal becomes nothing. Love is the divine something in human hearts that makes men the sons of God; it is begotten in us in the new birth by the loving Spirit.

This Godlike love is a vigorous reality in the world today. But it is not the offspring of our increased learning. India and Japan and China may capture our arts and sciences and still not be renewed in the spirit of Jesus Christ. Men hate each other as violently in Paris and New York as in realms of paganism and savagery. Unloving hearts beat as often beneath silk and jewelry as in the breasts of skin-girdled barbarians. No; it is God who inspires love by revealing it in himself, through the ministry of his Son, his Spirit, his Word, and through his kingdom of love that has already encamped among men. The presence of this love is indicated by the humaner temper that has been infused into the life of the world, reaching even the animal kingdom, by the enlarging spirit of brother-

hood, which is overcoming ancient animosities. It is shown whenever you, from the heart, forgive those who have wronged you. It is shown in the self-denial which humble souls in every congregation are faithfully practicing, that they may cast their offerings into the treasury of Jesus.

This love is not mere natural affection which the unregenerate may possess, not human impulses only, but the heavenly something which Paul describes in his wondrous panegyric, the love that leads to long-suffering kindness, which destroys envy, and boasting, and selfishness, and the spirit of resentment; the love that rejoiceth not in any form of iniquity, which is full of faith and hope, of modesty and strong endurance. If young women desire to be furnished with the best manual of lady-like conduct ever penned, let them meditate day and night on Paul's eulogy of love. If young men desire the best manual of true gentlemanly living ever written, let them learn this chapter by heart, and they shall have what Sir Philip Sydney called "high-erected thoughts seated in a soul of courtesy"; they shall know the beauty of self-forgetfulness, the glory of Christian chivalry, the splendor of Christian enthusiasm, and the all-conquering power of goodness.

It is love which is yet to destroy bigotry and intolerance. It is love which shall yet glorify the church with such moral beauty that nations sitting in darkness shall be drawn toward Him who is altogether lovely. It is this spirit which is binding Christians of various names into closer unity, and shall yet turn the jangle of Christendom into the varied harmonies of heaven.

I pray that these young men, going forth to the noblest of all services, may abound in Faith and Hope and Love, the elements of a Christian enthusiasm that shall kindle divine love in other hearts. All whom I address are summoned to a similar service. Let your faith be strong. It

has God himself behind it, and the empire of faith is enlarging among men. Let your hope be radiant; and sorrow, when it comes like a sudden deluge, shall not overwhelm you. Let your love be true and Christly, and you shall be kings and princes of God, gathering to yourselves a wealth of human love which shall cheapen earthly treasures and make you rich with the riches of immortality. I commend you all to the Divine Love, which is mercy to the sinner, redemption to the believer; a love inscribed upon our hearts in His precious blood who is our King and Saviour; a love which fastens humanity's deepest faith in the Divine affection to the Cross of Calvary; a love which is full of joyful expectation, and points to the kingdom of love on high, wherein, the purposes of redemption having all been achieved and the whole world subdued to the heart of God, Love shall make the music and gladness of heaven forever.

ARTICLE IX.

THE HOUR OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY HENRY WILLIAM RANKIN.

"We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another word for Opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race; and a literal, slavish following of precedents, as by a justice of the peace, is not for those who at this hour lead the destinies of this people."—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.¹

THE longest regular steamer route that has to be traveled wholly without sight of land is that between San Francisco and Japan, a distance of about five thousand miles. This is the widest separation of continents in the world, and represents the extreme limits of the Old World and the New. Here through all the centuries of human history the Orient and Occident have faced each other; but each, until recently, has for the most part held aloof. It is probable that the early races of America came hither by some way from Eastern Asia. Between the indigenous races of Northeastern Asia and Northwestern America there seems to be a blending and close approximation of cranial, physiognomical, and other characteristics; and within two years there have been reported in Mexico rock-graven inscriptions in Chinese that are centuries old.

But whatever may be the fact regarding the original settlement of the western hemisphere, and the sporadic and accidental immigrations which have followed that, it is obvious that for most of the time covered by human tradition this hemisphere has been practically isolated from the

¹ On American Civilization, *Miscellanies*, p. 297.

other. The discovery of gold in California in 1848, and occupation of that coast by the United States, marked a new era for the Pacific Ocean. Trade and intercourse between America and Asia immediately assumed a new and very great importance. Then began the extraordinary influx of Chinese to our shores, to meet the demands of labor and the opportunity of fortune. And now this most ancient, most conservative race, which has retained for at least three thousand years its wholly unique and truly marvelous national coherence, despite the corruptions and blindness of a pagan civilization, always by us regarded as effete, has exhibited in the face of the nineteenth century a degree of physical, intellectual, commercial, and even moral, vitality, which excites the continual amazement of those who are best acquainted with that people, and which still remains to be accounted for.

Not only did the Chinese pour into California until, in the interest of peace, it became necessary to place a stringent check upon their immigration, but from Alaska to Patagonia the entire Pacific coast of the western world within fifty years has received them in great numbers. And not only this, but the principal islands of the Pacific, from Australia to Hawaii, have swarmed with the Chinese. They have proved themselves to be among the most successful, as they are the most singular of colonists; combining in a way that is not only amusing but impressive an audacious strength of purpose and nonchalance of manner. Wherever they go they carry the most persistent individuality. They make no effort to amalgamate with the people among whom they live, and they seldom wish to conform to local ways which are foreign to their own, further than may exempt them from arrest, or over-attention from the police. The proportion of crime among them is small. They stick to their own business, and ask few favors. Whatever contempt they incur they answer with an equal

contempt for our customs and ideals, except as these may seem to be immediately conducive to their private ends; and they are most tenacious of their own. They both survive and flourish on persecution, and an exceedingly jealous competition with their labor wherever they are numerous. They have spread to all of our principal Eastern cities, forming little communities, plying their trades with indefatigable zeal, and largely accomplishing their strictly commercial ends; returning at will to their own land. We crack our jokes on them; but could we understand their remarks in the back parts of their shops and laundries, we would probably find that the jokes we make are small affairs to the jokes they make on us. They understand average human nature quite as well as we do, and are not forward to trust the disinterested sincerity of our advances. They have a plenty of experience to the contrary in their dealings with us. Yet when once convinced that our interest in them is of a genuinely right sort, they are quite as accessible and responsive to kindness as anybody else; while none can outdo in generosity the truly Christian Chinamen, of whom there now are many.

They are charged by their enemies with gross iniquities. But the most effective answer to this charge lies ready to hand in their very general, acknowledged, and quite unsurpassed industry in honest occupations. Such industry is wholly incompatible with a large prevalence of vice among them.

For the most part the Chinese in this country are not students nor men of independent means, who come here, like many Japanese, in pursuit of education. So it is not fair to compare them with this class. They are mostly small tradesmen and small farmers, by no means paupers or vagrants, and may be favorably compared with the immigration of their own class and pursuit from any part of Europe. But the few Chinese students who have attended

our schools and colleges are not only the equals of the Japanese, but above the average of home-born boys both in manners and in scholarship. This has often been observed.

There is in this race of men, in their institutions, their maxims, their education, their aims and personality, some remarkable staying-power, a quality and capacity of self-preservation, some conserving element, some factor of permanence, that has no equal and no precedent among all the pagan races that the world has known. Rome is supposed to have been founded about 753 B.C.; but China was then already old, and here she is to-day. Confucius lived but a century later than that date, and regarded his country as already decadent. He made it the business of his life to rescue the old and better traditions of the land, and to set these again before the people, as furnishing the ideals and standards by which they ought to live. He urged a return to the former paths, and the perpetual consideration of those more ancient examples in which alone, he thought, might be found illustrations of eminent virtue, and adequate rules for individual, domestic, civic, and national life. For the most part his teachings are sound and good, so far as they go; and the greater Chinese classics are singularly free from impurities, and make clean and wholesome reading, of a high intellectual order. Any one may be easily convinced of this by reading the available translations from Confucius, Mencius, and Laotse.

The pagan Roman Empire has long since passed away; but whatever faults and degradation may be actually found in the life of China to-day, it is more than probable that this civilization is far healthier, purer, and better to this hour, than was that of Rome at the beginning of the Gothic invasions.

Now at last a new page of history opens with the virtual invasion of China, not by barbarous hordes, but by the governments of Europe; and the probable participation, in

a very influential degree, of the United States, this newest nation, in shaping the tremendous change now at hand in that oldest of lands, yet far from obsolete, which has thus far preserved its autonomy. It may well be regarded as wholly to the interest of China, as well as of this country, that the United States should have such a part in determining those new destinies.

It should not be concealed that all such extension of our influence is certain to be accompanied by great evils in many directions in both lands; by that dangerous inflation of national pride, and increase of domestic wealth and luxury, whose invariable tendency has been to promote demoralization at home; by the vast increase of political jobbery, and the lust of national aggrandizement; by a growth of armament that always tends to an excess, with the accompanying enlargement of taxation, discontent of the poor, a widening of the breach between employers and employed; by the exaltation of military above civic virtue, the intensification of military ambition, the jealousy of rivals for popular acclaim, and the unsettling disturbance of vast numbers of young men who love the excitement of war, and can hardly endure the inactivity of the camps; the fast dissemination through a pagan land of what that land would call our Christian vices, and the consequent disgust with our pretense to be a superior and Christian people. Such are the dangers that the United States already has incurred. Whoever would realize to himself more fully what they are would do well to study the influence and effects of her eastern conquests upon ancient Rome, after the fall of Tarentum, and of her western conquests upon modern Spain since the capitulation of Granada. Nor can the analogy of any history justify us in expecting any exemption from equally disastrous consequences in the end, saving as that expectation is based upon one differential factor. The United States together

with Great Britain still possesses, in a degree hardly paralleled elsewhere, the ideals and faith of the New Testament. This inestimable factor is all too little reckoned in our political thought, and its very existence is menaced by the strongest gravitation of human nature. But great as are these dangers that beset us, we have no right to name them without equal attention to the international obligations in which we are quite as certainly involved. Some of these obligations need no better statement than was recently made as the sober and formal utterance of the Republican Convention of New York in the following words: "We realize that when the necessities of war compelled our nation to destroy Spanish authority in the Antilles and in the Philippines, we assumed solemn duties and obligations alike to the people of the islands we conquered, and to the civilized world. We cannot turn these islands back to Spain. We cannot leave them unarmed for defense, and untried in statecraft to the horrors of domestic strife, or to partition among European powers. We have assumed the responsibilities of victory, and wherever our flag has gone, there the liberty, the humanity, and the civilization which that flag embodies and represents must remain and abide forever."

It was in 1862 at Washington, prior to the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation, and probably in the presence of Lincoln and some of his cabinet, that the deeply significant words were uttered by Ralph Waldo Emerson which stand at the head of this paper. And again he said in that noble address on "The Fortune of the Republic," one of his very last, given at Boston in 1878: "Our helm is given up to a better guidance than our own; the course of events is quite too strong for any helmsman, and our little wherry is taken in tow by the ship of the great Admiral which knows the way, and has the force to draw men and states and planets to their good. Such and so potent is this high

method by which the Divine Providence sends the chiefest benefits under the mask of calamities, that I do not think we shall by any perverse ingenuity prevent the blessing."¹ This is a time to read that entire volume of political addresses, in which Emerson was at his best.

On his tour of the world, General Grant received exceptional opportunities of intimate contact with the governments of Kioto and Peking, by acting at their joint request as arbitrator in a dispute over certain islands to which both China and Japan had some claim. He gave satisfaction to those governments, and was treated by them both with singular favor; such as they had never shown to any foreigner before. He had an unusual opportunity for observing the ways and resources of both countries. He regarded Li Hung Chang, whatever his delinquencies, as the peer of any living statesman; ranking his intellectual and political ability with that of Bismarck and of Gladstone. He expressed the conviction that the three chief countries of the future were Russia, the United States, and China; as he also remarked that the Latin nations were surely doomed. He would doubtless have admitted that an Anglo-American combination of influence, were an intimate alliance brought about, would not only greatly increase the separate strength of each nation of these two, but prove an irresistible and paramount factor in the new course of events. England isolated must fall behind in the race; but England joined with America, in strong and vital union, must enormously enhance her own power, and double the advantage of both nations.

At this time there is much reason to believe, with Professor W. Douglas Mackenzie of Chicago, that an Anglo-American alliance against Russia is inevitable; and that, as regards the retention of the Philippines by the United States, "it is not a question of whether we are willing, but

¹ *Miscellanies*, p. 424.

whether we can resist what is evidently the trend of the human race at this juncture."¹ Nor is this merely the trend of a selfish ambition, but the trend of a solemn obligation. Having, as the issue of a war that needs no apology, and which we would only have been recreant to avoid, brought the control of those islands into our hands, wresting them from hands of blood and violence and intolerable injustice, the United States has no right to shirk the obvious duty of doing for the people of the Philippines whatever thing may be the very best for them; and at whatever cost of trouble to ourselves. Righteousness first, and peace afterward; unless by the abandonment of this ideal we propose to place ourselves in the same category with that lamentable government which has sown the wind, and now has reaped the whirlwind. This obligation will not be lessened by the fact that grave dangers and evils will come with it. That is the inevitable order of this present evil age; an order that is only aggravated by every failure to fulfill unpleasant duty. Grave dangers and evils accompanied the Incarnation, and everything that has ensued from that. That golden age foretold by all the noblest bards and prophets of the past, lies straight before us, and may draw near more swiftly than we think; but it never can be hastened by any disregard of a tremendous national obligation.

That any pagan nation in our day should be aroused from the sleep of ages, in which an absolute resistance has been offered to all new influence from without, and should within a brief forty years, as Japan has done, attain to so high a degree of equality with the stronger modern governments, is an unprecedented event that in 1858 no man could have foreseen, and no man would have thought possible. This achievement on the part of Japan has led to comparisons very disparaging to China. Yet it might

¹ See *The Congregationalist*, Oct. 6, 1898, p. 440.

easily be shown that this disparagement is due to an enormous ignorance of China, and a popular misapprehension of the real facts in the case. It is a disparagement by no means shared by those older foreign residents of the East who are best acquainted with both of these two countries. It was death to any foreigner to land in Japan but forty years ago, and death to any native caught in the attempt to leave its shores. No conservatism nor delay of China can surpass the intensity of Japanese antagonism to all occidental demands prior to the advent of Commodore Perry's fleet, and for some time after that. The marvelous change has by no means been effected because the Japanese were so much more open and accessible than their neighbors. It was due to other factors, and largely to a violent exigency in the domestic politics of that land of the Rising Sun; an exigency which made it the obvious interest of one party to oppose its rival with all the thunder which might be stolen from abroad. And so a reversal of traditional policy supervened, and things became possible that could not have occurred had the Japanese not been embroiled in a domestic strife.

There are points of great interest, little considered among us, as to the relative merits of China and Japan; but only this may be said here, that probably no English nor American missionary, merchant, or diplomat, having a large experience of both countries, ever puts China one whit behind Japan, in its native resources and capabilities or possibilities of modern development. It is a greater mass to move than was Japan; but once profoundly moved, nothing can stay its momentum towards the light but an arbitrary hindrance to its advance interposed by some stronger foreign power seeking its own interests alone.

If the great exigency of China has not yet arrived which is to shake that hoary empire from center to circumference, yet it can hardly be doubted that it is on the way,

and likely to appear at any hour. Already exists the nucleus of a party of New China, composed of capable and influential natives, in the principal Eastern cities north and south; men who are awake to the situation, and extremely eager to obtain and disseminate the knowledge which may prepare the country to meet it. The interests of England and America in China are identical with the native interests to a degree that is shared by no other power upon earth. Nothing could be more disastrous to the prospects of political independence, freedom of conscience, and a just and liberal reorganization upon modern lines, than the ascendancy of Russia at Peking. Where Russia goes, there freedom of conscience and freedom of trade will equally meet their bound. Nor can anything more be hoped from a European coalition at Peking than from such a similar hypocrisy at Constantinople. Unless either a native government is backed by an Anglo-American alliance, which will encourage, assist, and require development on lines of freedom and light; or else a purely British protectorate is set up at the capital, backed cordially by this country, a most serious detriment to the fortunes of that land is likely to appear, so largely mortgaged as it is to Russia, to meet the expenses of its war with Japan. But China is crowded with men of splendid physical and mental powers, the peers in this regard of any race; exceedingly quick, when once their eyes are open, to see where their advantage lies; possessed also of a moral power, endurance, persistence, and singleness of purpose, that are unsurpassed among any people. And even should Russian influence preponderate for a while in the North, if the great middle region may be completely opened up by the commerce, schools, and churches established there by America and England, we need not despair lest China shall not rise up of herself, and receive the aid of that Divine Providence which has, not without some gracious purpose, held that

great nation together, preserved it from destruction, and from all irreparable impairment of its native powers, through these millenniums to our own day. Most of the Chinese in this country came from the one southern province of Canton, and represent only the humbler pursuits which have been named. To judge the whole nation by these specimens alone is like judging all of Italy by the multitudes of impoverished people from the province of Naples, who form the larger part of the Italian influx to our shores. What these people of Southern Italy are to those of the North, the Cantonese are to their compatriots of Shantung. But even so judging, if the humble class of Chinese in our midst, and now spread over the whole Pacific coast of North and South America, exhibit the merits which have been here ascribed to them,—qualities that produce an indomitable and successful enterprise,—then how much more may be expected of the people as a whole. There are many minds in China quite as good as that of Li Hung Chang; and bodies as shapely and vital, and manners as refined, as belong to that distinguished man. The admiration which he elicited on his tour of the world was equally spontaneous in his beholders, and commanded by his personality. But the new times will soon produce those who are more worthy than he of our regard. We soon shall see who are the friends of ancient China. Even Germany is as likely now to follow British lead as Russian there; and from Germany, Great Britain, and America, since the first five ports were opened in 1842, have gone to China companies of men and women, comprising many of the most elevated character and culture, to plant those seeds of truth and life which already have begun to yield the first fruits of a beneficent harvest, and not in religious matters only. With arduous toil, and many tears, they have planted; but they shall reap in joy. “He that goeth forth, and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless

come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him " (Ps. cxxvi. 6).

To-day America stands at the Golden Gate, that harbor for the world, whose only rival, if any, is by the Golden Horn, still facing westward with her destiny. On that coast of the Setting Sun stands the latest, youngest, strongest, freest, and most-filled-with-hope of all the nations; having compassed the limits of its own continent, and reached the time of its majority. There stands America, asking, What must be done next? The declining sun illumines a noble and far-seeing countenance, looking out upon the greatest of oceans and the oldest of nations. But not all the breadth of the Pacific should any longer isolate the interests of this youngest from those of that oldest land. With the intrigues of France and Russia, a tyrant on the south and a despot on the north, such as history shows them to be in every aggressive movement upon other lands, what will they do for China? They will fill their pockets, without permitting, so far as they can hinder, an equal opportunity for any foreign commerce but their own. They will saddle the people, so far as they are able, with an inexorable sacerdotal system, that allows of no dissent, nor the smallest liberty of thought; and will intercept at every point which they can reach, the free circulation of an open Bible, and dissemination of a New Testament form of Christianity. They will not educate the people in self-government, but do all they can to hinder the upbuilding of a strong native state. For they will wish to govern that people exclusively themselves, and in their foreign interest alone. They will sow dissensions among them to keep them ignorant and subject; and stamp upon every sign of growing national unity and life.

Finally, as France herself fawns upon Russia, and feels lost without the latter's moral and political support, that vast octopus is not unlikely to swallow up French influ-

ence in China, and, excepting as effectively opposed by America and Great Britain, to secure a control that is exclusive; just as she may yet turn into mere provinces of her empire all of the Mediterranean countries of Europe, and some others. The will of Peter the Great still rules in Europe as does that of no other man. A new Byzantine empire is on the way, which at Constantinople may reunite no small part of the ancient Roman world. If then the Czar were in a position, through the dependence of Italy on him, to nominate the Pope, what need hinder the coalescence of the ancient Greek and Roman churches? And where is the organization upon earth which could easily stand against that?

Should China be left to herself with only a wide-spread Bible to uplift her, she would yet develop a nobler type of civilization than Russia now possesses. The Chinese are a race of tireless labor and thrift; while a large part of Asia west and south, and a large part of Southern Europe, is sleeping in the shade or sitting in the sun. The Chinese are the most democratic in their instincts, traditions, and actual methods of all orientals. And the Chinese are a race of students, quite as much so as the Germans, who will very soon cease to swear in the words of a master, except as they make that master to be Christ.

Unless the answer to this responsibility be the answer of Cain, the United States is morally bound to join Great Britain in promoting the best interests of humanity in that empire at this most critical moment of its history in many centuries. Standing at the Golden Gate, with arms extended, our right hand passes up to Russia through Alaska, while the left, through Hawaii and Manila, reaches England at Hong Kong. Let us promote the peace of all so much as in us lies, so far as can be done with obedience to the categorical imperative. But let us not forget that *we are our brother's keeper*. Then since we must take sides,

let us side with that party which, whatever its faults may be, has done more than any other nation known to history for the promotion of good government in races that are alien to its own; that party which shares with us the self-same chief fountain of our own liberties, the open Bible, our own first charter and sheet-anchor; that party which with us will insist on the right and opportunity of every man to worship God without any intermeddling intermediaries set over him by other men.

To those who are unfamiliar with the kind of resources which China possesses, in her men and her institutions, it may seem as if that empire were on the verge of disintegration. And indeed, if the spoliation of her territory, and the displacement of her government by Europe, should receive no check, her independence might easily in a little while be overthrown. But if for a very few years her autonomy may be preserved, and the country safely tided over a period of rapid transition, there are good reasons for believing that this disaster would be permanently averted, and an enlightened and powerful home government secured. This is the very thing that Russia and France desire least of all to see, and that England and America should do their utmost to promote. The thing that ought to be done for China is a thing that can be done, and not an impracticable dream. However weak the present dynasty may be, that land is very far from being weak in material for statesmanship. Great as the deficiency may be in public spirit, national sentiment, and unity of purpose among that people, it is not such a deficiency as cannot be made good in a little time if but one thing were done. The Chinese possess at least one agency of enormous influence which has always made for national unity and strength. This agency is found in the imperial unity and universality of an educational system, which is at the same time a system of preparation for the civil service. It

is a system whose value intellectual, moral, and political is laughed at most by those who know the least about it. Within a term of fifteen years this vast institution, pervading every part of that dominion, might be almost as fully reformed as has been the schooling of Japan. And with all of it expressly planned to supply the civil service, there would be no lack of splendidly educated men for every position the government has to fill. They would be men all alive to every new interest; and the leaders among them would be quite as intelligent and capable as any land can produce. No long-resident of China would doubt this for a moment. Within that time strong colleges as well as churches might be established by Christian missions in every large city, supplementing the institutions which the government would found. Then how long need it be to make the English language as prevalent in China as it is in India to-day, or even in Japan; and how long to bring the quickening message of Christianity to every hamlet of that empire? Her native Christians already are her truest patriots, and already the schools established by evangelical missions for both sexes are doing the splendid work they have always done in every pagan and Mohammedan mission field.

It is said that the United States as a government has but one interest in China—the commercial. So far as this means a disclaimer of all design or desire on our part towards our own territorial or political aggrandizement there, it is well said. But what need to speak of the effect on commerce of the development indicated in these other directions, or of the reciprocal effect that commerce itself would have on that? It is very obvious that the most magnanimous thing which England and America could do for China would also be the most profitable to the commerce of those countries. But that is not what here concerns us chiefly; nor is that profit the ulterior end of the

philanthropy which is here advocated as a political obligation.

Whether or not the Manchu dynasty can now furnish a proper man for the occasion, if but the form of government be maintained, and the right man be found to be made prime minister, the needed changes may yet be accomplished. Only let England and America pull together in a sincere effort, and by all honorable means, to promote the best native interests of China, and to help that aged country upon her feet; and before they know it China will be as young as either of them yet, and an ally of whom they will have no cause to be ashamed. Moreover they may yet need her as an ally, and she will be strong in proportion to her own independence.

Nor should Japan or Germany be excluded from this combination, if they are willing to accept a British leading, and heartily coöperate. Japan and China certainly ought before this to have been natural allies against all European usurpation, and perhaps they can yet, in some measure, make up for their lost time. If these four countries together can prevent such usurpation on the part of Russia, and maintain the freedom of China to work out her own problem, this indeed would be the best thing for her, and for them all. An equal share with the rest in the favor of China, Russia may well retain; but more than this would be an injury to all parties. Russia may think that China is sold to her. But how long need that debt remain unpaid with the right financier in Peking?

If the worst comes, and North China falls, at least for a time, into Russian hands, then let a more central capital be made, and everything be done to reorganize a native government which may yet recover all that is lost. The apparent blunder of accepting an enormous loan from Russia instead of from England may yet prove an important means of independence. England herself has less tempta-

tion to acts of usurpation, while she also resists the encroachment of Russia. With nations, as with men,

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we may."

The supreme ground of China's hope must be the active providence of God. May all her believing Christians diligently betake themselves to prayer!

To sum up all in brief: If England and America wish to conserve by honest means their own interests in China; and if also they should be sufficiently just and generous to wish to do their best for her, they must do three things. First, they must act together in all sincerity of open and amicable coöperation; second, they must by all honorable means promote the best interests of an independent native government; third, they must utterly avoid all such acts of injustice to that country as they resent in other foreign powers. Even if the interests of peace should require at any time or place a British protectorate in China, it should be a distinctly provisional arrangement, whose every move should serve to develop the powers of self-government in the people. Give China half a chance to collect her wits and she will yet astonish the world, if she does not with the aid of heaven awe the world, by her self-recovery. In any case our duty in the premises is the same.

POSTSCRIPT.

Momentous events which have to do with China have occurred since this article was written, which cannot here be even named. But in April last an Anglo-Russian agreement was announced, meant chiefly to prevent collision of British and Russian interests in Central China and Manchuria. The agreement also declares that no infringement is intended of Chinese sovereignty, and none of any existing treaty rights. So, for the nonce, the open door and native autonomy remain. Between the ostensible spheres of Russian and British influence lie the capital and the great valley of the Hoang-Ho, regarding which the agreement is significantly silent. Hardly was this transaction over when Russia requested of the Chinese Foreign Board permission to build a road directly con-

necting the Manchurian railroad with Peking; and, being refused, gave notice, not the less, that surveys for this line would proceed. While others vacillate, the obvious aim of Russia never falters, and her onward, glacial movement never recedes. It will soon be a case of Russia against the world. Every other government is likely to be soon forced into coalition with her or against her. The destruction of Chinese autonomy would not only be disastrous to the best interests of China, but injurious to all countries having a large commercial stake in China; hindering her proper development, and intensifying their feuds. This can be averted only by such joint action of other governments as shall effectually bar at the Great Wall Russia's further territorial aggression. Japan and Germany waited for England to act, and it would seem as if England had been waiting for us. Even England has no stake in China greater than our own, and upon the action of America, the quicker the better, hangs the future of China, if not of Japan, as upon no other earthly hope. The suggestions of Archibald Colquhoun, Lord Beresford, and of John Barrett, our late minister to Siam, deserve the best attention. If the territorial integrity and independence of China do not concern the government at Washington, we shall soon have to take what rights we can get from Russia. But the history of mankind has come to its home run, and soon will reach the base from which it started. Another forty years will occidentalize all Asia, and the Eastern question of supremacy is quite as likely to involve America as Europe. When the new cycle of world-history begins, that government will fare best that shall care more to be just than to be first, and to be generous than to rule.

ARTICLE X.

ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., LL.D.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN M. ENGLISH.

DR. HOVEY was born in Greene, Chenango County, New York, March 5, 1820. In the same year his parents removed to Thetford, Vermont, where he attended the public schools until he was fifteen years of age. He was a student in Thetford Academy parts of two years, and then went to the Academy in Brandon, Vermont, where he prepared for college. He entered Dartmouth College in 1839. At the close of his sophomore year he became the principal of the Academy at Derby, Vermont, which position he occupied two years. Upon returning to college, he joined the Senior class, making up the studies of the Junior year, and was graduated in 1844. After graduation from college he was the principal of the Academy in New London, New Hampshire, a little more than a year. He entered the Newton Theological Institution in 1845, and was graduated in 1848. Here he studied under Henry J. Ripley, Barnas Sears, and Horatio B. Hackett. He was acting pastor of the Baptist Church in New Gloucester, Maine, one year (1848-49). In 1849 he returned to the Seminary at Newton as a teacher, where he has remained ever since. He was ordained to the Christian ministry in the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, Boston, January 13, 1850.

Dr. Hovey has taught in nearly every department in the Institution. From 1849 to 1854 he was assistant instructor in Hebrew, and Librarian. He was acting professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation, 1851-52, also 1858-59. He was professor of Church History two years (1853-55). He began teaching Theology in 1854, but his professorship in that department dates from 1855. Since 1870 his professorship has been that of Theology and Christian Ethics. He was acting professor of Biblical Interpretation, New Testament, 1892-94. He was elected President of the Institution in 1868, and held the office until his resignation in 1898,—a period of thirty years. Since that time he has been Acting President, and continues in his professorship of Theology.

Dr. Hovey was married September 24, 1852, to Miss Augusta Maria, daughter of Mr. Marshall Spring and Mary (Livermore) Rice. Five children have been born to them, four of whom are still living.

He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Brown University in 1856, and that of Doctor of Laws from Richmond College and Denison University in 1876.

In 1861-62, he was in Europe, studying in the universities of Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. In 1897 he visited Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Constantinople, Athens, England, and Scotland.

Dr. Hovey has held numerous positions outside of the Seminary. For many years he has been a Fellow of the Corporation of Brown University, being next in seniority to Dr. Edwards A. Park. He served as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union for fifteen years, eleven of which he was Chairman. He has been President of the Northern Baptist Education Society, and is now one of its directors. He is a Trustee of Wellesley College, Worcester Academy, and the New England Conservatory of Music.

Dr. Hovey is a prolific writer, the following constituting his chief works, which are in chronological order: "A Memoir of Rev. Isaac Backus, A.M." "The State of the Impenitent Dead." "The Miracles of Christ Attested by the Evangelists." "The Scriptural Law of Divorce." "God with Us." "Religion and the State." "The Doctrine of the Higher Christian Life Compared with the Scriptures." "A Manual of Christian Theology and Ethics." "A Commentary on the Gospel of John," and "A Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians," being two of the volumes of "An American Commentary on the Old and New Testaments," of which he is the Editor. Together with Drs. John A. Broadus and Henry G. Weston, he edited the improved edition of the "Revised New Testament of the American Bible Union." "Biblical Eschatology." "Studies in Ethics and Religion." "Christian Teaching and Life." He has been a large contributor to the religious press and periodicals both of his own and of other denominations.

With the exception of a single year in the pastorate, Dr. Hovey's entire public life has been given to the cause of sacred learning in the Newton Theological Institution, his connection with it covering two-thirds of its history. A half-century of teaching, though distributed among different institutions of learning, is a remarkable record. A period of fifty consecutive years of instruction in the same school is wholly exceptional. Forty-five years of Dr. Hovey's half-century at Newton have been devoted to the teaching of theology. During this long period of service he has had associated with him in the Faculty many of the most distinguished educators of the Baptist denomination, among whom have been Horatio B. Hackett, who, for twenty-nine years, was professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation; George D. B. Pepper, President of Colby University; Ezekiel G. Robinson and E. Benjamin Andrews, each of whom has been President of Brown University; and Samuel L. Caldwell, a former President of Vassar College.

Dr. Hovey's equipment as a teacher of theology is varied and ample. Fundamental among his qualifications is his love of truth,—all truth wherever found, but especially the truth contained in the Sacred Scriptures. And it is his supreme aim and end in teaching to infuse a love of

truth into the minds of his pupils. His chief question concerning any theological opinion is not, whether it is considered orthodox or heterodox, whether it is held by many or by few, but whether it is true. It is this loyalty to truth that has given him his strong and unbroken hold upon the nearly two generations of students who have sat in his classroom.

Vitally akin to his love of truth is his judicial mind. He is a remarkable weigher of evidence. He is able to take into the account the varied elements of a theological problem,—the harmonizing and the opposing, the more and the less important, and to hold them all in fine, firm balance until his mind is made up, and he has clearly reached and strongly grasped his conclusions. And it is always certain that his mind will not, cannot, be made up until all the evidence is in, and he has thoroughly sifted and carefully arranged it.

Accompanying this judicial temper of mind, perhaps a part of it, is his utter fairness in dealing with the opinions of others on theological topics. It has been often said of him that he is fairer to an opponent than he is to himself; that, if possible, he weakens his own position by the extreme candor of his clear, strong expounding of views with which he cannot agree. In the long run, however, this, of course, gives his instruction great weight in the esteem of his students in their search after truth. No pupil of Dr. Hovey can ever truthfully say that he was led astray by his teacher through any falsifying or minimizing of the position of another, by any specious magnifying of a supposed error, or by any fascinating glamour cast over his own convictions. By his calm, judicial process he strips an idea bare, as it were, and exposes it to view in its sheer nakedness, and bids his pupils look at it, and decide for themselves concerning it. He is always a judge, never an advocate.

Dr. Hovey is a genuine student, a minute, wide, accurate scholar. He loves learning for its own sake. Like the typical German professor, he is an unwearied, painstaking plodder. He has a scholar's command of Hebrew, of classic and New Testament Greek, of Latin, German, and French, and he continually uses these languages as tools in his theological studies. He is to-day a good church historian, and a skillful New Testament exegete. He possesses a wide and profound knowledge of theological literature, and is as fresh and eager in the study of theology as ever before in his long career as a teacher. His linguistic outfit, together with his studious habit, qualifies him to be, as he is, an investigator. He goes straight to the sources of theological thought and scholarship, taking nothing at second-hand. He is not satisfied either in his own mind, or in his teaching, until he has carefully studied an author in the language in which he thought and wrote. And he has clear, deep insight into the central contents of a theological work.

Joined to his ability as an independent student in the realm of theology is his mastery of a clear, simple, exact style with which to expound

theological truth. In his expression he is at the furthest possible remove from the involved, and hence often vague, style of the characteristic German theological writers. As can be readily seen, this command of an adequate expression, coupled as it is with the judicial quality of his mind, with his candor, and with his scholarship, constitute a superior equipment in the field of theology.

Dr. Hovey's theology is not speculative, metaphysical, dogmatic in the technical sense in which those terms are usually applied to theological method. He is slow even to call his scheme of doctrine systematic, preferring the word Christian. The ratiocinative process, so far as it has legitimate function touching spiritual things, is employed by him in establishing the reasonableness of the truths of theology. His theological system grows out of the threefold revelation of God in nature, in man, and in Scripture. It is based, however, chiefly and ultimately upon the careful exegesis of the Bible. If the two words can be legitimately joined, he is, *par excellence*, an exegetical theologian. The ruling, the final question with him is, What is the body of doctrine contained in the Word of God? Whatever is opposed to Scripture teaching, as he is able to discover it, is rejected as authoritative content in his theology. Since Dr. Hovey's theology is emphatically biblical, Christian, its core is what are known as the doctrines of grace,—the holiness and the love of God: Jesus Christ, Redeemer, Saviour, and Lord: the Holy Spirit, the renewer and sanctifier of human nature; man natively sinful and lost, yet salvageable through the gracious agency of Christian truth and the Holy Spirit on the divine side of the transaction, and an answering faith, and love, and obedience on the human side. While holding firmly to what is commonly regarded as the evangelical substance of Christianity, he has an open mind, and is swift to welcome light from any source, and he is constantly at work upon the phraseology of his theological system in the endeavor to remove terms unduly technical, and to introduce those that most simply and adequately express theological truth to our own time. As witness of this he has, within the past two or three years, thoroughly revised and rewritten his *Manual of Theology*, thus making it practically a new work.

Back of the theologian is the man. It is Dr. Hovey's character which, after all, has been the great source of his wide and deep influence in the Institution that he has so long and so faithfully served, in the denomination to which he belongs, and among Christians of every name, and of every shade of theological opinion. He is a humble and devout believer in Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour and Lord. He has, during all these years, lived a pure and beautiful life before his fellow-men. He has thus unconsciously called forth the profound confidence, respect, and affection of all who have known him. Through his catholic mind, his large practical wisdom, his conciliatory spirit, and his clear, apt expression of his judgments, he has rendered valuable service on the boards of

trustees of institutions of learning, on committees in missionary organizations of his denomination, and on their anniversary occasions. When tangled questions of administration and of delicate and far-reaching missionary policy have been pressing for solution, concerning which questions there have been marked differences of opinion, and possibly strong feeling, he has made things plain, and has presented a course of procedure that has commended itself to the judgment of all concerned. The Baptist denomination has in it no more influential man than Dr. Hovey, and no one more highly esteemed or more truly loved.

The fiftieth anniversary of his connection with the Newton Theological Institution, as a teacher, was fittingly observed June 6th and 7th. Distinguished representatives of colleges, universities, theological seminaries, and of the pastorate united in paying him honor as a man, and in gratefully recognizing the varied phases of his services both within and without the Seminary. Few men are privileged to serve their generation in a career so long and so notable, and none could receive a wider, more sincere, and more hearty tribute of esteem and affection than that paid to Dr. Hovey at the close of a half-century of teaching.

ARTICLE XI.
CRITICAL NOTE.

THE APOSTLES' CREED MORE OR LESS.

THERE is no more venerable or wide-spread symbol of the Christian church than that one styled the Apostles' Creed. It has come nearer than any other formula to an adequate expression of our common faith. Augustine calls it, "*Regula fidei brevis et grandis; brevis numero verborum; grandis pondere sententiarum.*" It has embedded itself in ritual and covenant of prelatial and democratic churches alike, and multitudes look up to it with veneration almost equal to that accorded to the heart of the Scriptures in the teaching of Jesus. Yet it cannot be taken upon thoughtful lips to-day without many reservations, additions, and interpretations, which depart widely from the original meaning given to phrase and word. When it is brought close to the one standard and test of all creeds, the plain teaching of Jesus Christ, it appears that some things are stated in a misleading way, and others which Jesus held essential are left out altogether. Let us examine the symbol in the light of the simple teaching of Jesus, and seek a comparison between the two.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the title is a misnomer. The creed is ancient, even down to the early Christian centuries, but it is in no such sense apostolic as tradition has claimed when asserting that an apostle was author of each portion of it. Nor is it apostolic in a broader historic sense as the precise formula used by those whom Jesus appointed to serve as his ministers and organize his church on earth. It is a growth, formed through generations or even centuries, and may be intercepted by the student at several stages of its incompleteness. The natural action of sympathetic minds within the faith, and of antagonists without, conspired to shape the formula hundreds of years after the last apostle had died. Doubtless the name attached to it has conferred a certain air and weight of authority. Yet it has no authority whatsoever, save as time and usage have given it. To have true authority, a creed must first command our full assent. That is the Protestant doctrine of authority.

No one employs a creed to express all of his faith, nor to declare his literal acceptance of every word and statement. There are so many ways in which to take a statement of doctrine, and every one must take it as he can. No two persons ever see the same rainbow. All who look when conditions are right see the refracted light in its prismatic coloring in the sky, but each observer really sees only his own bow. Position, atmos-

phere, subjective conditions, determine our apprehension of a creed. I cannot say to others, "You must accept my interpretation of the creed," any more than I can say, "You must see my private and particular rainbow." So long as heavenly light and beauty are filling our eyes, that is enough.

There are certain statements in the Apostles' Creed which so brief a summary of the essentials of faith seems not to need. Let us notice some of them, and discuss their claim to a place in such a symbol.

1. "Born of the Virgin Mary." This statement introduces a question of literary criticism into the creed. The intellectual attitude of a scholar on such a question ought not to become a barrier at the entrance to his confession. Quite aside from the question of the truth or falsity of the chronicle of the virgin birth given in two of the Gospels, the fact has no decisive bearing upon the divinity of Christ. That depends upon his being conceived by the Holy Ghost, not upon the method of conception, and it is demonstrated by his life, not by any miraculous change in his mother. If modern science could by some miraculous wisdom prove to us that no miracles were worked at the hands of Jesus, he would still stand divine before the world, and without impeachment remain the Son of God. Not once all through the Gospels, apart from the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke, is reference made to the manner of his birth. Jesus himself never refers to it, either to sustain the faith of his disciples or to convince the skeptics about him. The fact is not important enough for a place in our creed. Some earnest and devout Christians doubt the fact, because of its to them rather slender historical support. Shall they be debarred from the church by the creed? Such a symbol should not be an iron door, but a window looking into heaven, filled with clearest glass, that divine radiance may fill all who through it gaze upward. This clause was used at first as a defense of the divinity of Christ, no doubt. It has ceased to serve as such, and would not weaken the creed by its absence.

2. "He descended into hell," or "hades." Modifications have already come into this clause, because of its obscurity, its non-essential character, and changing conceptions of the last things. It has come to mean the same as "was buried," and is omitted usually in non-liturgical communions. Even among ritualists, permission has been granted to omit it altogether, and hell is frequently softened to hades. The fact that it can be so omitted without appreciable loss is suggestive of its non-essential quality. The old theological conception of a pure substitutionary atonement, in which the thought was consistently carried out to its full length, included a literal descent of Jesus into hell to suffer the penalty of our sin. That view has pretty well vanished from current thinking. Moreover, Jesus never spoke of any such thing as this article implies. It has no adequate scriptural basis, and lives only by sufferance, not by service.

3. "From thence he shall come." The literal rendering of this clause makes an earthly second coming of Christ a portion of our creed. Now this may be true, or it may not be true. The Christian world is divided regarding it, in accordance with the prevalent method of interpretation of the Scriptures. Jesus left the matter in no certain light, or else his disciples failed to transmit clear ideas imparted to them by him. The apocalyptic element so colors and transfigures all statements regarding the future, especially the last things, that it is peculiarly hard for us occidentals to comprehend the meaning of the oriental imagery. The one fact all are agreed upon is this,—that Christ the ascended Lord is to be the eternal judge of all men. The place and time and manner of that assize are among the unanswered problems of our faith. To put a statement leaning toward one side of so doubtful a question into a standard confession is not catholic at least. It does not make for unity nor for clearness and strong faith. Moreover, the teaching of Jesus in more than one place indicates that judgment is personal and immediate for every one at death, without delay in waiting for a general judgment.

4. "The resurrection of the body." This statement is not true to modern thinking. It must be explained and adapted before we can accept it. In fact, it is not true to St. Paul's teaching. There is a mystery about the resurrection, as there is about all profound truths like sin, suffering, death, salvation. We know in part. But one thing we do know, that the natural body does not rise again. We know it by the three grand avenues of knowledge;—experience, science, and revelation. We know by experience that the organism is dissipated, and cannot become again exactly what it was, after death has laid hands upon it. By science we are taught that disintegration and decay only precede the reorganization of dead mold into other living organisms; so that the identical atoms of one's own body may be built into the house-walls of different persons living centuries apart. And revelation speaks in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians in his familiar illustration of the wheat. Jesus nowhere teaches any such resurrection of the physical body. His own bodily resurrection appears to have been arranged as a testimony, as his death was; and it is doubtful if his risen body was identical in all its properties with the physical body laid in the tomb. There are several suggestions of such difference in the narrative, not altogether overbalanced by the other passages in which he is said to eat and to offer his wounds to the hand of Thomas, to whom eye-sight was enough. But whatever our conclusion regarding that may be, the bodily condition of the risen dead is not a critical item for faith. It would be better if this clause asserted merely the great fact of the resurrection.

In the interests of catholicity and clearness, it seems to me that in thoughtful repetition of these four clauses of the creed we must modify or eliminate them in mind. The cardinal facts of faith are emphasized best by setting them forth alone. Not that these minor clauses con-

tain untruths,—some of them may be true,—but because they are not of sufficient importance to be set in this brief compendium, or else they are too uncertain in their status as part of the Christian thought of the day.

There are some noticeable omissions also in our creed. Facts of faith as important as any stated therein, more so than those I have been discussing, have no place. Strangely enough, they are among the foremost doctrines in the teaching of the Master. Let us notice some of them.

1. God should be named as something more than "Maker of heaven and earth." He is also Sustainer, Governor, King. The thought of God's constant care is vital to the Christian. It was once the fashion to think of him as far away. He appears so in the creed. We must draw him close to us. Some note of his providence and constant activity, present in his world, is needed.

2. Jesus should be proclaimed as our Saviour from sin, as well as our Lord and Son of God. His relation to the Father is far more explicitly stated than his relationship to men. Christ also should be brought nearer to us in the creed. He is not only Son of God, but our Elder Brother. Not only is he our Lord, but our Saviour also. The warfare which first called out this standard has largely failed in its attack. Now we need a banner of peace and love beneath which to enroll mankind.

3. The facts of the life of Jesus are summarized, but no word of their significance is spoken. In our true confession the purpose of that life should appear. His revelation of God, his redemption of men,—these find no place in the Apostles' Creed. Yet they are the two leading and most essential elements of Christian faith.

4. The Holy Ghost is named, but his work is not even suggested. We believe in the presence of Christ on earth through the Holy Spirit. It is universal Christian belief that we dwell in the period of activity of the Spirit. The immanence of God is an article of the old Greek faith which we are reclaiming and emphasizing afresh to our upbuilding. It must be added to our creed, which was too largely Latin in its origin to feel the force of that truth as it swayed the minds of the Greek theologians.

5. The kingdom of God, Christ's greatest thought and purpose, is not even named. The Holy Catholic Church, an organization in and for the kingdom, appears, but that is both less, and in a sense in contrast to it. We are coming to look widely over men and nations, and we see the larger movements of faith and of events. The kingdom of God is one of the grandest creations of the thought of Christ, coming not by observation nor by organization, but little by little everywhere through the subtle, slow, and secret processes of growth. It is the consummation of the partial vision of all the prophets from the first. What Christ so emphasized, his followers must not forget.

6. The life of service in the spirit of Christ is not made a part of the old symbol, because such an addition would be foreign to its life and atmosphere. Yet what is more suited to our credal confessions? It is a

good sign of life in the modern church that there is even a thought of such an addition to the creed which should express in brief the common faith of Christendom.

Throughout this discussion, the writer does not of course presume to suggest any tampering with the ancient creed, which we love and which must continue to the end of time precisely as it is, a monument to an earlier age and an exponent as well of the progress of our faith. It is the embodiment of the convictions, the fears, the assertions of strong men of old. The omissions which we have to make in our thinking concern only such clauses as express doubtful or obsolete dogmas. And the additions which modern faith requires concern almost altogether the human side of faith. Each of them is indicative of the trend of this day toward a practical realization of doctrine in a life modeled upon that of Jesus Christ. With this tendency in mind, the creed has been studied, and these suggestions have been set down. We must find cause for rejoicing that our day is coming nearer to the Master in our feeling after truth, although his life on earth was so much nearer in point of time to that of those worthies who wrote and established the venerable Apostles' Creed.

NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

ALBERT W. HITCHCOCK.

ARTICLE XII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE: The Principles, Methods, History, and Results of its Several Departments and of the Whole. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 8vo. Pp. xxii, 688. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$3.00 net.

In this enlargement of the author's "Biblical Study" (published in 1883), we find much new material, especially in those portions relating to Dr. Briggs's heresy trial. One of the most surprising pieces of information furnished is with reference to the relation, to this trial, of President Harper's discussion in the *Hebraica* with Professor Green. "In this discussion," the author says, "Harper, instead of setting forth his own views frankly and determinedly, preferred to set up a man of straw, which he styled the views of the critics, for W. H. Green to attack. The development of this discussion was unfortunate, for it seemed to identify Higher Criticism with the more radical views, and it caused W. H. Green and his friends to combat them with an intense earnestness, and a zeal for orthodoxy, which disclosed a change from their attitude in the discussion in the *Presbyterian Review*. The intense hostility in the Presbyterian body to Higher Criticism was due in considerable measure to this discussion in the *Hebraica*" (p. 287).

Throughout the volume the author seems to take delight in posing as a martyr to the truth, and would apparently classify himself with Galileo and "nearly every profound thinker since the day of Socrates, who has been obliged to pause in his work and defend himself, like the apostle Paul, against these 'dogs' and 'evil-workers,'" whom, a few sentences later, he describes as "the theological Bourbons [who] never learn anything from past defeats" (pp. 9, 10). But it is proper to remark, that the contemporary worthies with whom the author is classed by President White have not yet finished their race, and are not yet canonized. They are among the spirits that are now being tried,—not so much by ecclesiastical courts, as by the law and the testimony as apprehended by the general Christian public. Dr. Briggs should not complain that his revolutionary views are vigorously challenged. Nor if he is mistaken, will he be the first overconfident speculator whose views, when fully understood and measured, have been found wanting; and his case will not be the first illustration of the wisdom of the inspired injunction, "Let not him boast that putteth on the armor, but him that putteth it off."

While full of erudition, this volume of Professor Briggs is preëminently deficient in sound argument, the place of which is supplied by confident, or what the author would call in others *dogmatic*, assertions, which the reader is expected to accept on the bare statement. He speaks of the "higher criticism" as "exact and thorough in its methods" (p. 272), and of the theory that "Moses did not write the Pentateuch," and that "Isaiah did not write half the book that bears his name" as "the sure results of the Higher Criticism accepted by all genuine critics the world over" (p. 289).

Indeed, the sublime confidence of the writer in himself and his associates, and the tone of contempt towards all who differ from him, appear on almost every page of the volume. Have most critics regarded the testimony of Josephus to the canon as important? Dr. Briggs waves it aside with the simple remark, "The statements of Josephus do not carry with them our confidence as to the views of the men of his time" (p. 128). Have most Protestant critics generally rejected the Apocrypha of the Old Testament? Dr. Briggs calmly assures us that, "the tendency among thoughtful Protestants is to restore these writings to the canon" (p. 164). No critics are thoughtful but those who agree with the author. In the same strain, Professor Briggs characterizes all efforts to explain the phrase "sons of God" in Gen. vi. 1-4 as anything but angels as "vain," and something which "no respectable commentator would countenance in our days. There can be no doubt whatever that the passage refers to angels. Why, then, should we hesitate to regard it as a myth?" and so on, without end. Everybody who holds different views from him is treated with contempt. In view of this tone, we question whether Dr. Briggs does not lay too much blame for his heresy trial upon Dr. Harper. Dr. Briggs's writings are a perpetual challenge to combat.

And yet in many places the professor abandons this confidence in the critics, and takes refuge in a direct personal inspiration of the Almighty which his opponents are as free to claim as he is. "We cannot be certain," he says, "that anything comes from God unless it brings us personally something evidently divine. . . . It is the Divine Spirit alone who gave the divine evidence in the past" (p. 162). But in utter disregard of consistency, he goes on to say that, if there are doubts concerning any of the ancient writings, "it should stir us up to a more thorough study of these Holy Scriptures, lest in some way we should not have discerned that divine evidence which has been graciously imparted to students who may have been more faithful or more devoted than ourselves. . . . We should respect the opinion of those who think that they have evidence that we have thus far been unable to receive" (p. 163). The only opinions of others which he respects, however, are those of the coterie to which he himself belongs. These he exalts to a position of commanding influence, altogether out of proportion to the weight of the rea-

sons which they are able to give, for they are apparently believed to have had a divine evidence graciously imparted to them which the rest of the world must accept on their authority. But suppose they are mistaken, what would the end be if we follow them? On the preceding page he remarks, "It is perilous to follow these blind guides of British and American scholasticism and fall into the ditch that lies in the way." We may well ask, however, What bigger ditch is there to fall into than that of the unbelief and agnosticism and rank infidelity which has engulfed many who have started bravely along in the path which the higher critics with whom Professor Briggs associates, are following? In view of this danger, he should not too severely condemn those who prefer his own contrary advice in the closing sentence of the paragraph just quoted. "Above all," he says, "we should be extremely reluctant to dissent from the historic consensus of the Christian church in this matter, and especially the official deliverances of holy church" (p. 163).

But these are merely illustrations of the loose-jointed reasoning of the whole volume. Dr. Briggs avoids the force of this last quotation by aiming to show that there is no historic consensus of the Christian church in respect to anything, and that there are no official deliverances of holy church for which he has any more respect than he had for the Presbyterian General Assembly that pronounced his views heterodox.

The secret bias determining Dr. Briggs and his coterie in giving such extravagant weight to the fragmentary and illusive evidence which is leading them astray is found on page 510, where he says, "It makes an immense difference whether we study it [the Old Testament] under the cloud of the pessimistic theory that it gives us a series of backslidings; or in the sunshine of the knowledge that the whole history is the march of a redeemed nation under the banner of their King and their God, ever onward and forward toward the goal of redemption in the Messianic age. The pessimistic theory of biblical history which has so widely prevailed in Great Britain and America, and which still lingers, makes the times of the conquest of Palestine under Joshua and the subsequent barbaric times of the Judges, the Golden Age, from which all the rest of the history is a falling away into ever increasing sin and depravity.

"To the modern historical criticism of the Bible, the times of Samuel and David were higher and better than those of Moses, but the times of Hezekiah and Joshua [?] were higher still. The Exile was a higher discipline and more productive of religious and moral teaching than the Exodus. The restoration under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah vastly transcended the conquest of Joshua and his successors. The Maccabees were greater heroes than the Judges, and the Maccabean age vastly richer in holy literature and in holy deeds. The older writers made biblical history a funeral march and the book of Lamentations its appropriate dirge. The newer criticism sees that biblical history is the victorious march of the kingdom of God, and the sixty-eighth psalm is its hymn."

It is, indeed, as Dr. Briggs alleges, a matter of a good deal of importance which of these views of history we cherish. But the great question is, Which is the true view? Is there any such steady, onward march of progress as Dr. Briggs's evolutionary theory of history assumes? Is the backsliding of individuals and communities and nations a thing so infrequent that there is no danger of its occurring in the present and the future? Has the progress of Christianity been uniform? History speaks in no uncertain terms. A deadly blight long since fell upon the early centers of Christendom. The Armenian Church, the Nestorian Church, the Coptic Church, the Greek Church, and the Roman Church early fell away from the purity of the gospel. We may indeed, and we must if we believe in God, believe in progress. But it is not by the invariable methods of uniform evolution, but by the historical method of revelation and of divine interposition, in lifting up, amid the church, representative men and communities, and making them agents to resist the ever-present downward tendencies, and to lead out into broader light. The true church is at all times a missionary church, beset with tremendous forces of evil at work both within and without. These downward tendencies are present with all nations. The civilizations in the valley of the Euphrates and the Nile decayed and finally disappeared, because the nations forgot God. And so will ours decay and disappear, if the church lets down its watch, and forgets the high calling to which it is called. This is not pessimism, but the true optimism of sacred history. The backslidings of the children of Israel are no abnormal events in human experience; while, relatively speaking, they were much less than the critics try to make out. The period of the Judges was not prevaillingly an era of war, but of peace. The backslidings of the children of Israel later are brought into prominence because of the high ideal which was ever held up by the guardians of the law and by the prophets. In this case, as in all others, history is most conversant with the evils which arise, and with the struggles to resist and overcome them. The "microscope of criticism," of which Dr. Briggs speaks, is more likely to distort the facts than are "the spectacles of tradition," to which he sneeringly alludes. Tradition is good, bad, and indifferent, but there are some traditions which are well founded, and which it is worth while to respect until they are displaced by something more substantial than mere literary criticism, even when combined with a false though attractive *a priori* theory concerning the method of historical evolution.

THE POETRY AND THE RELIGION OF THE PSALMS. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D. The Croall Lectures, 1893-94. 8vo. Pp. xvi, 360. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1898.

In spite of this title-page the book is devoted, as he says in the preface, "to a consideration of the place of the Psalms in the history and the religion of the Old Testament." We confess to a little disappointment in find-

ing that the purpose of the lectures is in the main a critical one, for the title seems to furnish a rare opportunity for a timely and profitable examination of the Psalms uninfluenced by criticism. In no part of the Old Testament have critical questions less importance in determining the real value to the world of the book concerned than in the Psalter. But the broad way in which the critical inquiry is handled soon banishes our disappointment.

In the concluding chapter Robertson summarizes his aim as being "to vindicate for the Psalms an earlier place in the history of Israel, and a higher place in the religion of the Old Testament than a modern school of criticism [Cheyne's] is willing to concede to them."

He attacks, not Cheyne's arguments for the late date of individual psalms, but his assumption of the practical impossibility of pre-exilian psalmody. "When we are met by sweeping assertions as to the impossibility of pre-exilian psalmody, it becomes necessary to examine the foundations on which such broad statements rest, in order to have clear ground on which to carry out the examination of the individual pieces." He will prove David and others of pre-exilian times capable of psalm-writing, for only then can it be a fair subject of inquiry whether the psalms are some of them pre-exilian.

This individual investigation he does not make: does he not then stop in the midst of an unfinished task? He declares that though "it would of course be deeply interesting if we could say definitely of each psalm who was its author and under what circumstances it was composed," his chief concern is that the pre-exilian period should not be wrongly stripped of its best religious elements. We need the religion to account for the history. "Without the existence of a genuine vital godliness in pre-exilian Israel, it seems to me that the whole history of that people becomes an insoluble riddle, because nothing would be left whereby to explain the persistence of the nation on a religious basis."

A few remarks of the author will show the spirit which he brings to the discussion, how far removed from the methods of the past are those followed by conservative *thinkers* of to-day in handling critical questions. "The vital question in Old Testament criticism is not, Who wrote such and such books? but, Do they give a fair representation of the history of the religion as it was made known and received?" "More fundamental than the question, How many of the psalms did he write? is the question, Was there a religion such as the Psalms express, from David's time onward?" "The solution of the over-perplexed problem of Old Testament religious history is to be sought, not in a dead uniformity of evolution, but in a contemporaneous movement of good and bad." He does not admit the inscriptions as authoritative or reliable.

We venture a criticism of our author when he says, quite aside from the course of his argument, "generous allowance should be made for what may be called the criticism of religious sentiment. If a poet can

best understand and criticize poetry, religious experience may claim to be heard in settling the primary reference of compositions that take strong hold of the religious consciousness." The question is a purely theoretical and unpractical one, for no one, as a matter of fact, ever comes to the criticism of the Psalter with one single qualification of religious sentiment; but the language is misleading. The poet is competent to criticize the poetry of a composition, and one who possesses religious consciousness is competent to estimate the *religious value* of a composition. Indeed this is exactly what has been done for the Psalter; this is just the process by which it has won and held, and will hold, its place in the world. Religious consciousness has spoken, and with divine authority, as to the value of the Psalter. But religious value of the Psalms and "their primary reference" are two disconnected questions. Of the former the world was never more sure than to-day; of the latter it was never less sure. If religious consciousness (to keep the abstract and purely hypothetical form of expression) could be interviewed by itself, as to authorship, date, and the like, it would say, "Trouble me not with these irrelevant questions. The Psalms find me. It is the divine touch in them which awakens the divine in me. As to the man who wrote them I only know—or care—that he must have felt as I do now, or as I would that I might now."

Robertson gives first a clear and instructive sketch of the course of criticism of the Psalter. Taking up the problem then for himself, he deems it impracticable to examine individual psalms to judge from some supposed references in them as to the times and circumstances of the author, because such are very general and vague, and our knowledge of minute historical situations is also meager and the tendency would consequently be to find the occasion of given psalms in periods where our information happens to be fullest. "It may not be safe to assign a psalm to circumstances which it seems to suit best."

Cheyne's plan of examining psalms by groups is discarded, because that can at best result only in determining the date of the combination of the psalms into the groups; for perhaps the noticeable similarity is the very basis of the grouping; and no agreement could be reached as to what are their "leading features" as grouped by the critics.

Robertson proceeds to a historical inquiry as to the evidence outside of the Psalter, of the existence of a Psalter, or of the practice of psalmody in the period before the exile; and then, the evidence from the Psalter, of its pre-exilian origin, i.e., that some of the Psalms were written and the compilation begun before the exile. The references (confessedly late) to the Psalter in Jewish literature, he claims involve a long period of growth before it attained its present compass and dignity; and he maintains that other unmistakable references to musical production, and examples of them, in pre-exilian times, make it strange indeed if the worship of Jehovah was not accompanied by psalms.

Coming to the internal evidence, he professes like confidence in the method of attempting to determine with precision the occasions upon which the psalms were composed, and to classify them into historical periods, and proceeds rather to examine them for their general poetic and religious character, and to inquire whether in the pre-exilian period "there is proof of such literary and poetical attainment as would make psalm composition possible; whether there were circumstances that would furnish a stimulus to such composition; and whether the historical situation, the religious sentiments, and the spiritual attainments and aspirations of the period, were likely to find reflexion or embodiment in the psalms"; that is, whether there is *room* in pre-exilian times for such compositions.

He studies first the lyrical form of the psalms; then their various elements—national, subjective, religious. This of course requires a discussion of the speaker in the psalms. He examines the modern theory that the speaker is the collective Jewish Church, and maintains that that personification is a figure that is based upon similar *personal* experiences. Individual religious consciousness must have been present, in the case of some men, before the collective consciousness could be exhibited.

The individual in pre-exilian times is not to be considered unimportant. The prophets, with their individualism, their personal appeals, their emphasis on character, were not without some following. They must have had some effect upon the religious life of the nation. The psalms are the response of the heart to the demands of God in law and prophecy. This response is not a national, collective affair, arising *en masse* after centuries of teaching have passed: it is individual, and exists along with the instruction, though growing in volume as the ages pass.

The persistent traditions assigning to David a formative influence in psalmody must have had some basis in reality.

Our plan in presenting the book has been not to decide for the reader as between Cheyne and Robertson, but to show the course of the argument by which the later critic reaches results so widely different from those of Cheyne. The tenor of the book, its breadth of view, and its frank recognition of the limitations imposed by the problem in hand, make it one to be heartily commended to the student of Old Testament religion as exhibited in the Psalter.

OWEN H. GATES.

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE GOSPEL LIFE. By ADOLF AUGUSTUS BERLE, Minister of the Brighton Congregational Church, Boston. Pp. viii, 328. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1899. \$2.00.

If one may judge from present indications, the Brighton pulpit in Boston is likely to rival in influence that of the Brighton pulpit in England, which was brought into such prominence by the brilliant ministry of Frederick W. Robertson. For some time we have known that numbers

of most intelligent business men who are not in situation to attend the Brighton church have been so impressed with the frequent reports of Mr. Berle's sermons appearing in the Boston papers that they have made scrap-books of his many statements of truth which have met their deep-felt spiritual wants. The publication of this volume in every way meets the expectation that had been aroused. Printed on a more ample page than is usual with the sermons of the day, and in every way gotten up in the best style of the Norwood press, the volume is calculated to mark an epoch in this class of literature. The author well combines in one the spiritual fervency which is his by right of German birth, the breadth of view obtained by a wide variety of early experience, the high culture of a Harvard graduate, and the practical insight of the pastor of an active city church.

The volume contains twenty-seven sermons, divided about equally between New Testament biography, social and political subjects, educational and literary subjects, and discourses dealing directly with the spiritual life. Those upon University Religion, Teachers and Morals, The Holiness of Truth, and The Christian in Novels and the New Testament are, in special degree, timely and worthy of notice, but space forbids summaries. The volume must be read to be appreciated, and will be found of intense interest to all classes of readers.

RECONCILIATION BY INCARNATION. The Reconciliation of God and Man by the Incarnation of the Divine Word. By D. W. SIMON, D.D., Principal of the United College, Bradford; translator of Dorner's "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," etc.; author of "Redemption of Man: Discussions bearing on the Atonement," "The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life," "Some Bible Problems," etc. 8vo. Pp. xxiii, 387. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$3.00.

This profound treatise of its learned author deals with the central doctrines of the Christian religion in a manner which will challenge the attention of all modern scholars, and afford great satisfaction to many who have become entangled in the mazes of recent scientific speculation. The reconciliation of God and man is not a one-sided operation, but involves changes in the original normal attitude of both parties. God furnishes the environment of man. Man by his disobedience does violence to this environment, working thereby an evil which he cannot undo by simple repentance, even though it be with tears. The divine condemnation of sin must be practically appreciated by mankind. God's estimate of the dishonor done to himself must be realized. The incarnation, sufferings, and death of the Logos serve the double purpose of properly exhibiting God's judgment of the evils of sin, and of affording an adequate motive to induce repentance in the sinner. The atonement is not an afterthought, but a system of remedial agencies made necessary by the original principles incorporated in the creation of such moral beings as constitute the human race. The author's statement of the cen-

tral positions defended by him are comprehended in the following paragraphs:—

" . . . God would not have acted as it befitted the Divine Father to act, relatively either to Himself or man, had He not let man see Him as the representative of law and experience the punishment which is due to sin. But the part thus imposed on God involves, notwithstanding, a kind of misrepresentation of God: God, in fact, misrepresents Himself, so to speak, in the act of taking the part on Himself. And yet, had He not taken it upon Himself, He would not merely, in a sense, have misrepresented Himself; but would have been chargeable with real inconsistency" (p. 177).

"God Himself must bring home to the human mind His judgment of sin; the grief and pain caused Him by sin, and the nature of the compensation or satisfaction due on account of sin" (p. 203).

" . . . something of the nature even of a *schism* has been introduced into the Godhead by sin. Inasmuch as man, the sinner, is a differentiation of the energy controlled by the Logos, is it not as though the very Logos Himself were in some sense the occasion of the introduction of a warring element into His own life, if not into the life of deity, through the creature which He had not only constituted, but was sustaining? Had He, the living vine, at once cast off His human branch, the case would have been different; but He let it retain its place, He patiently bore with it. Such retention, however, such patience,—what does it mean but making Himself in a certain sense answerable for the misrelation and the jar which is its result. His own life must, of course, first and foremost be affected by it; but the life of the Godhead would also of necessity participate therein. And inasmuch as the offending creature, as was just now again remarked, is a differentiation constituted by the Logos, may not the guilt of its conduct in some mysterious way cast a shadow over the relation between the Logos and the Father? As far as the sin was concerned, would not the experience be a kind of anticipation of that which is described in the paradoxical, though profoundly true, words of Paul, '*He was made sin* for us—He who knew no sin'? And as far as the shadow was concerned, would it not be a kind of anticipation of the awful moment on the Cross when the Son of God cried, '*My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me*'"? (Pp. 304-305.)

THE CHRISTIAN CONQUEST OF ASIA: Studies and Personal Observations of Oriental Religions. Being the Morse Lectures of 1898. By JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D., President of Oberlin College; Haskell Lecturer on Comparative Religion, University of Chicago; Barrows Lecturer for India and Japan, 1896-97; author of "Christianity, the World-Religion," etc. 12mo. Pp. xvii, 258. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$1.50.

This constitutes a supplement to the author's previous works, "The History of the World's Parliament of Religions," "The World-Pilgrimage," and "Christianity the World-Religion," and completes his liter-

ary work in connection with the religious congresses held in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition. Altogether these four volumes constitute one of the most important contributions which have ever been made bearing upon the subject of Comparative Religion and upon the needs and true methods of missionary work in foreign lands. The author's style is clear and brilliant, his information ample, his literary allusions abundant, and his philosophical insight profound,—characteristics which thus united contribute to make a volume of equal value to the scholar and to the general reader. The eight chapters treat of "Beginning at Jerusalem; or, Christianity and Judaism"; "The Cross and the Crescent in Asia"; "Observations of Popular Hinduism"; "Philosophic Hinduism"; "Some Difficulties in the Hindu Mind in Regard to Christianity"; "Christianity and Buddhism"; "Confucianism and the Awakening of China"; "Success of Asiatic Missions"; "America's Responsibility to the Orient."

Of special interest is the chapter treating of the difficulties in the Hindu mind in regard to Christianity. Among these are the following: Does not the Almighty give to every man that religion which he sees is the best fitted for him? Is faith in the historic Christ essential to salvation? Do you believe that God has revealed himself to every country and to every age? Why should not man come to God directly, without the intervention of a mediator? Do you see any similarity between the spread of Christianity to-day and the spread of Buddhism in ancient times? Do you believe in the ultimate salvation of all souls; and, if not, is not your Christianity inferior to Hinduism, which provides for the salvation of all? In the author's pertinent and terse answers to these and similar questions, the reader will find a whole system of true and effective Christian theology.

NATURAL TAXATION. By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN. 12mo. Pp. 268. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.00.

The single-tax theory is indebted more to Thomas G. Shearman than to Henry George for a scientific treatment and defense. George prophesied that his theory would find enthusiastic supporters, and that prophecy has found fulfillment so far as numbers count; but Mr. Shearman stands almost alone and unique among the trained thinkers and scientific writers on taxation who sincerely believe and earnestly advocate the single-tax theory. Surely such names as Dr. McGlynn and John Z. White would not be classed with such men as Mr. Shearman. Mr. Shearman claims that the single-tax theory was first propounded by the illustrious French physician Quesnay, more than one hundred and fifty years ago, under the name *Impôt Unique*; but, as Professor Hadley says: "The *Impôt Unique* advocated by the physiocrats, while superficially resembling George's proposed plan, differed from it radically in principle. The physiocrats proposed to tax the surplus of food above

what was necessary for the maintenance of the laborer; while George deals with a surplus of market price above expense of production. The Ricardian idea of a differential gain which is so prominent in the latter proposal had not made itself felt in the former."¹

The single-tax theory is perfectly simple. It proposes to lay all taxation upon the value of the privilege of using land for any and all purposes. As Mr. Shearman says: "Tax nothing made by man. Tax everything not made by man." If a tax is a forced contribution for the expenses of government, how shall it be levied? Mr. Shearman claims that it can be levied justly only in proportion to the benefits conferred by government, and that the single tax is an honest method because it accomplishes this. The great majority of reputable writers claim that this forced contribution must be in proportion to the ability of each to pay. The distinction at first thought might seem trivial, but it is fundamental and far-reaching upon mature reflection. If the dependents, deficiencies, and delinquents of society must bear burdens in proportion to the benefits received, the tax-collector would find his employment neither profitable nor pleasant. Society is of divine origin. Its blessings and advantages are not measured by money, and the cost of maintaining government cannot be distributed upon any conception of society as an artificial compact. It is a great family, in which the strong must bear the burdens of the weak. Not according to the benefits conferred, but according to each one's ability to pay, must a tax be levied and collected.

But the difficulty begins just here. It is well-nigh impossible to levy and collect taxes on personal property that may be successfully concealed. Government and other bonds sell on the open market at a valuation that assumes that the taxes will be dodged. Tax-dodging soon comes to be a fine art. If the single-tax theory met all of the objections that now may be justly urged against our present methods of forcing contributions according to the ability of each to pay, and if the single-tax theory aroused no objections of its own that more than outweighed the evils that now exist, no intelligent man would for a moment resist its adoption, but, on the contrary, should become its warmest advocate and friend.

That such is not the fact is the opinion of most reputable writers on taxation. These views may be found at length in the *BIBLIOTHECA SACRA* for January, 1898.

Mr. Edward Atkinson has gone very fully into statistics to prove that the single tax would be inadequate to meet the expenses of government in the commonwealth of Massachusetts.² These figures Mr. Shearman has endeavored to refute.

"The ethical and political difficulties," as Professor Hadley says, "which stand in the way of the application of the single-tax theory are

¹ Economics, p. 471.

² Forum, February, 1889.

even more pronounced than the economic ones."¹ Mr. Shearman has ably and ingeniously endeavored to meet these, and it would well repay one to read carefully and conscientiously his arguments, for he is, head and shoulders, the ablest advocate that the single-tax theory has put forth.

Z. S. H.

THE SOCIAL MIND AND EDUCATION. By GEORGE EDGAR VINCENT, Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. Pp. 155. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1897.

The author discusses educational problems from the standpoint of a sociologist. As a sociologist he is a most pronounced disciple of M. Tarde, recognizing in "Society" a psychical organism developing in structure and functioning through normal growth processes. The "social mind" is consistently maintained to exist only in the capitalized race experiences as they are found in individual minds. There is no mystical assumption of a social nervous mechanism or of a social mind apart from the content of individual consciousness, and in the main the conception of community of thought through communication is clearly presented. The assumption for the young science of Sociology of the title *scientia scientiarum* is somewhat presumptuous, though very ingeniously supported by the author.

The conception of education presented in the book is in harmony with the best pedagogical thought of the day, and is that which Dr. Dewey has taught us to expect from the University of Chicago. Education is the process of socializing the individual; or, in the terse phrase of Dr. Harris, it is "the elevation of the individual into the race. The materials of education are the content of the social mind, the capitalized experiences of the race; and the process of education is the development of the individual through psychologizing these materials into his life structure. The individual life, starting in a "presentation continuum," advances progressively through specialization of interests and integration of knowledge, by analysis and synthesis, to a unified personal character. It is the work of the educator to secure a true synthesis in the concrete life of his pupils of the specialized forms of human knowledge originating in analytic study. This he is to do by the right ordering of the social life. He is to find the true basis of the "correlation of studies" in the student's social life, not in any objective logical relations of knowledge. The author's criticism of the "culture epoch theory" is sensible and just. The least satisfactory part of the book is the concrete application of the philosophy in a scheme of a tentative curriculum for college instruction; but this is inevitably so in any pioneer undertaking, and one's estimate of the result is largely biased by his own pedagogical philosophy.

The book is technical in expression, but it was evidently not written

¹ Economics, p. 472.

for laymen. It is rich in suggestion for the thoughtful student, and an important contribution to the present educational chaos. The numerous references, footnotes, and the bibliography are valuable.

WILLIAM ARTHUR CLARK.

HARVARD COLLEGE.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL STATE. By GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D., Minister at Tremont Temple. 12mo. Pp. 488. Philadelphia: A. J. Rowland. \$1.50.

To the long list of eminent clergymen interested in the vital questions of the day must be added that of Dr. Lorimer of Boston, who has sent forth a well-made book full of good things. So far as it is possible for one who is preaching all the time, and to such large audiences, to lay aside the preaching habit and its pious phrases, and enter the literary field with the spirit of scientific investigation, Dr. Lorimer has done it. These pages do not bear the marks of a narrow mind nor of limited research, but of scholarship and breadth of view. The words attributed to President Lincoln, quoted on page 208, have been denied as his, for he did not live to see the results of the civil war and corporate wealth asserting its power. But the book is a tribute to Dr. Lorimer's ability and reputation as a scholar and thinker.

Z. S. H.

THE CITY WILDERNESS. A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of the South End House. Edited by ROBERT A. WOODS. 12mo. Pp. 319. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

The study of municipal problems is a most inviting field for thought in the present stage of democracy. The growth and influence of cities in state affairs is momentous. When men of such unselfish spirit and scholarly minds as are Mr. Woods and his associates address themselves to these problems, and not only gather statistics for the public benefit, but personally live in the community and associate with its residents, it is the most hopeful sign that some of the more serious problems of the city will find a happy and successful solution. In twelve chapters are here presented some very interesting and helpful essays on Public Health, Work and Wages, The Roots of Political Power, Criminal Tendencies, Amusements, The Church and the People, Social Recovery, The Total Drift, etc.

Z. S. H.

UNFORESEEN TENDENCIES OF DEMOCRACY. By E. L. GODKIN, M.A., D.C.L. 12mo. Pp. 265. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.00.

A good companion-piece to President Eliot's "American Contributions to Civilization," published by the Century Company, is this excellent work by the editor of the *Nation*. The attempt is not made to describe democracy, but to mark some of the departures it has made from the ways which its earlier promoters expected it to follow. Mr. Godkin thinks that De Tocqueville would be surprised at some of the develop-

ments of democracy in these later days. Serious problems undreamed of have come to the front for solution, and some not dreamed of even by Macaulay. Mr. Godkin does not despair of their solution; he simply enforces the need of patience, and emphasizes the time element and experience as necessary factors. There are no short cuts to political happiness, as the optimists imagine, is the key to his volume.

The chapter on Equality, read with Bryce's article¹ and President Eliot's "Equality in a Republic," will mature the mind of any thinker on that subject. Just what is meant by equality in a free democratic republic it is important to know, and no one can read these three articles without having his mind clarified on the subject. Mr. Godkin is a clear and strong writer, with a critical acumen that is withering to every form of error and weakness such as Howells shows² in his article on Equality. A better book seldom issues from the press.

THE SECRET OF ACHIEVEMENT. By ORISON SWETT MARDEN. 12mo. Pp. 372. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.50.

Nothing is more helpful and healthful than good biography, for

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THE LIFE OF OUR LORD IN ART. By ESTELLE M. HURLL, Editor of Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art." Pp. 370. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.00.

The author has here attempted a brief descriptive history of the art illustrating the incidents in the historic life of Christ. She has omitted symbolical and allegorical Christ art and the history of Christ portraiture. Subjects are arranged in chronological order. Of the old masters, Giotto, Duccio, Raphael, Bonifazio, Titian, Tintoretto, are prominent. Others are Angelico, Borgognone, Correggio, Murillo, Rubens, Van Dyck, Veronese. Among the modern schools are Sir John Millais, Sir Charles Eastlake, Doré, and many others.

The Bible student can accompany his Harmony of the Gospels with this beautiful work with great profit. The struggle of pencil and brush through the centuries to bring back the Son of man, the world's ideal, the spiritual dream, has been at once the inspiration and the perpetual life of art. Mary's lament that "they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him," has been the voice of art; for,

¹Century, July, 1898.

²*Ibid.*, November, 1895.

like her, art has sat at his feet, a humble worshiper, pouring out its alabaster box of ointment in its endeavor to express its deepest admiration and its love. Art, therefore, has spoken as truly and as tenderly as any who have witnessed to the world's ideal man. Every disciple of the beautiful, no less than those of the true and the good, has joined in the admiration and worship of Him who spake as never man spake, and whom to know was to love, for it was a glimpse of the divine. To portray this love and worship of art in a true and simple way, with the keen appreciation of the magnitude of the task, has been the labor of love of the author. She has brought to it a mind in full sympathy, and, when her work was done, has chosen publishers who know how to execute the mechanical part with the highest taste. The name of Houghton, Mifflin & Company has come to stand in the publishing world for all that is best in the art of book-making, and a guarantee of merit in an author.

SUPERNATURAL REVELATION: An Essay concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. By C. M. MEAD, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary. Third Edition. Pp. 469. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. \$1.75.

For ripe scholarship, breadth of vision, catholicity of spirit, and judicial poise, Professor Mead's book has no peer in the field of apologetics. It discusses with candor, with impartiality, and yet from the standpoint of an earnest Christian believer, the entire field of Christian revelation. He has approached the limits of true liberalism with a frankness and vigor that is heroic and admirable. To go further would be to enter the endless mazes of German rationalism with no hope of progress and with no means of retreat; to stop short of such a full discussion would mark a timid mind that could never satisfy the demands of modern critical thought. In going to its third edition no changes have been necessary, because the work was well done in the first place. We simply say, then, in passing, that this book is a tribute to American scholarship no less than to its able author.

ELEMENTS OF THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION. Part II. Ontological. By C. P. TIELE. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. Pp. vii, 286. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1899.

The two volumes, of which this is the second, constitute the most satisfactory treatise upon the Science of Religion which has yet seen the light. The author's great learning and the results of his lifelong discriminating thought upon the subject are here compressed into a series of popular lectures, every page of which shows the breadth of his thought and the judicial character of his conclusions. According to the author, all religions are religions of redemption, and all religious doctrine is a doctrine of salvation. The invariable elements found in all religious systems are "belief in a divine power upon which we are dependent, belief in the high origin and destiny of man, coupled with a consciousness

of his shortcomings, and belief in the possibility of salvation, combined with attempts to secure that blessed consummation" (p. 75). Prayer "can never have originated from magic rites intended to coerce the deity. Men do not gather grapes of thistles. Superstition cannot be the mother of religion" (p. 136). Man as man has within him a sense of the Infinite and the Absolute. His thoughts cannot be held within the restraints of the world of mere sensation. He is dissatisfied with the external world, and this begets in him the desire of a super-terrestrial world. These longings and aspirations crop out in the experience of even the lowest races of men. The highest satisfaction of the religious nature furnished by Christianity is dimly foreshadowed in the rudest religious cultus. Revelation is necessary because man has fallen from his high estate, and is unable to extract from the diffused rays of nature sufficient light to satisfy his deepest wants.

THE HOLMAN COMPARATIVE SELF-PRONOUNCING SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS' BIBLE. Small Pica, 8vo. Philadelphia: A. J. Holman & Company.

A comparison of the Revised Version of the Bible with the Authorized Version by the linear parallel method is made simple and effective. In upper and lower parallel lines differences in reading, spelling, typography, capitalization, idiom, parenthesis, punctuation, are seen at once without effort of comparison or painstaking examination. This makes the Holman Bible the best of any for teachers' and class use. The type is excellent; the paper, good; and the binding, in genuine levant, silk-sewed, is beyond criticism.

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THE GOSPEL FOR A WORLD OF SIN. A Companion-Volume to "The Gospel for an Age of Doubt." By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D. (Princeton, Harvard, Yale), LL.D. (Union), pastor of the Brick Church in New York. 12mo. Pp. ix, 192. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. \$1.25.

This volume, like its predecessor, will increase the author's reputation both as a preacher and as a thinker upon the fundamental questions of the Christian system. The sermons show a just appreciation both of the extent of the moral evil in the world and of the grandeur of the plan by which God is seeking to make the wrath of man to praise him. In style, also, the discourses are models.

HISTORY OF DOGMA. (Theological Translation Library. Vol. X.) By Dr. ADOLPH HARNACK. Translated from the third German edition by NEIL BUCHANAN. Vol. V. Pp. xx, 331. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1899. \$2.50.

This volume is the first of three which will reproduce in English the contents of Volume III. of Harnack's great work in the German original. It treats of Augustine "as a reformer of Christian piety and as a theological teacher, and of the influence he exercised down to the

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Many additions and changes were made in Harnack's third edition in order to meet criticisms and to incorporate new material. The volume is essential to a correct understanding of this important period of church history.

IS MY BIBLE TRUE? Where did we get it? By Rev. CHARLES LEACH, D.D. Pp. 119. Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. 50 cents.

A brief but faithful and popular statement of the manuscript history of the Bible and of its reception in the early churches, together with an account of the versions, both ancient and modern. The illustrations of the text are numerous and well executed.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND KINDRED DELUSIONS. By LUTHER DAY HARKNESS. With an Introduction by Professor HENRY CHURCHILL KING. Oberlin, O.: L. D. Harkness. 1899. 25 cents.

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THE MAKING OF HAWAII: *A Study in Social Evolution.* By WILLIAM FREMONT BLACKMAN, Professor in Yale University. Pp. xii, 266. 1899. \$2.00.

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THE BOOK OF JOB. (Oxford Commentaries.) With Introduction and Notes by EDGAR C. S. GIBSON, D.D., Vicar of Leeds and Prebendary of Wells. 8vo. Pp. xxx, 236. 1899.

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL. (The International Critical Commentary.) By HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College. Post 8vo. Pp. xxxix, 421. 1899. \$3.00 net.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, the First Apology for Christianity. An Exegetical Study. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCH, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow; author of "The Kingdom of God," etc. Demy 8vo. Pp. xii, 451. 1899. \$2.50.

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T H E

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

VOL. LVII. 1900.

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With the new year, and, in 1901, with the new century, the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA should go on with increased influence and power, carrying to thinkers of the new era all that is best and fundamental in theology, ethics, social science, political science, and political economy. The tendency in this day to explore foundations and to root up the wheat with the tares needs a constant watchfulness, and, often-times, a substantial rebuke from a reliable magazine like the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA. Those truths that are ever new and fresh, from whose cheeks the bloom of youth never departs, are in every department of thought, and constantly to question their veracity is to cast discredit upon sound learning, or to expose one's self to the charge of seeking, not the truth, but notoriety.

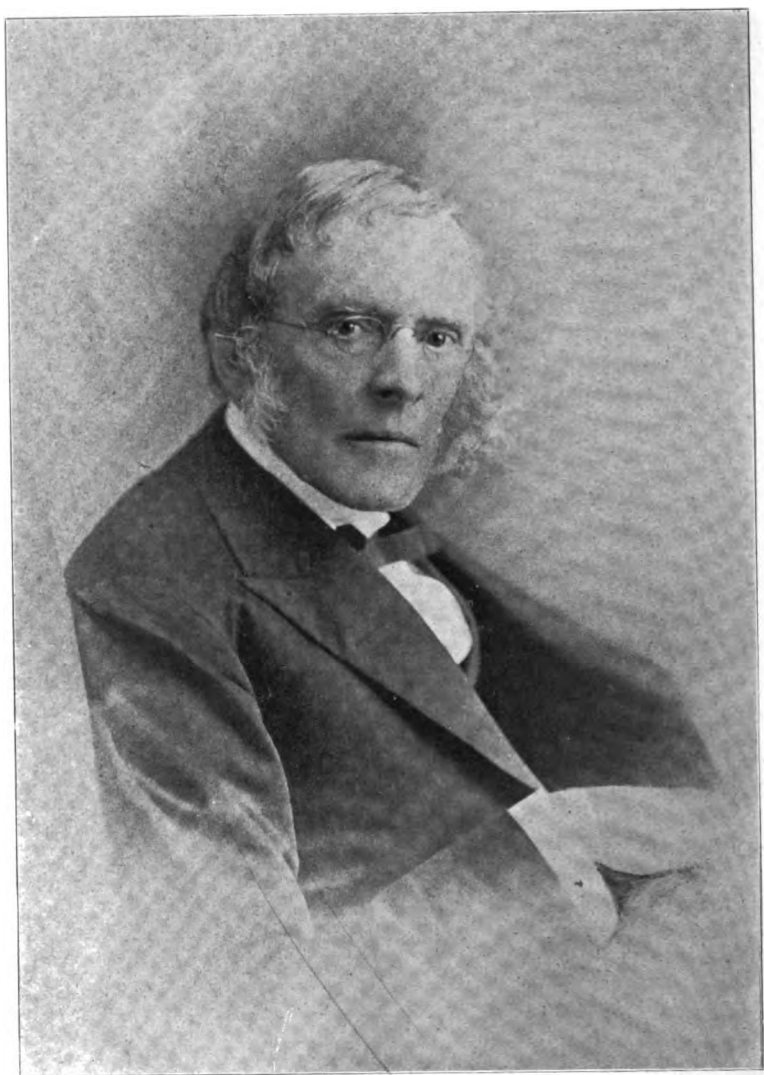
The aim of Professor Wright and myself has been to rest quietly and serenely upon these fundamental truths, and yet ever to be open and willing to listen to new truths. It is, therefore, with extreme reluctance that I now part company with him in the delightful associations of the editorial sanctum. That the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA may be in the new century what it has been in the past,—an exponent of all that is truest and best in every department of thought, and a magazine devoted to the best in learning and to sound scholarship,—is the best wish that it is in my power to express.

Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK,
Cambridge, Mass.

It is gratifying both to me and to the readers of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA to add to the above, that, in retiring from the responsible editorship, Mr. Holbrook does not withdraw from interest in the magazine. He still consents to remain as associate editor, and, as opportunity permits, will furnish us with the results of his wide experience and profound thought upon the sociological questions which are destined to agitate the public with increased intensity.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT,
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Sincerely Yours
T. D. Woodley

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

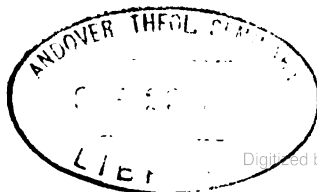
THEODORE DWIGHT WOOLSEY.

BY PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, D.C.L., LL.D.

THE force of character a man possesses is measured by the depth and permanency of the impression made upon those with whom he comes in contact. For any kind of power exerts an influence in exact proportion to its amount, whether acting on material or spiritual nature. Weak forces may by a sudden effort create an impression greater than is justified by their amount; but this is evanescent, since there is not enough in reserve for continued action. And strong forces by an unsteady application disappoint, because what is gained at the time of their exertion is lost by intermission. But that which continues without abatement, calm and steady, never loses what it has gained; and further increases the effect of each act by the constancy in the pursuit of one unaltered purpose.

These facts are very apparent in the influence which men exert upon those who are closest to them and can test their real nature. So far from the adage proving true in such cases, that "familiarity breeds contempt," the closer we get to a really strong nature the more are we moved by its power, because it is not bolstered up by pretense.

VOL. LVI. No. 224. I



If these principles be true, Theodore Dwight Woolsey was a great man, no matter what be the standard by which we measure greatness. For among the very large number of pupils who came under his influence and with the best opportunities to observe him closely, there has been, so far as the writer's knowledge extends, but one opinion. Of this multitude there have been strong characters; men who have filled most exalted positions in every department of life, and have given their best services to the betterment of mankind. These with one consent acknowledge their indebtedness to this instructor with a heartiness which has been seldom equaled, and perhaps never excelled. Among the many great teachers we have had in our country to whom multitudes rise up to render homage, we can safely say there has not been his equal. Nor do we believe that Jowett, Arnold, Cousin, Schleiermacher, or Abelard left a stronger or more abiding impression upon those whom they instructed. At this lapse of time since his life as a teacher ended, it cannot be the glamour through which youth views its favorite; for most of his pupils have passed middle life, and many are old. Yet the feeling toward him is more strong, if that were possible, than when they sat as learners at his feet. The question naturally arises, Where were the hidings of this man's power?

In a casual meeting with President Woolsey at the period of his greatest vigor, one saw nothing striking in his personal appearance; or, if so, not in the way of attractiveness. To such as did not know him he seemed a very quiet man; much stooped; of rapid and not very graceful movement; deeply absorbed in his own thoughts; and, as a consequence, somewhat oblivious to what was going on around him. If he was seen in any public place where his official duty did not require him to lead, he was modest and shrinking, taking a low place almost to the extent of hiding himself. Where it was his duty to lead, whether in

a public service or in the classroom, his look was calm, his movements noiseless but rapid, his manner nervous but fully self-possessed, and his eye piercing, as though, when directed toward you, it would read your inmost soul. His dispatch of business in pushing forward the matter in hand, and avoiding extraneous issues or long talks, was conspicuous. His speech was low and hesitating, but so penetrating that it reached every portion of any audience. There was nothing of witchery in the tone or manner of delivery to prepossess or captivate by any oratorical grace in speech or gesture. Those who had formed their impressions from his writings or from his public reputation would probably be disappointed, and possibly prejudiced, when they saw him for the first time. Hence his power did not arise from any of those gifts and graces which usually win popularity. Yet with all who have known him in his work, who have come in close touch with his real nature, he commanded such respect as they never gave to any other man, and won their hearts so completely that the writer feels sure many of his pupils would have made any personal sacrifice in his behalf—even to giving their lives to save his. Nor was this feeling the mere enthusiasm of youth, a transitory loyalty to a teacher who enabled them to think and act as men, and aided them in securing places for their life-work. It grew while they lived, and ended in a veneration which is perhaps too near to idolatry.

There must have been some adequate cause for this in the man himself.

President Woolsey was the impersonation of the idea of Duty. He felt the responsibility of his position to such a degree that he was overwhelmed rather than elated by any dignity placed upon him. Kant summed up ethical wisdom in the memorable words, "Reverence thyself!" Woolsey would have changed the motto a little by saying, "REV-

ERENCE DUTY!" Why? Because this is the voice of the ever-living and ever-present God. When he was a student in Paris, about the year 1825, he took lessons in Arabic from that eminent orientalist, Garcin de Tassy, who had inscribed over his professorial chair, *Dieu est ici*, "God is here." And so He is, consciously, to every man who feels that the Great Master has sent each soul into the world with a work to do which no other can do for him, and which, if not done by himself, will be left undone forever. Hence, if such a thing as a selfish motive or desire to be remiss in work had come to tempt Theodore Woolsey, he would have said: "Get behind me, Satan, for thou art an offense." Always present for duty exactly on time, always busy, never in a hurry; with a calmness which showed complete mastery over himself, he gave every energy of body, soul, and spirit to that work unto which he felt himself called of God. Hence he never did any work slovenly, nor deputized some one else to do a service, however small and thankless, which he could do himself. The amount of drudgery he performed was enormous: such undesirable tasks as others would have been only too glad to have relieved him from doing, he did alone, without permitting it to be known how hard he labored. He was one of those few persons for whom you could render no service. Always helpful to others, he did not permit himself to get into a position where he seemed to need assistance. He lived as seeing Him who is invisible, and the motto of his Arabic professor appealed to every fiber of his nature. To do you good, to help you because a stranger inexperienced and ignorant, to advance you in virtue and knowledge, was ever uppermost in his thoughts. He always had time enough for your errand, but his manner made it evident that when your business was done with him, he was done with you; and if you had time to throw away he had not. This was made so evident by his look, that we doubt if

any man who ever approached him failed to discern the fact. Yet this did not arise from any lack of kindness, but from the strong feeling that the time of each man ought to mean much both to the world and to himself; but to the latter chiefly, because of his obligation to the former. Hence in his view nothing was to be done without an adequate motive, and whatever talents a man might possess, or the circumstances in which he might be placed, they must be made subservient to that work for which he had a special mission among men. And since example is the most efficient teacher, President Woolsey as a living embodiment of that principle which makes life worth living was preëminent in ability as an instructor.

He was born to be a ruler. Those who knew him most intimately said he had a hot temper, though all admitted it to be under complete control. That he had a strong will no one can doubt, and this is a quality absolutely necessary to a leader among men. A strong character if it has a weakness knows this, and gives heed to supply what is lacking. Irascibility must be under control, else it will expose the possessor to folly and mortification. Whatever may have been his predisposition to anger, he got the complete mastery over his temper. The first requisite for the control of others is self-control. Without this a man may be feared when he is in a position to do us harm, and will be despised or hated when we escape from his power.

But the government by inflexible law is demanded everywhere. It is seen complete in material nature. Here reason has absolute sway, and bends everything to fixed laws, working out a plan which embraces the universe. The same is true in the moral world. For this also is a universe of goodness, except in so far as rational beings who are endowed with responsibility choose to pervert this freedom to their own ruin. Responsibility involves law and obedience; ruler and subject. Implicit obedience

is always demanded of us. It will be secured through our voluntary yielding or our forcible subjugation. And nowhere is this implicit obedience more necessary than in college life. For this embraces the transition period between parental government and that of the state. The former is secured insensibly by the condition of dependence on the love and care necessary to the child's life and nurture. Here the helplessness of infancy precludes the necessity of the rule being felt at all, except in rare cases. But, during the period of pupilage, the passions are strong, the reflective powers yet weak; and there is for the first time the sense of personal freedom because the natural restraints of home are removed. Obedience must now be learned from appeals to reason, or secured by resort to force. Here the pupil will find the initiation into that which is to follow in his intercourse with men in society. For in the world which he must soon enter, neither the love of the parent nor the allowances made by the teacher for his escapades will avail him longer; but obedience must be rendered at his peril. It is better, therefore, that the pupil be subject to inflexible discipline, in order to become accustomed to that which will surely meet him among his fellow-men.

President Woolsey emphatically ruled. It was, in his estimation, quite as much the student's duty to obey law and shape his conduct by a rational system of subjection to authority, as to get intellectual culture. Indeed, the latter would be a curse without the former. For it would make him able to do wrong, and shrewd to escape its consequences for a time, only to harden the character by offenses sure to be discovered and punished at last.

Authority cannot be divided in the court of last resort. Some one person, or a majority of a body, must be clothed with final responsibility. The fewer the number thus clothed, the simpler the administration of law, and the

surer its success, provided the executive be competent. If the ruler were thoroughly capable, the true idea is that of the *τύραννος* as understood in the Greek sense. But there is likelihood, from the frailty of our nature, that there will be lack, either of the knowledge requisite to see what is just, or power and calmness to exercise the prerogative without fear or favor. Hence the experiment is hazardous. It is for this reason that men everywhere are usually governed badly. Those who need governing most are least conscious of the fact; and as the ruler must usually be of the same lineage or community he is not likely to be much above his subjects in capacity for rule. Hence government cannot be complete until knowledge and arbitrary power are lodged in the same person.¹ That this is possible was verified in the case of President Woolsey. For he was autocratic to as complete a degree as ever was realized, yet his government was thought so fair by his pupils that we do not believe the wrongdoer who suffered most ever called in question his justice.

Of late there has been an experiment tried by calling in the coöperation of representatives from the student body to assist in governing. This has been followed by disastrous results where it has been continued for any length of time, and has therefore in most cases been abandoned. The idea of such rule is absurd on the face of it, since it is directly contrary to all natural forms of government,—whether in the family circle, in business corporations, or in the state. So long as there are no offenses, any plan of rule will do—even none at all. But as soon as the laws are broken, the judges and executioners in this unnatural system are taken from among the offenders; and often indeed the ringleaders in the disorders are the ones who sit in solemn judgment on their own offenses! The absurdity

¹ Plato, *Repub.*, 487, E, *Ὁδὸν πρότερον κακῶν παύσονται αἱ πόλεις πρὶν ἢ ἐν αὐτοῖς αἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀρξώσιν.* Compare 473, C, D.

again appears at once when we consider that the indispensable requisite of government is that it should be by a body of superior wisdom and experience; and from its constitution as far removed as possible from partiality. If the student in college, with his *esprit de corps*, be called upon to judge his fellows, he will always be swayed by this feeling: even though he possessed the experience and sobriety of judgment which age furnishes. College life is one where instruction and discipline are required in pretty nearly equal quantities, and if the student is capable of the latter, which demands a higher power than the former, he is at least as well fitted for teaching as governing, and therefore the pupil and instructor should change places. It is especially requisite that the governing-factor be free from bias and "know no man after the flesh," which requires a sagacity and equipoise of judgment which is one of the rarest gifts in nature. Every pupil and colleague of this great teacher will be ready to admit, that, if in any qualification he was preëminent, it was as an executive officer. For while his system of government was intensely rigid, its fairness was so manifest that it was accepted with a degree of respect which nothing could shake; while the certainty and swiftness with which offenses were visited, were a powerful antidote in preventing them.

AS AN INSTRUCTOR.

President Woolsey wrote much. His earlier work in this line was chiefly review articles on classical and theological subjects, and in editions of the Greek tragedians and Plato for college use. Many of these text-books were so popular that they superseded nearly all others in their line in our country. Later in life he wrote almost exclusively on social and political topics, in the latter of which he took a very keen interest during and after the War of the Rebellion. After his elevation to the presidency, in

1846, his line of instruction was changed. Hence, while not abandoning the Greek language entirely, his duties were now to teach history and political economy. This change of work was doubtless the main cause in diverting his authorship into new channels. It is not germane to our purpose to speak at length of his writings. They have a secure place of their own, standing at the head of treatises on social questions and international law, and used throughout the world. The verdict of universal use has fixed their rank.

While he taught in every way,—by the pen, from the pulpit, and in frequent public lectures,—his work was emphatically in the professorial chair. For in this service he was most engaged, and here doubtless he wielded his most potent influence. What were the qualities which rendered him preëminent in this field?

First, the mastery of his subject. The ability to teach is, according to competent authority,¹ the criterion of knowledge. There are various ways in which a person may be said to understand a subject. He may have an accurate knowledge of the separate elements, and yet fail to see their union and bearing on each other as an organic whole. He may have clear insight into the leading principles, gleaned from others; yet these, being second-hand, have not become a part of his intellectual life. These *dissecta membra* are not articulated so that the skeleton snatched can have living flesh and sinews to show the beauty of the whole body, and dependence of each member on all the rest. His knowledge was founded on that painstaking accuracy which is involved in the mastery of data, and the wide sweep of vision which discerns the unity of the parts organized into complete system. The subject lay before him as unity in plurality. There was nothing hazy in the atmosphere through which he looked;

¹ Arist., Met. i. 9, *ὅπως τε σημειῶν τοῦ εἰδότος τὸ δύνασθαι διδάσκειν ἐστὶ.

nothing insecure in the ground on which he trod; and so there could be nothing weak or slipshod in his treatment of a subject. He was a student through life, reading other people's opinions, and an independent thinker who invariably formed his own. Equipped with such resources, he came to his classes, either to lecture, or conduct a recitation by testing the student on his mastery of a lesson assigned. In his lectures there was not a redundant word. He gave a clear-cut presentation of the facts, with no attempt at elegance of language or oratorical display. His style was not merely such that you could understand, but rather that which could not possibly be misunderstood. The tones were quiet, sometimes hesitating, as if from the desire to get that word which would give the fairest presentation of the truth. There was an entire freedom from mannerisms, from tautology, and from repetition. While there was no apparent effort at originality of expression, yet it was a noteworthy fact that he neither employed the language of others treating of the same subjects, nor repeated himself.

The latter trait was conspicuous in his religious services—for he often preached in chapel by request, though this was not the duty of his office. These sermons were models of pure English; full of evangelical truth, and particularly suited to an audience made up almost exclusively of hearers in the formative period of their lives. While these sermons were not as abstruse as those of Bishop Butler, and the language was more elegant, they closely resembled those of that great moralist in their trend of thought. To read them in their published form, dedicated to those pupils who heard them spoken, brings their loved author very near to our hearts. In his public prayers there was a most marked originality, despite the fact that this was a daily duty. He led the morning devotions invariably; for such was his punctuality that he did

not miss once on an average in a year. The writer heard him at every morning service during the college course, and occasionally since, and never in these exercises were there two prayers in which there was the slightest similarity of set phrase.

In teaching, also, he employed no redundant words. Here he was especially quiet and calm. His presence carried so much respect that it was never necessary for him to speak to a student about behavior in the recitation-room. There was something in the atmosphere where he taught that forbade the thought of disorder. Students prone to mischief in other places were somehow subdued when they entered his recitation. Hence he had no occasion to make any remark about good order. This was taken for granted as well by the pupil as the teacher. He came in noiselessly and rapidly; took his seat with quiet dignity; made no allusion to any extraneous subject, but began the work of the hour exactly on time. The student who desired to learn had no occasion for trepidation when he arose to recite. There was no ensnaring question, no effort to take him off his guard, which could disconcert even a weak or timid scholar. If a pupil had not studied his lesson, or could not master it, this fact was made manifest in a perfectly businesslike way; and honest ignorance was treated with kindness and relieved as far as this could be done without taking time that belonged to others. But pretentious wisdom and forward ignorance received no mercy. The needle was inserted so deftly into the gas-bag, and this collapsed so quickly, that the process was over almost before the pitiful wight knew what had happened. There was no malice in this pricking process; and while there might be mortification in the subject himself, the justice of the act was apparent to all others. It was strictly a matter of business, a part of instruction to insert the probe and relieve the swelling. For it is quite as

necessary to show a man what he does not know, as to allow him to gain culture by explaining what he partially understands.

The whole process of teaching by President Woolsey was *maieutic*. It was the business of the pupil to recite, and the teacher's duty to enable him to do this by the most effectual method. If there was any mental conception that could be delivered, this teacher could be a veritable son of Phænarete. He did not talk. The formulating of his questions was a marvel to his pupils then, and continues so still. For he embodied the most meaning in the fewest words, and they of the simplest kind, that is conceivable. Nothing that ever met the writer's notice, except Gladstone's headings to the sections into which he has divided Bishop Butler's works, could vie with President Woolsey's terseness in the questions he formulated in the oral recitation. He rises before the mind's eye, after this long interval, as he sat, still as a statue, with his hand slightly supporting his head; the forefinger resting on the nose, with the thumb and the rest of the hand under the chin. In the quietest and clearest of terms propounding a question of one or two words, he seemed to embody the substance of a whole page. If the reciter knew anything of the subject this question would call forth his knowledge. If he could not answer, then a sharp and clear suggestion was offered; and if this knock showed that there was no one at home in this student's mind, he must give place quickly to another.

The two prime requisites for a successful teacher are seldom found together. The one is to be able to formulate a clear-cut, clean, and comprehensive question. In the search after Nature's secrets the *prudens quæstio* of Bacon is the chief thing at which to aim. For the secret is always ready to be revealed to him who has the key to unlock the treasure-house where the knowledge is laid up.

But this requires not only the skill of experience, but the insight of the diviner. The knowledge is somewhere, and to be elicited when asked for in the right way. There is no reluctance in the response provided the secret spring is touched to awaken the power which is latent. So it is with the human mind,—the most cunning handiwork of Nature. When this is young, and stimulated, as it usually is, by curiosity, it has a wonderfully responsive power whenever any chord is touched, and thus made to vibrate. There are dull pupils whose modes of thought are hard to divine, either by the dull or sharp instructor. That this should be the case with the former, goes without saying. But why so with the latter? Because the operations of the quick-witted are so rapid, and his insight is so clear, that the modes of thought of the dull are unfamiliar. It is hard to the quick-witted to let himself down to the level of the sluggish and hazy. Hence many bright intellects who are possessed of thorough scholarship often fail as instructors, unless they have pupils nearly their equals in mental vigor. When two intellects of nearly equal acuteness meet, there is the sympathy of kinship.

But we must remember that the teacher is not merely or chiefly for the highly gifted—for a double reason. Such minds are rare, and when they do exist they need but little help. The able teacher is one that can take fair talent and make it brilliant; can take mediocre talent and make it useful and respectable. But how to do this most effectually is the great problem. The instructor is justified in the assumption that there is ability of at least fair order in every pupil who reaches the highest grade of schools. His task, therefore, is to reach and develop this ability. Unless, however, there is something to respond, there can be no teaching. For this process, as we have seen, does not drive education in, but, as the word denotes, draws it out. We may continue the *maieutic* idea, which is the only true

method of teaching. The intellectual germ or embryo is in the pupil's mind. It is already struggling to come forth into real life; or, if only in a dormant state, it must be awakened. In this process the pupil must endure the labor. Assistance may be given to aid nature; but if the native powers are not strong or active enough to endure parturition, nothing can be produced. The formulating of ideas in the mind to be taught, the clothing them in the dress of speech which will best set off their beauty, must be done by the learner himself, or nothing worth the pains can be effected.

Most teachers forget, or at least do not act on this, *the second* requisite in order, but the first in importance, in education. They seem to think that to educate means to tell a pupil what *they* know; not reflecting that what passes through the mind of the learner and is worked into shape by him is the measure of his acquisitions and culture. It is easy for the instructor to give the information; it is hard to elicit this from the dull or inattentive pupil. Besides, it is delightful to many instructors to display their own knowledge and superiority, and thereby excite admiration. But it is extremely difficult to formulate a clear-cut and searching question; free from verbiage yet comprehensive in reach; such as will arouse and hold the attention. Doubtless this is the most rare talent in the world, to be able to ask such questions as will force the interpretation of Nature—more rare than to be a great poet or general. Any teacher who will honestly endeavor to formulate sixty or one hundred questions in an hour, covering the amount of knowledge to be taught in that time, will find himself more exhausted than if he had split rails with Lincoln or felled trees with Gladstone. If he is honest with himself, we repeat it, he will find this a most difficult task; and hence so many instructors shrink from the labor. And added to this labor there is the weariness of listening to

ignorance, stimulating the sluggish, and restraining the forward who persist in talking when they have nothing to say. Besides it is so easy for the average teacher to talk, talk, talk; especially for him whose belly is full of the east wind, but who has not himself well mastered the subject in hand. And it is much more comfortable for the lazy or dull pupil to sit with ears, eyes, and mouth wide open, apparently taking in the torrent of words—if haply he be not engaged surreptitiously behind the bench in making caricatures of his professor or the persons of his fellows. Still the net outcome of such teaching is nothing but a dull mind made more so in the case of the learner, and the formation of a habit which will utterly unfit the instructor for his vocation.

President Woolsey talked less, and made the pupil explain more, during a recitation, than any other teacher we have ever known. For this reason, in large part, we consider him the best; though this same characteristic was conspicuous in Trendelenburg, Roediger, and Sir William Hamilton. He made the pupil do nearly all the talking; yet when the latter began to make a display of his smartness he was brought up roundly. He compelled him to think for himself, and so gain that independence of mental action which every person must acquire if he would arouse and direct the energies of others—which is the paramount duty of every educated person. There is too much talk everywhere, and this *cacoëthes loquendi* has invaded the chair of the college president perhaps more than any other calling, not even forgetting the politician. It may be taken for granted that the average student knows how to behave himself properly, and grows restive in seeing the time which is allotted to teaching consumed by advice on that or any other extraneous topic. And undoubtedly one great duty of the higher education is to accustom the learner to hold his speech in check until he has something

to say. For he should, as a man of culture, be a leader among men. There is too much talk everywhere.¹ The habit of talking to hear one's self talk, the feeling that silence is so much time lost, can be entertained by those only who have so little ability to think, that a small and infrequent exercise of this power is a great weariness. There is no class of persons to whom the biting sarcasm of Butler in his sermon on the "Government of the Tongue" is more applicable than to the loquacious college professor or president, who from the positions they occupy are supposed, at least by themselves, to possess wisdom which must be aired, else it would give up the ghost!

The disposition to avoid unnecessary words was certainly one of President Woolsey's leading traits. Believing that more effectual teaching is done by example than by precept, and that a most important factor in education is to be able to restrain one's self from talking until he has something to say, he maintained this characteristic not merely in the recitation-room, but wherever he might be engaged. Hence often in public religious gatherings, when, from his official position he might be expected to take a leading part, he took the lowest seat and remained silent. And when his duty was to officiate, he confined himself strictly to what belonged exclusively to the service. While he always conducted chapel service in the morning, yet he never took that as an occasion to do or say anything else than what the specified duty required. He came exactly on time, with a rapid but noiseless step, ascended the pulpit, read the Scripture, announced the hymn, and made the prayer—and such a prayer! Can any one who ever heard him pray forget the manner, the substance, or the language of the prayer? It was devotion in every part, and nothing else. And when this service was over he descended from the pulpit in the same quiet yet

¹ Gladstone's Butler, Vol. ii. pp. 84-85, § 10.

rapid pace, with unaffected dignity; leaving the impression that he had been with God and was clothed with his Spirit.

RIGOROUS IN HIS REQUIREMENTS.

As a teacher he was exacting with his pupils, but more so with himself. To require good work of others is only a natural consequence of a deep sense of personal duty. This was no doubt unconscious; having become a second nature, growing out of his own experience as a pupil, and his confirmed habits of study. He graduated young, at the head of his class, and ever remained a close student. This hard dealing with himself was not a necessity growing out of a struggle with narrow means, since he was born heir to such resources as would have enabled him to live in comfort without strenuous exertion. But his sense of duty compelled him to make the most of life; and in this way severity with himself became the fixed standard of his thought and action. He was indeed strict in his requirements in scholarship, and unyielding in the demand for perfect order and propriety of demeanor—though the latter was somehow secured through the awe inspired by his presence. Yet he did not demand respect as a personal right, but as due from an inferior to a superior, from a learner to a teacher. The requirements for scholarship in the college were greatly increased by his influence while still professor, and during his presidency the advance was yet more marked. To say that he had no patience with dullness would be perhaps to put the case too strongly. That he could not tolerate idleness needs scarcely to be said; and, therefore, that he dismissed such from college with short shrift can be readily understood.

There may be honest difference of opinion as to the extent dull pupils are to be tolerated. Mediocrity has its place in the world; and, if so, should have the opportunity for such culture as will enable it to make the most of

itself. And this unquestionably can be best effected by public teaching. Moreover, this order of talent needs help more than acuteness and vigor. The latter can gain culture without much assistance and secure it in many ways. But the mediocre must be aided, else it will retrograde; and the world be deprived of the fair work which this could have done under the proper conditions. Hence there will always be a doubt how far a dull pupil who is anxious to learn should be tolerated in a bright class. For the instruction which is level to the majority will be above his grasp; and if the teacher adapts it to his caliber and exercises enough patience to meet his case, the others will suffer both in the character of the teaching and the loss of time belonging to them. Mildness and compassion will do all that is possible, and, when carried to a fault, this certainly leans to virtue's side. The alternative is between the wish to aid honest dullness and spare the disgrace of removal, and the greater amount of good which can be done to the world through the effectual culture of the gifted in the same time and by the same appliances. Besides, the effect of either system is not merely on a few individuals, or temporary in its continuance. It determines the character of the institution, and conversely the character of those who seek it. Colleges segregate and classify themselves into those where it is easy to graduate and those where it is difficult. Men of diverse abilities and preparation will classify themselves accordingly; and the value of the work done will be largely determined by the degree of rigidity in the standard of requirement demanded for entrance, and maintained throughout the course.

There can be no question as to President Woolsey's position on this subject. He was rigidity itself in the demands made upon the pupil. It is possible that his own quickness of intellect, his excellent preparation for college, in their combined effect upon his own character made him

too rigid and exacting, too little considerate of those slow to learn. He certainly raised the standard of teaching and requirements in all departments. With unequaled insight into character he selected his corps of professors as the chairs became vacant, and always had a faculty of his own way of thinking. Those who loved him best must admit that he had a strong will. But there cannot be a strong character joined to a weak and vacillating will. Some one must lead in every body of men joined for common action. The leader is more necessary, if possible, than the subordinate. He must not only know what to do, but not shrink from responsibility involved in any line of action he undertakes. Every one knows that President Woolsey was the leader; no matter where he sat, that was the head of the table, whether as regards fellows, faculty, or students. He knew how to govern and had the courage of his convictions. During his long connection with Yale "he occupied," as has been well said by one of his successors, "the highest place in the life of the institution that it was possible for any one to hold." The college grew apace under his wise, aggressive, and expansive ideas. The foundations of a great university were laid securely. This work, like all that he did, was wrought noiselessly. It was not by some extraordinary effort, some grand display, some startling innovation, but by remaining at his post; working with unflagging energy each day from one year's end to another; looking into every detail of finance, of instruction, of government—for he was the prime mover of all—that Yale grew strong in the character and number of its graduates, and through them in the confidence of the country. It would be unjust and foolish to say that he did all this, or that he did not have a broad and firm foundation already laid when he began to remodel. For he found a faculty able in their separate individuality and harmonious in their action; each having unbounded love

for, and confidence in, their leader, and only too glad to work along lines which he should devise. But they all received inspiration from his spirit and example. When once asked how it was that he never was absent from an exercise, he replied: "I must show an example of punctuality. My position as president requires me to do more myself than I can ask of any one else. It would be unreasonable to ask of professors or students any more than of myself."

Yale has always been a religious institution. While entirely free from sectarianism, it has been distinctly and unmistakably Christian. No college or university in the world has for an equal number of years been more steady in its grasp on the teachings of evangelical religion. And this is right. For there can be no teaching, which is worth the name, that holds aloof from faith in a revelation, or from a culture, which, while fitting for this life, does this in entire subservience to a future state. It is not required for this result that the professors of mathematics, chemistry, or the Greek language shall give a part of each hour to dissertations on theology or the value of creeds. But all truth is so connected together that no one portion can be taught in complete isolation. There is an atmosphere of doubt as well as one of faith; and he who breathes either will be affected by the medium in which he lives. It is not necessary for a man to wear a brocard, or proclaim his creed at the corners of the streets, to prove that he is religious. The life speaks more eloquently than the oft-repeated formula; and the "epistle, that is alive, is known and read of all men." No one could come near President Woolsey without becoming conscious that here is a man who feels the solemn truth, "Thou God seest me." Yet, save in the pulpit, or in some distinctively religious service, he seldom spoke of religion; never, anywhere, of his own! But the whole attitude was that of one who

lived in constant communion with that Power which established law and embodies righteousness. He who seeks first the kingdom of heaven will have everything else; and his actions show of whom he has taken counsel, and whose temper he possesses. For the amount of religious character will be felt, like any other force, in the influence which it exerts upon the world. It cannot be hid any more than the light of the sun in the solar system, or gravitation in the universe. The less that is said about personal piety by the possessor, the more it will speak for itself; the less it is paraded, the more will it exert its hidden influence on all who come within its sphere of action.

The intellectual and moral life cannot be separated. The faith which overcomes the world has to work by love, that love which is ready to give the whole life for the good of our fellow-men. Such faith our venerated teacher showed all the time. He lived for his pupils. There was not an energy of his soul or body, not a resource of talent, learning, or worldly goods, that was not made a free-will offering for the good of those for whom he lived, loved, and prayed. He was the wise instructor in the culture of the schools; the faithful guide to the perplexed spirit; the unstinting giver to the needy and friendless student—who perchance has never more than suspected whence came the timely aid. These qualities of mind and heart combined to form a character strong in the highest elements capable of union in human nature. He did not possess that freedom of address and popularity of demeanor which invited familiarity. While he never held himself aloof, his manner spoke more plainly than words: "I have my work to do which cannot wait; have you not also your call to duty?" It is a strong aid to a teacher to hold that vantage-ground of dignified bearing, which, by never cheapening itself, prevents such familiarity as breeds contempt. For this destroys his power to convey instruction

in its greatest potency. A man is better pleased in every relation if he receives favor from a superior than from an inferior. There must, however, be a native not a factitious dignity. The latter is worse than familiarity. For while this places the benefactor on a level with the recipient, and is favorable to complete sympathy of thought and action, the other discloses an effort at falsehood. The hypocrisy awakens contempt, and thus renders nugatory whatever power of instruction a teacher may possess. The great majority of teachers can be successful only through that sympathy which is evoked by getting close to the heart, and through this reaching the head. Hatred closes every avenue of approach to the learner's inner nature. And when this prevails on one side it soon affects the other. In such a case there can be neither that trust which results from dependence, nor that freedom begotten of love; so that there remains no avenue by which knowledge can be imparted. But even if a way of approach were still left open, the chief element of culture would be neglected. For pure intellect without heart fits a man neither for intercourse with his fellows, nor communion with his own soul. It isolates him from the world without, and makes him a stranger to his higher spiritual nature, because it is left desolate.

Those who possess the native force and nobility of character which secure reverence while not inviting familiarity, acquire a dignity which is highly advantageous to them as teachers in many ways. For it awakens a feeling of loyalty like that possessed by a faithful subject towards a king who reigns by divine right. It ennobles the subject and calls forth his best services. He is ready either to live or die for the sovereign of his heart. But the kingly prerogative of a gifted and cultured intellect which is consecrated and crowned by the grace of God, calls for and receives a still more devoted loyalty. This is the

loyalty which springs from a recognition of powers cultured by precept and ennobled by example. There is a new inspiration infused by the sight of one who, while walking with God, gives every energy of his being for the service of those who seek his instruction; one who is always conferring benefits on others, yet desires no reward save their love. This, the only recompense which was possible for them, was given without measure by every pupil of Theodore Dwight Woolsey.

HIS TREMENDOUS EARNESTNESS.

Some one said of Dr. Chalmers, when asked wherein the great power of his preaching lay, that "it was his blood earnestness"! This temper was conspicuous in President Woolsey. With a frail, bent body, and a bloodless face; but with an eye through which all the fire of a great soul gleamed, he went about his diversified cares. He seemed never to take any rest. From one kind of work to another he was under the necessity of turning many times each day, but found no cessation. In all these labors there was the same steady yet nervous, quiet yet intense, movement. The impression was always made by those who got near his inner life that the amount of reserve force was greater in every case than that expended. In other words, that, despite the incredible amount of his service, he was never worked up to his full mental capacity, even when most busy; and that he was husbanding his strength from the rational view that he could in this way make a given amount of vital force perform the greatest amount of service. His power of concentration seemed to be perfect. The writer once asked him how it was possible to have charge of so many exacting and perplexing duties, all in the same day, without distraction or neglect of any. Since he knew that the question was not intended as an imperti-

nence, but to learn a secret as a valuable means of culture, he replied with the utmost frankness: "Early in life I endeavored to get such a control over my own powers as to give my whole attention to one thing at one time; to pursue this till it was completed, or, if interrupted, to turn at once with the same singleness of purpose, and attend to the new matter till it was finished, and then to return to my former work and resume exactly where I had left off." That he could do this was evident.

That this was requisite to enable him to do the amount of work, and do this with such excellence as was manifest in all he undertook, is equally clear. For twenty-five years he was president of all the departments of Yale, which was a university in fact, if not in name, as it had all the faculties. His correspondence was necessarily enormous; amounting, on an average, to twenty-five hundred letters per year. These he wrote in full with his own hand—many of them long, covering extensive topics,—without an amanuensis, and before the era of the labor-saving type-writer. He taught and lectured as many hours as any professor. He preached very often in the college chapel, and in other pulpits. He wrote constantly for the magazines; edited text-books; wrote extensive treatises on moral, political, legal, and economic subjects. Besides these labors there were the never-ending interruptions that a president of a large college, who does not delegate any of the details of his office to any one else, has to endure from the trivial or important wants of the students. From all these sources we have a combination of toils which will rival Scaliger's famous enumeration of the labors of a lexicographer. Yet he met all these, and left nothing undone that in any way could fall to his lot. Did he grow weary? If so, he did not weary others with the account of his own weariness.

THE PURITY OF HIS LIFE.

Nothing impressed the thoughtful student more than the transparent purity of his life. This was manifest, whatever view you might take of him. His intellectual character exhibited what Bacon calls the "dry light." The workings of his mind were along the lines of pure truth. His language was direct and to the point, and was so accurate that it needed no illustration. There was nothing slovenly in his expression, no ideas half developed, and no incomplete sentences. There was a hesitancy sometimes in his speech to find the word or construction that would exactly enunciate what was in his mind. This arose from his unwillingness that any one should be led astray by his failure to express precisely the fact in a given case. The style of expression was generally devoid of ornament; very much like that of Aristotle, so clear that nobody was excusable for not knowing exactly what he meant to say. Some persons of good ability seem occasionally "to aim at nothing and hit it." The reason is that they are so anxious to speak that they begin before they have any elaborated knowledge. But he was preserved from this error by his strict conscientiousness. His reverence for the truth was so great that nothing could tempt him to utter a sentence that was not thoroughly canvassed, and its bearing seen from every point of view. All the power in the world could not make him swerve from strict veracity, not merely where material interests might be affected, but even when abstract truth only was in jeopardy. This characteristic was still more conspicuous when ethical interests were involved. One of his life-long friends reported a conversation held with him,—which, for substance, was the same as the writer heard from his lips,—which deserves mention: "No power in the universe, no fear, no loss, no physical suffering, could induce me to state what was even

suspected to be false." Truth in the inward parts was a ruling passion of his life. Language with him was not, as with Talleyrand, made to conceal a man's thoughts; but was given by divine inspiration, and rests upon a solemn compact which God makes with the soul. This is to convey exactly the thoughts, which in turn should be in agreement with that reality which underlies all nature. The man who always speaks the truth, who lives the truth, is allied with God; and though he may suffer for it temporarily, is the gainer in the end; for it is sure, sooner or later, of justification and recompense.

It is easy, therefore, to see that in dealing with pupils they were expected to be honest and never prevaricate. It might be thought that a man so absolutely truthful could be easily imposed upon by crafty students, because he could scarcely conceive of a rational man deliberately lying. But such was his sagacity in reading character that the prevaricator could be seen through by the Roentgen rays of his testing search-light. But few attempted to deceive him face to face. Few were audacious enough to stand before that embodiment of uprightness, and twist the truth: much less utter a downright lie. For there was something so noble and unselfish in that life which was given without recompense for the behoof of the pupil that a young man would have to become depraved indeed if he could find it in his heart to try to deceive our common benefactor. He evidently expected the truth, and almost invariably got it: either through a frank avowal, which went far to secure forgiveness, or a reluctant confession, which was easier to make, even with disgrace staring the offender in the face, than to brave out a falsehood before the incarnation of truth.

MODESTY AND FREEDOM FROM SELF-SEEKING.

Most people gain their ends by hard struggles and are

prone to feel that their positions are unsteady, and must be guarded with as much care as was employed in securing them. But he who is more anxious to be able to do good work than to be paid for it, to merit recognition than to receive a due reward, has no need to be perpetually looking out for himself lest he fail to get what he wishes. For there is an Omniscient Master who desires to put the servant where he can do the most good, and who has the sole power of appointment. So when a true man gets place or recognition, this is secure until the appointing power has some place better suited to the servant's abilities. But when a man through intriguing gets a position for which he does not possess the qualifications, he feels that he has sold himself for a higher price than his actual worth, and hence when his true value is discovered, he will be compelled to go down from his elevation. Hence he is always uneasy in his position, because he has just reason to fear he will lose it. But he who is truly humble, yet possesses the worth fitting him for lofty place, has nothing to fear. For he cannot be placed lower than where he thinks he belongs, and so feels in no dread of falling. The difference between the ambitious and the humble is strongly marked. The one is always dissatisfied with his present status, and is wire-pulling for advancement. This occupies him so completely that he has no time for the performance of those duties which are demanded by his present work. The other thinks only of doing good work in the place to which God has assigned him; and, being free to follow this duty with singleness of purpose, renders the best service of which his nature is capable.

In the recitation-room our teacher seemed utterly oblivious of himself, and was the impersonation of his work. How to do this best for the pupil was evidently all his thought. While there was no familiarity encouraged, at the same time there was no disposition to abridge the pu-

pil's rights. As to assumption of authority from his position, or a dignity which had to be tenderly guarded, no such thought touching him ever entered the mind of either teacher or pupil. There was only one thing to be done: that was the education of the learner by arousing his powers to independent thought; and the imparting of so much information as was necessary to that result. Hence a question was received as respectfully by him from the pupils as his questions were by us. Of course no one thought of such an absurdity as making an inquiry to get him to talk—the like of which does sometimes occur in the recitation-room—and so consume the hour. None dared to divert him from the main issue by pretended zeal for a special aspect of the subject: much less to ask him for a story to be the occasion for the forced laugh.¹ It would have been a curious phenomenon had any student been foolhardy enough to attempt such a liberty, and of absorbing interest to observe the outcome. But while his manner forbade all such liberties there was no awful distance—albeit each one of us held him in a particularly wholesome dread—which prevented a frank request for information germane to the lesson. There was a fairness in his treatment of each scholar which was the great secret of President Woolsey's success as an administrative officer, and representative of the policy of the college. Every student felt that there was absolutely no favoritism. The rich and the poor met together on a common footing before the law; and, as a consequence, with each other. While Yale has a proud record for many excellencies, there is nothing more distinctive of her policy than the absolutely impartial treatment of each man; no matter whether rich and backed by powerful family connections, or poor and utterly unknown. After a

¹ Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* :—

“ Full well they laughed with counterfeited glee,
At all his jokes, for many a joke had he.”

student had been admitted, and as long as he remained there, he was welcome to all that Yale had to offer, whether he paid for his tuition himself, or allowed it to be paid by the president out of his salary—for he gave this, and his undivided services to the welfare of the institution—all were treated absolutely alike. It is our opinion that Yale is the most thoroughly democratic, in the proper sense of that word, of any literary institution in the world, and that President Woolsey was its most complete exponent during his long period of service.

Hence, when there was any discipline inflicted, it was upheld by pupil and public alike. And this very often occurred, for the president was an uncompromising disciplinarian. He believed in this part of government for the two reasons generally assigned, viz., Punitive and Preventive; that is, both a help to him who was punished and a warning to others. But there was no doubt, either in the minds of those who were innocent or of those who suffered for their wrong-doing, that the punishment was right, and that the effect would be salutary. And this was largely due to the confidence reposed in his decisions. For this there were two reasons, viz., that his judgment was well-nigh infallible; and that a man who lived exclusively for what he considered the best interests of all who came to him to be taught and disciplined, could be swayed by no motive but the constant desire to do right.

HIS WISDOM IN ANTICIPATION OF AGE.

Many able men who hold important places and do good work for a long series of years neutralize much of their desert by holding on to their positions longer than their strength warrants. To grow old gracefully and give place to successors; to stand by passively and see others inaugurate lines of policy different from our own; to be laid on the shelf while as yet we think we have the requisite sa-

gacity, supported by long experience, is an ordeal too severe for any but the grandest natures to welcome. There is no greater test of the soundness of a man's judgment and elevation of character than his readiness to surrender power when his strength begins to fail. The aged are usually the last to discern this, and restive when others suggest, in the most remote way, that their powers are waning.¹ It is therefore very rare for a man to anticipate this inevitable result of age, and retire before the public discerns any ground for this action. In nothing was the calm, clear sense of President Woolsey more conspicuous than the judgments he formed about himself. He knew instinctively what he could not do, and avoided failure by not making the attempt. He knew the measure of his own powers in what he did, which no one of his friends ever desired to be greater than it was. And, as the mark of consummate wisdom, he took a course betimes which effectually prevented him from undoing the good work which he had already wrought during his many years of unremitting toil, by trying to hold on to his responsible office after the period when his powers might be unequal to the demands. He anticipated this, having determined, several years before, that he would lay down the office of president when he reached the age of seventy. In a conversation with a friend the question was asked, "Why did you resign the presidency when so many of your friends desired you to retain it longer, because they were sure that you were still able in all respects for its duties?" He answered, "I have observed in my long life many persons who held on to their positions to the hurt of both their positions and themselves. I well knew the time would come when my strength would no longer be sufficient for the duties, and when that time arrived I might not be conscious of my inability. So the decision was made to lay down my office

¹ Gil Blas, the Archbishop of Toledo.

while, in the estimation of all others as well as myself, my strength was fully equal to the demands made upon it." Nothing could be a clearer illustration of the guiding principles of his life. That life was thoroughly unselfish, consecrated to the noblest uses, and guided by a measure of common-sense rarely, if ever, equaled.

HIS LAST YEARS.

The activity exercised after his retirement from the presidency showed most clearly that no powers either of mind or body had become impaired. The freedom from the incessant and harassing cares of this office allowed him to compose, or materially revise, many of his most important writings. He was the president of the American Committee for the Revision of the English Translation of the Bible, in the New Testament section, where his thorough knowledge of the Greek language was again called in requisition. He continued to be a power not only in the college where he taught, and as a member of the Board of Fellows, but also as a political factor in the nation of the most far-reaching importance. His advice was sought by the United States Government, and the policy suggested by him was followed in several of the most important crises of our country.

There was a change in his manner observable to all who had known him in the busy days of the presidency. He relaxed much of that severity of demeanor which his countenance had habitually worn, so that he evidently enjoyed life more than heretofore. The hard lines of his face gave way to a most kindly and genial expression. He seemed more joyous and younger at eighty than he had at fifty; and even took a little time for relaxation and social intercourse. Each part of his life was equally well employed and supplemented the other. The untiring labor of his youth and early manhood in laying broad founda-

tions, the superhuman energy and push of his long-continued activity while professor and president, the serene yet busy old age, when native wisdom, strengthened by experience, was mellowed by that perfect peace which follows a whole-hearted service for God and humanity, showing the beauty of holiness written in every feature of his face—these give us the picture of a rounded manhood lacking nothing. Few men have done more or better work; none have been more loved than Theodore Dwight Woolsey.

ARTICLE II.

RUPPRECHT ON THE PENTATEUCH.

BY THE LATE REV. SAMUEL COLCORD BARTLETT, D.D.

A THOROUGHLY conservative and able work on the Pentateuch in these days from Germany is a noteworthy phenomenon. In Edward Rupprecht's "*Des Rätsels Lösung*"¹ we have it—conservative of the conservatives—a work which appears to have made some sensation even in Germany. Its chief disadvantage is its extent of more than eleven hundred pages, which, however natural for a German to write and for another German to read, are a little discouraging to any other nationality. An outline of the discussion may be a matter of interest, as indicating a rising revolt against the methods and results of the higher criticism, so-called, in the land of its supremacy. Obviously all that can be done within moderate limits is to indicate the course and method of the discussion without attempting to reproduce the arguments to any extent, even in an abridged form.

The volumes open with a *résumé* of certain positions maintained in a previous critique by the author, mainly on Strack's division of the "sources of the Pentateuch." As these positions reappear directly or by implication in the discussion, and give a clue to the author's reasoning, we cite them, as follows:—

I. The methods of determining the so-called "sources" are at variance with the universal conditions of procedure in the literary investigation of documents, resorting, as it does, to a course of arbitrary conjecture and phantasy,

¹ Gütersloh: Bertelsmann.

which cuts loose from every mark of science. For the text often shows the one characteristic name of God in inseparable connection, logical and phraseological, with the other characteristic name (Jehovah, or Elohim), and moreover in the environment of the qualities of style ascribed by the theory to the other.

2. The peculiarities of style, set forth in long lists with the aspect of science, are themselves but an hypothesis. The text lies before the critic as an unbroken continuity. Dividing lines must first be drawn by the critic, in order to say, This expression is found in that portion, and another in that. But what are the landmarks by which to draw the lines? Answer, The divine names. But the fact is, that, when the continuous text is divided according to these names, there are frequently found in connection with the one name expressions which are found connected with the other; and a close division on the ground of peculiarities of style is impossible.

3. In many cases the assignment of a passage to J, E, or P is determined solely by the properties of style; that is to say, while the distribution of the divine names is to determine what properties of style belong respectively to J, E, or P, this assignment has to be maintained in a multitude of cases where the characteristic name is wanting. A perpetual reasoning in a circle. It might be otherwise, if, even on the basis of ten chapters, there could be established indisputably a certain style which should serve as a decisive standard for all other cases. But this is not the case.

4. When the attempt is made to explain the fact that the divine name and the wrong qualities of style are found together, by saying that the redactor has intruded, it is forgotten that the redactor is another hypothesis growing out of the hypothesis of "sources." No sources, no redactor. While he is an auxiliary hypothesis growing out of the

previous hypothesis, yet, conversely, in the exigency he must sustain the sources against the actual phenomena which show the sources to be non-existent. The burden becomes the bearer. A logical circle.

5. Had a redactor, so often as is alleged, changed the sources arbitrarily, and even planlessly and needlessly, then the text is thoroughly uncertain. Therewith the foundation of the "source" division drops away under our feet; for its necessary presupposition is that the text (i.e. the divine names and the properties of style) lies before us in its integrity, and is not arbitrarily changed by a third party. But with what innocent lack of principle and of adherence to fundamental consistency this division is pushed, may be seen in prominent writers like Strack and König.

6. The third characteristic—the so-called parallel narratives—is artificially created by the critics. Precisely in the same way can every circumstantial narrative of the New Testament and even the Epistle to the Romans be separated into "sources." A method applicable to everything is scientifically distinctive of nothing.

Some of these are very strong points; the fifth, for example, which is also made substantially by Klostermann, though from a different point of view. It is impracticable to give even briefly the details by which Rupprecht sustains these positions. He truly remarks that the linguistic history of the Old Testament lies much in the dark, and we have no adequate means to elucidate it beyond doubt, so as to say what is old and what is new, and how far both are thrown together. We have but a fragment of the Israelite literature, and it is presumptuous to pass decisive judgment as to the contents of the language, the range of its words, the style and mode of speech in any one century. "According to critical rules I must deny the second part of Faust to the author of the first part." He

ridicules high-sounding claims and phrases of "incontestable results," "undeniable conclusions," "facts clear as the sun," "irresistible arguments," or, in American phrase, "remorseless logic."

From this exhibition of the weak points of the critical analysis the author turns to his main task, which is the proposition that "the Pentateuch proceeded from the Mosaic period of revelation and had Moses for its author"—that is, as we understand him, immediately or mediately.

In presenting his evidence he proceeds "regressively," ascending from Christ and the apostles upward to Deuteronomy, and thence to the preceding books. First, the position of the New Testament in reference to the Pentateuch, then of the post-exilic sources, those of the exile, of the time of the divided kingdom before the exile, of the time of David and Solomon, of the Judges, of Joshua, of Deuteronomy, then of the preceding four books—these are the several stages of the ascent. "My course of argument," says he, "will be (a) historical, drawn from the documentary facts; (b) psychological and moral, which to a reasonable and moral man are as valid as historical facts; (c) linguistic, so far as these can be presented beyond all doubt. With arbitrary, individual changes of the original and all conjectural procedures I have of set purpose nothing to do. Such a process, in which De Wette, Vatke, and Wellhausen and their followers have taken pleasure, does not deserve the name of historical investigation, and may be left to the destiny which certainly awaits it as soon as German conscientiousness and thoroughness recover themselves from the frenzy of the hour." These are bold words to come from Germany.

In showing the testimony of the New Testament, Rupprecht proceeds from the Gospels consecutively to the close of the volume. Here he finds it necessary, taking the passages as they stand, to deal with the historicity and

the authority of the Pentateuch together, inasmuch as they are so frequently conjoined. He assumes, with the church generally in the past, the view expressed by Delitzsch in regard to the earliest narratives of the Pentateuch when he says, in his *New Commentary*, that "the essential truth of what is here narrated and the truth of Christianity stand in the closest mutual relation." And he holds in the strongest form that if the testimony of Christ and his apostles can be ascertained it is decisive,—the same view maintained by Ellicott, Leathes, Alford, and formerly by such Germans as Professor Storr of Tübingen, Knapp of Halle, and others. He also maintains, as do those writers, that the evidence in the New Testament is distinct. We cannot follow him as he passes in review carefully every reference to the Pentateuch, accompanying each with a brief explanation of its bearing. We will, however, give a specimen or two in his words, but abridged.

His first instance is the account of the temptation (Matt. iv.). "Three times Satan assails Christ the Son of God as soon as he had been recognized by God the Father. He appeals to the bodily craving for food, to the intense desire for honor, and finally to the longing for dominion and the worldly enjoyment connected with it. Three times Jesus repels him; yet not with the might of his own words, but with the words of the Old Testament Scriptures. That is, every time, the authority which he proposes to himself, and which Satan the Prince of this world must recognize, and to which he must unconditionally submit. All three declarations are taken from the fifth book of Moses. The first is found in Deut. viii. 3, the second in vi. 16, containing a reference to Ex. xvii. 2, 7, the third in Deut. vi. 13 in combination with Ex. xx. 5 and Ps. lxxx. 10. . . . To the Son of God, as well as to the tempter, the words of Deuteronomy, Exodus, and the Psalms stand as the highest authority, by which both are absolutely bound, divine

declarations, not to be trifled with nor set aside. But he who takes his stand on these declarations is the same who said, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'" Other references are examined with similar directness and force. Thus he discusses John v. 46, "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me," showing that the entire point of the speech lies in the antithesis of the two *personalities*—Moses, who speaks to them out of the past in his writings, and Jesus, who speaks to them in the present and in person. The total result of his examination is given by him as follows:—

1. For the divine authority of the five books of the Pentateuch: (*a*) for the first book, Matt. xix. 4–8 (comp. Gen. i. and ii.); Matt. xxiv. 37–39; Mark x. 4–9; Luke xi. 49–51 (comp. Gen. iv.); Luke xvii. 26 *seq.* (comp. Gen. vi., ix., xviii., xix.); John i. 51 (comp. Gen. xxviii.); John vii. 22–23 (comp. Gen. xvii.); John viii. 44 (comp. Gen. iii.); John viii. 56 (comp. Gen. xvii.); (*b*) for the second book, Matt. iv. 7, 10; Matt. xii. 3–5 (comp. Ex. xxix., xxxiii.); Matt. xxii. 31–32 (comp. Ex. iii.); Mark vii. 9–10; x. 19; John vi. 31–49; (*c*) for the third book, Mark i. 44; John vi. 31–49; John vii. 22–23; (*d*) for the fourth book, John iii. 14; John vi. 31–49; (*e*) for the fifth book, Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10; Mark xx. 4–9 (comp. Deut. xxxiv.); (*f*) for the Old Testament Scriptures generally, therefore for the Pentateuch, Matt. v.–vii.; xi. 13; xxvi. 54; Luke xxiv.; John v. 39; xix. 28.

2. For the authorship of Moses, Matt. xix. 4–8; Mark x. 4–9; Luke xx. 37; xix. 29; xxiv. 25; John v. 46–47; vii. 22–23.

Should it be thought that in any of these passages the author's inferences are pressed too far, it is difficult not to feel the force of the clearer and stronger points, and the entire effect of the whole. Thus, he says, Jesus testifies

for the first and the other books of Moses as divinely inspired Scripture in twenty-eight passages, and for the Old Testament in its threefold division, as recognized by Jewish custom; and that he testifies for the Mosaic authorship in seven passages. It should be said, however, that two of these references are virtually duplicates, found in parallel passages.

Then follows a presentation of the respective attitudes of the various church confessions and of the rationalist critics toward this testimony, and of the final results of the latter, exemplified in the Ritschlian school, as our author thinks, in a rejection of the historic validity of the early Scripture narratives and of Christ's testimony. He then turns to the accommodation theory in regard to Christ's utterances, to which he replies with great earnestness and even intensity, saying that its actual issue has not only been to discard the Mosaic authorship and the course of the external history, but the central idea, the whole moral content of the history, namely, its saving truths, the whole *Dogmatik* of the Old and New Testaments,—a method which, he declares, finds its last results in Strauss, and, as he still more vigorously remarks, will give "the highest pleasure to the devil."

Rupprecht, however, endeavors to reply in detail to the accommodation theory, but at too great length to be indicated here, except in regard to one point. König has alleged that in referring to the Pentateuch the Saviour could not do otherwise than to use a prevalent formula, "Moses." The reply is that no such necessity existed, and that, as a matter of fact, the Saviour did not confine himself to that expression. He had a sufficient choice of expressions, and used a variety of phrases: "The Scripture says," "the Holy Ghost says," "how is it in the law," "how readest thou"; so that his reference to Moses was matter of deliberate choice. It should be added, however, that, besides

meeting the arguments of the accommodation theory, and especially the implication that in these cases Christ spoke only of matters of indifference, the author shows that much of his reference to the Pentateuch, and the Old Testament in general, involved great and fundamental points of the religion of which he was the central object.

The citations from the Gospels are followed by references found in the Acts, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Peter, and Hebrews, with explanatory comments.

In this connection it is interesting to observe the return in Germany to the same views that were strongly advocated there a century ago, and curiously enough in the very Tübingen since then so long the storm-center of ultra-liberalism. It was but a year after the birth of the noted Baur that Theophilus Christian Storrs, then professor in the same Tübingen, published an "Elementary Course of Biblical Theology" containing this statement: "As the religious instructions of Jesus and his apostles are of divine authority, it follows of course that all their declarations, and of course their assertions relative to the Old Testament, must be received implicitly as being accordant with truth. But Jesus and his apostles not only declare that God is the author of the Mosaic laws, but they receive other parts of the writings of Moses as true, not excepting his account of events which took place before his birth; and they assume that the books of Moses were written at the special instance of God, and under his particular guidance. They assert that the Pentateuch and the sacred books of the Jews in general contain divine predictions (not the conjectures and fictions of men), which are therefore prophecies of indisputable certainty." Each of these points he substantiates by references nearly identical with those of Rupprecht. Storrs's colleague, Karl Christian Flatt, joined with him in the notes accompanying. So the pendulum can swing forth and back again even in Germany.

Rupprecht's investigation of the New Testament testimony occupies the whole first volume of 278 pages, and is strongly controversial. The pages are overloaded with emphasized words and phrases in his earnestness to be understood. His second and third volumes, of 408 and 458 pages respectively (issued in 1896 and 1897), are somewhat less polemic in tone, though none the less intense and emphatic.

The second volume is chiefly devoted to the testimony of the several Old Testament books, bearing on the authenticity and historicity of the Pentateuch. But he finds so many preliminaries to settle, so many erroneous assertions to dispose of, and so many evasions and objections to meet, that a hundred pages are thus occupied, which, though not aside from the main purpose of the volume, may possibly divert attention from the more positive aspect of the argument. He boldly declares "the unscientific character of the false criticism," founded, as he says, largely by Vatke, Von Bohlen, and De Wette, and reproduced in Cornill, Martis, Smend, Stade, Kittel, Kautzsch, Meinhold, and others; unscientific, he says, in its very basis, because, on the rationalist side, the recognition of the Mosaic authorship and credibility of the Pentateuch is rendered impossible on any historic proof, however strong. For it requires but a glance into their present and past literature to see how freely and arbitrarily those grounds would be set aside by alleged changes, "interpolations," and the like. "The prejudgment, the fundamental axiom, which lies at the foundation of all the procedures of the negative criticism of earlier and later times is the denial of the miraculous, the supernatural. Everything is made subservient to this axiom. Hence the maltreatment of the sources, maltreatment in the strictest sense, such as is not heard of in the case of any secular author. Hence that Jesuitic dealing with history, so sharply to be condemned.

Thus it has been from Vatke and De Wette to Reuss and Wellhausen. Such a procedure is the grave of true science." For them there can be no history which contains real miracles and prophecy. Thus "the text is made to order as it is needed." He substantiates his statement as to this assumed axiom by quotations from the early leaders of the movement, Stäudlin, Berthold, Von Bohlen, De Wette. The assertion of the last-mentioned writer in his "Introduction" is thus distinct: "As soon as it is settled for the educated mind that such miracles have not actually occurred, the result is already reached that the narrative is not contemporary nor from contemporary sources." Rupprecht might easily have brought down the list to the present time. For, as Professor Sanday remarks, "Kuenen wrote in the interest of almost avowed naturalism, and much the same may be said of Wellhausen"—the two great champions of the latest modern movement. And while this is probably not true of the majority of those who adopt their conclusions, it is perhaps safe to say that a large part of them are influenced quite as much by the supposed scholarship and great authority of these naturalists as by any thorough weighing of the facts and arguments.

From such prejudiced conclusions the author naturally turns to the remarkable testimony given to the manifest historic quality and value of the Pentateuch by the great German historians, some eight of whom he cites to that effect. He quotes also the recent striking statement (1895) of Roscher, in his work on "National Economy," that "modern science is right in applying the same fundamental tests to the biblical books as to secular writings. But it should actually do so, and judge these books, though not more favorably, yet not more unfavorably than other books. But the school which to-day calls itself preëminently the critical one has done wholly otherwise. It

follows fundamental principles which, if applied in profane literature, would arouse general remonstrance" (*Kopfschütteln*).

After some forty pages furnishing illustrations of the false criticism, the author lays down the foundation of a scientific criticism, which must be, objectively, the "tradition," and, subjectively, a reasonable confidence in the sources thus handed down, and in the authors and the intermediate agents of the transmission, but no preliminary dogmatism, either positive or negative. Rupprecht frankly adds, however, that, as every one will come to the investigation of moral and religious questions either from a religious or an irreligious position, in dealing with such subjects the former must be the only proper standpoint. But he fully accepts the view of Ranke: "The standpoint of criticism for me is that of one who takes the Scripture in hand, earnestly seeking the truth, and neither in the interest of belief or unbelief endeavors to ascertain whether these doings of God have actually taken place, whether they have the same confirmation as the events of the world's history."

Then follows a consideration of the foundations of a genuine historic criticism. While in the last result all historic knowledge rests on eye and ear witnesses, this witness is conveyed to later times by what Rupprecht broadly calls "tradition," comprising all documents and monuments of antiquity by which the original knowledge is made known to posterity. It often forms a more or less continuous and trustworthy chain of evidence from the earlier to the later and latest times. This chain of historic tradition becomes especially weighty when it has assumed from early times a fixed written form. Historic tradition has nothing to do with hypotheses. Its force lies in the fact that it is the transmission of the certainty of the eye and ear witness by personalities, more or less

cognizant and retentive of the certainty, to their successors and thus to the present time. And thus not only the individual testimony, but also the governing assent of contemporaries, often passes down this historic chain to us.

Assuming the present Hebrew text, for reasons rendered, to be substantially that which has come down from the past, the author devotes 200 pages to the task of tracing the authenticity and veracity of the narrative through the long line of references embodied in the Jewish literature, proceeding "regressively" from post-exilic times to the time of Moses, that is, from Ezra and Nehemiah to Joshua. His references are of course accompanied with comments on their force as well as on the books and connections in which they are found. The conclusions which he claims, which we simply report without affirming or denying, are these:—

1. During the exile there was a book of the law of Moses, which in compass and contents was the same as our Pentateuch, as is admitted by the extreme critics.

2. It was in possession of the church of the exile as an inherited and completed book, not put into its final, authentic form by Ezra.

3. Ezekiel and Jeremiah knew and used the whole Pentateuch.

4. The book of the law in Josiah's time (about 600 B.C.) was not Deuteronomy alone, much less a newly composed Deuteronomy. The exact testimonies and references of the times show it to be the entire law-book of Moses.

5. Ascending two hundred years higher, to the time of Jehoshaphat, and still further to the date of Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah (about 800 B.C.), we find abundant references in facts and language to the five books of Moses, such as are incompatible with mere oral reminiscences, but distinctly involve the contents and language of the Pentateuch codex as it was in the time of Ezra.

6. In the time of Jeroboam (about 900 B.C.) the same conditions exist, and the career (*Politik*) of Jeroboam is intelligible only on that basis.

7. Under Solomon the books of Kings exhibit the same references to the contents of this book of Moses, to the faithful observance of which David exhorts his successor. And Chronicles, from its own documents and those of David's time, shows the existence of the book of Moses already in the time of David. So do the books of Samuel.

8. The book of Judges equally recognizes the Pentateuch and, notwithstanding all the prevalent disobedience, holds it as the decisive authority.

9. The book of Joshua, written soon after his death by one of his contemporaries, completes the chain of testimony, which thus extends through all the centuries by closely joined links, from Ezra to Joshua.

The third volume (454 pages) is occupied with internal evidences of the authority and historic quality of the Pentateuch. Only the merest outline of the argument can be given. He broadly characterizes his theme as the Unity of the Pentateuch, by which he means that it is the coherent, systematic product of one mind. Meanwhile he explains that he does not maintain that this one author drew on no other sources than himself. He might have used previously existing writings or valid oral tradition, his own experience or immediate divine revelation. He might have assistants who labored according to his plan and under his direction. After a careful distinction between this kind of unity and the mechanical result of the various theories of compilers and redactors, he proceeds, as the negative part of his argument, to deal with these several hypotheses in detail: the document theory as presented by Astruc and by Eichhorn, the fragment, the supplement, the crystallization, and the modified document process; and separately with the evolution theory of Wellhausen.

Nearly half the volume is occupied with the minute examination and refutation, showing their inconsistency with the actual phenomena of the book, and the constant force which they apply to its contents. Here he frankly owns his indebtedness to the labors, too much forgotten, of his predecessors, Ranke, Keil, Hävernicks, Baumgarten, as well as to his contemporaries, especially Dr. Green. This part of the work is elaborately and sometimes strongly done.

Especially effective is his attack upon the device originated by Hupfeld, of a second Elohist, which figures so largely and constantly in subsequent writers, to escape, with the added help of the "redactor," the inextricable entanglements of J and E. Here his six telling points are actually and confessedly a reproduction from Dr. Green. Rupprecht adds somewhat of his own, and occasionally a touch of grim German humor, as when he describes the notorious redactor "who now plays the part of a genuine Proteus, now appears as a tethered ass, and again as a genial spirited historian. Special precautions are thus taken against all inconvenient questions asked on the basis of a true secular and scientific criticism, by always having a hole to slide through with snaky wriggings."

After the protracted process of refuting these several hypotheses as inconsistent with the actual conditions of the case, the last and largest part of the volume is devoted to the positive exhibition of the essential unity of the Pentateuch, as showing it to be the product of one mind. He traces first its chronological, then more fully its material unity, contending that a governing purpose pervades it not only as a whole, but in its related parts, just as is the case with other historical compositions,—although of course having its own characteristics. This process is necessarily accompanied by refutations of counter claims all along the line, and involves an examination of the passages so often

adduced as post-Mosaic, and as often thoroughly answered. This one responsible author, it is next maintained, was Moses. This is done in several propositions, which we will indicate summarily, although their force depends on the illustrations:—

1. The geographical aspects of the Pentateuch point to the time of Moses.

2. The order of the portions of the law, not systematically arranged, but as occasions suggested, indicates contemporaneousness.

3. The exactness of the narrative, especially in Exodus, indicates occurrences minuted down at the time or shortly after.

4. The style and language of the law give evidence of composition in the desert and before the conquest.

5. While all laws of David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah are issued in their own names and authority, the law of Moses invariably came down as such, and no instance exists of other kings' laws given in his name.

To the objection that it is not supposable that a system of laws should have been made in the wilderness admitting of no development, he replies that the code left ample room for all real progress of the people. He cites numerous instances of subsequent political measures enacted and adopted, but never put forth as part of the Mosaic law, and emphasizes the fact maintained by Rawlinson and others, that there is nothing in the Levitical code unsuited to Moses, or to the circumstances in which he was declared to be a legislator. Alleged exceptions are treated, chiefly those presented by Strack and König.

Then follows a series of inquiries and their answers, namely, (1) could Moses write; (2) could he write such compositions (*das und so*); (3) was it necessary for him to write; (4) did he write? The first of these inquiries has long been superfluous, admitting no answer but an affirm-

ative. To the second inquiry the answer is, that he certainly could write whatever came directly from God, and also all that came from personal knowledge, that is, all that took place from Exodus to Deuteronomy. As to Genesis it is conceded that he must have tradition, oral or written or both, in regard to which we have no certain knowledge, but may make reasonable and probable inference from the circumstances and indications. The history in the first eleven chapters is so brief and noteworthy that it might have been handed down in the line of pious men from the time of Adam. The longevity of the forefathers, which Rupprecht is not inclined to reduce, would require the tradition to come but through three links to Abraham. It is otherwise from Abraham's time. A passage so definite and so thoroughly sustained by archæology as the fourteenth chapter of Genesis could hardly have come down otherwise than by written conveyance, as is also the case with many details of Abraham's history; and these very likely came from Abraham himself. Most of Genesis from the fourteenth chapter onward may probably have come in recorded form; and the same suggestion is made which has been made by other writers in regard to the account of the Deluge. Moses, standing on the border-line of two great historic periods, by his training and history as well as his position, was fitted to produce such a narrative of which the style and diction were worthy of his character and purpose, while it contained nothing incompatible with his time; and the difference in these respects between Deuteronomy and the preceding books is but in accordance with the didactic purpose of the one portion and the hortatory aim of the other. To the third inquiry, "Was it necessary for him to write?" the answer must be, Yes. First, for the reason that the long and complicated legislation of which God made him the organ, not even the phenomenal memory of antiquity could have retained

otherwise correctly. Secondly, because of his official relation. The settled law for the chosen people must be made matter of official record to which appeal could be made, and the person to make that record was the person who received the communication.

From these preliminaries the author proceeds to his closing inquiry, Did Moses actually commit these things to writing? To this inquiry he gives some seventy pages, in which he adduces the several passages in which Moses is directly declared to have written (some half a dozen), in connection with indirect implications, and the various considerations contained in his previous arguments. A large space is given to a reply to objections, in many cases with much success. Here we cannot follow him either in detail or in outline.

This work is to be viewed with no little interest for two reasons: First, as the token of a strong conservative movement in Germany. It is intensely evangelical in its spirit, exalting in the strongest form the authority of both the Old and New Testaments. No volume published recently on either side of the Atlantic excels it in this respect. And it is not alone. To the same purport is George Stosch's book, "The Origin of Genesis" (1897), written, as he says in his preface, "to prove that there still exists in Germany a school of theology bound in obedience to the word of God," and "as a defense against the destructive criticisms of a disintegrating science." Less scholarly in method, it is a reverential and popular exhibition of the "external and internal coherence of" the book of Genesis as designed to "comprise the record of a wondrous history." It was somewhat longer ago (1890) that Dr. Adolph Zahn published his defense of Deuteronomy "against the disorderly procedure (*Unwesen*) of modern criticism,"—a method, he avers, unknown in secular historical investigation, and permitted only in the territory of the Scriptures; one which

makes of the Pentateuch especially "a heap of ruins that harmonizes well with the desolation of the church which surrounds us on every hand." In 1894 he published his "Sober View of Modern Criticism," which brought him such a return of appreciation and encouragement as proved that there still is a church which holds fast the truths of the Bible. In 1893 Hermann Billieb issued his defense of the Pentateuch, founded on the evidence of the old prophets Hosea and Amos (like the volume of Professor Robertson, 1892), in which he shows that "a divine providence has taken care that these historical prophets, standing on the outpost of the kingdom of the ten tribes, should become incontrovertible witnesses, and abundant in their testimony." These bold utterances of German pastors, put forth in the very presence of all the learned ingenuity and boastful claims of scholarly rationalism in its stronghold, are a striking and significant indication.

A second source of interest in this work is the value of the discussion as a whole. It is not necessary to accept all the points and propositions advanced by the author, in order to recognize the general vigor and value of his arguments. For wide and practical effect it is open to criticism. It is too protracted. To read through 1150 pages is a heavy task. It might well have been compressed one-half. It contains much that is personal, subjective, rhetorical, and repetitious. While many things are sharply stated, many others are needlessly drawn out. The subordinate matters may be thought too much to keep the main points in the background, and the negative to be made more predominant than the affirmative and positive; and the fundamental, positive positions, some of them at least, might be made to carry far more weight. But it is German, and intrinsically valuable, and we may be thankful for it. Professor Zöckler does not hesitate to say that it is the most important treatise of its kind in German literature, and that opponents will be compelled to answer it.

ARTICLE III.

IS PAUL A COMPETENT WITNESS?

BY REV. EDWARD F. WILLIAMS.

ONE of the most important questions we can ask relates to the confidence we are justified in placing in the testimony which Paul gives concerning the Person and the Redemptive Work of the Lord Jesus Christ. Few deny that Paul himself believes in the deity of Jesus, that he preaches this belief of his to others, or that he affirms as a fact not to be set aside that the death of Christ is the ground upon which God forgives sin. Is this testimony true? Can we accept it without modification, and with it testimony in reference to related doctrines or fundamental truths of the gospel furnished by this leader in the early church?

The importance of this inquiry appears when we remember that the position is sometimes taken, that in order to learn accurately the teaching of the apostles as to primitive Christianity, we must confine ourselves to the first three Gospels, or the Synoptics, and receive as of secondary value the testimony which comes to us through the Fourth Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles. The Fourth Gospel, it is said, is of late or uncertain date, is a semi-philosophical or mystical treatise in which the reports of the words and deeds of Jesus are ideal rather than historically exact. The book of the Acts, some affirm, does not give an account of events which actually occurred, but was written to show how the opposing schools of Peter and Paul were harmonized, while the Epistles of Paul and the remaining books of the New Testament are to be used as

aids in filling out the mental picture we fashion from information obtained from Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Logically, therefore, no doctrine can be emphasized as essential unless it be clearly taught, or at least implied, in the first three Gospels. Going "back to Christ" with this presupposition as to the character of the New Testament, we can discredit every statement in it which is not first made in the Synoptics, or treat it as of secondary importance, and reject as of doubtful value those special doctrines which seem to have had a firmer hold upon the minds of Peter and Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel than upon the minds of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We can go further, and throw doubt upon the historic accuracy of more than three-quarters of the New Testament, and with even more confidence call in question the credibility of the Old Testament. With the historical books of the Old Testament out of the way, and the doctrine of Evolution, as it is sometimes held, accepted as our guide through the earlier eras, it is not a difficult task to reduce the scriptural system of sacrifices to a relic of superstition, the prophecies to conjectures of gifted and observant men, the fulfilment of which is confined to the period in which they lived, to make the Old Testament a book of religion higher in grade and purer in its teachings than the Vedas or than the writings of Confucius or Buddha, but with no rightful claim to the position which Jews and Christians have unitedly ascribed to it as a book from God, and unique in the literature of the world.

Having proceeded thus far, we can limit our field of interpretation to the first three Gospels, and even here be under the necessity of examining only those passages where agreement is absolute, since if expressions occur which are peculiar to a single Gospel they must be explained in such a way as to bring them into harmony with statements of similar intent in the other two Gospels. One

can thus rid one's self of the obligation to accept the account of the supernatural birth of Jesus as historical, or to believe him to be more than a man in whom God dwelt to an unusual degree, or to look upon his death as a prearranged event in a divine plan, and as forming the ground upon which forgiveness of sin is rendered possible. Those who manage thus to persuade themselves that a large part of the Bible is unhistorical, that the evangelical doctrines as formerly held are untrustworthy, still admit, many of them at any rate, the uniqueness of the position of Jesus among men. His ethical teachings are admired and made prominent. We have a gospel of love, of social relations, beautiful pictures of a kingdom of God, but no terrific denunciations of sin and guilt, no proclamation of indispensable conditions of faith and personal righteousness which one must meet before one can obtain citizenship in that kingdom.

We do not deny that there are those who, although placing the prime emphasis upon the testimony of the Synoptics, accept also, as of great, even if of secondary, importance, the testimony of men like Paul, Peter, and John. For so much we are grateful. But what we want to be sure of is this, Can we trust Paul and Peter and John absolutely? Or must we take their words with some hesitation or doubt as to their exact historical value? Or, limiting the question to the one person whose witness to Jesus we are now considering, Is the testimony of Paul the learned Jew inferior in value to that of Matthew the publican, who was one of the twelve, or to that of Mark, who was not one of the twelve, or to that of Luke, who was also outside the apostolic body, and about whose conversion we have no accurate knowledge? In other words, is the testimony of Mark and Luke, who owe their position as witnesses for Christ to the relation they bear to Peter and Paul, to be accepted, and that of the principals to be

rejected? From the standpoint of an unprejudiced critic such a position seems singular and unjustifiable. But, inasmuch as it has been assumed, and that too by men whose opinions we cannot afford to overlook, we are compelled in self-defense, or rather as earnest seekers after the truth, to ask why such a man as Paul is not a credible witness to that portion of the gospel which he presents, or why we should seek to pare down his words so as to bring them into what we think to be harmony with statements in the first three Gospels? Are we sure that there is in reality any disagreement between them?

We require of a witness that he be personally acquainted with the facts in regard to which he testifies, that he know them at first hand, that his opportunities for knowing them be abundant and complete, that he actually make use of these opportunities, and that his character for veracity be well established. The testimony of a man with these qualifications is immensely increased in value, or convincing power, when it comes from a person whose previous attitude toward that about which he testifies has been an attitude of uncompromising hostility; so that, in giving his testimony, not only does he abandon the religious belief he has received from his forefathers, but sacrifices all his cherished hopes of life, and in addition devotes himself to a career which, in this world, promises no other reward than that of a good conscience.

That all these conditions involved in the formation of a trustworthy witness are met in the case of Paul, no candid student of his life can successfully deny. It should also be remembered that Paul wrote some of his letters at as early a date as that assigned to the Synoptics. Nor may we overlook the fact that Luke did not compose the treatise which bears his name till after he had been associated with Paul for a considerable time, and had learned to look at the person of our Lord, and to consider the nature and

purpose of his mission on earth from the standpoint of Paul; that Mark, to some extent certainly, had been under the influence of Paul, though to a greater extent under that of Peter, before he wrote the second Gospel. Why then should we accept the testimony of Mark and Luke as unquestionable, and treat that coming from Peter and Paul as of doubtful value? Is it because Mark and Luke write of events which occurred in the daily life of Jesus, that they report his words and deeds without comment, while Paul, especially, dwells upon the teachings of Jesus in their world-wide and universal significance, and upon conclusions drawn from them through their application to human need? Is it to be doubted that Paul had as good an opportunity to gather material for a Gospel like one of the Synoptics as Mark or Luke, or that, had he made use of this opportunity and written a Gospel, that Gospel would have been as credible as either of the three we now have? Why withhold confidence when he writes as he does in the Epistles? He is writing to intelligent people who have accepted Christ as their Saviour, and are anxious to know more fully and accurately the reasons for their faith in him, and to be instructed as to the kind of life they ought to lead. Can we not trust a man like Paul when he is presenting his views on subjects like these? Is it going too far, to say that Paul's testimony concerning the Deity of Christ, the nature and purpose of his mission, is as worthy of confidence as the statements in the Sermon on the Mount? In the latter we have statements of universal truths which need only to be read to be accepted; in the Epistles we have statements of doctrines and experiences which we need only test for ourselves to be satisfied of their truthfulness.

It is sufficient here to refer to a few only of the more prominent features of Paul's life. He was born in Tarsus, "no mean city," the capital of Cilicia. Here he

began his education as a Jewish youth of promise, and completed it at one of the most famous rabbinical schools of Jerusalem. As a zealous follower of "the law" of the stricter sort, he seems almost immediately, after finishing his education, to have begun to persecute those who, a few years later, were called "Christians," and about whose peculiar belief, and the reasons for it, he must have had many opportunities to learn. Suddenly he changed his opinions as to the character of the religious sect whose members he had pursued even unto death, associated himself with them, and became an earnest defender of the person whom he had regarded as an impostor or a fanatic, and whose influence he had sought to withstand and destroy. For the sake of argument one might admit that the account of the conversion of Paul is somewhat exaggerated, unhistorical; but one cannot escape the conviction that he went through some sort of an experience somewhere, on one of his persecuting tours in his early manhood, which changed entirely his mental attitude toward the teachings of Jesus, as well as his personal relations toward Jesus and his followers. That Paul bears favorable testimony to Jesus and his followers after this experience no one denies.

Nor does any one, so far as I am aware, deny his competency to testify concerning what he regards as his own conversion, or that he is justified in speaking of that experience as an incontrovertible fact in his life. This testimony is valuable in proving that such a man as Jesus once lived in Jerusalem, taught doctrines which seemed to contradict those deemed essential in Judaism, died on the cross and was buried. In other words, Paul's testimony concerning himself strengthens our confidence in him as a witness for historical events in the life of Jesus. Paul must have met men in Jerusalem and elsewhere who had known Jesus personally, had talked with him, had listened to his discourses, had witnessed his miracles. He himself

may have been in Jerusalem when the opposition to Jesus was drawing to its height, when the question of his arrest and condemnation to death as a blasphemer was under frequent, if not constant, discussion in Jewish circles, when the doctrines he had taught were considered, when after the crucifixion the resurrection was reported, when rumors were rife as to frequent appearances in bodily form to the disciples, when the events of Pentecost and the rapid increase in the number of those who believed in the Messiahship of Jesus were subjects of common conversation. As a defender of his faith as a Jew, Paul must have persuaded himself that it was true, and that he had good grounds on which to justify his career as a persecutor.

Such a person is certainly competent to speak about another person in whose opinions and deeds he himself has a peculiar interest. Paul must have known many of the facts about Jesus even before he made up his mind to persecute his followers. Possibly he may have seen him in or near Jerusalem. But, as has been said, he must have seen many who knew him well. When he spoke of Jesus he spoke of one about whose actual existence and mission as a religious teacher he had full and abundant knowledge. Nor was there any reason why he should not report facts as they were. Most New Testament students accept the testimony which Paul gives to the historical character of Jesus the man, but with not a few the doubt begins when Paul claims that Jesus is more than man, is the Son of God, and therefore divine in his nature, and has been sent into the world on a divine mission. The doubt grows stronger as Paul affirms that this man rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, where he cherishes a personal interest in those who dwell on the earth. The doubt reaches its climax when the supernatural character of Jesus is affirmed, and he is presented to his followers, and by them to all other men, as worthy of unwavering confidence,

and as an object of worship. Without denying the competency of Paul to testify as to matters of history in the life of Jesus, many say they cannot receive his testimony in matters which transcend the realm of human experience. But Paul was keen enough to discern the truth wherever he might find it, and so well balanced as to render it improbable that he would be thrown off his guard in the search after truth by reports of exciting scenes connected with Pentecost, accounts of miraculous deliverances from prison, or the boldness and earnestness of those who had been known as the personal adherents of Jesus. These events served at first rather to confirm him in the opinion that Jesus had died as an impostor and that his followers were self-deceived fanatics.

If we keep in mind the endowments of Paul, his age (at least thirty at the time of his conversion), the thoroughness of his Jewish training, his associates, his prospects, the social position which as a Christian he forfeited, we can see at once that he would not change his belief as "a Pharisee of the Pharisees," or his attitude with reference to Jesus, save for reasons which to him were irresistibly convincing. In accepting Jesus as the Messiah, apparently he had everything to lose. Were the claims of Jesus grounded in fact, then neither he nor any other reasonable man could hesitate to admit them. That Paul did admit them, and defend them, is evidence that he held them to be both reasonable and true. That he risked his life and endured constant hardships for a generation without wavering, in their proclamation and in their defense, is proof of his opinion of the man whom his brethren as to the flesh put to death. Furthermore, he speaks on all occasions from personal experience, as one who knows, as one who has made trial of Christ and his salvation. He has seen the Lord. He has recognized him as his Lord. From him he has learned what the gospel is. He has found it

to be, what its author declared it to be, power, peace, assurance of eternal life.

How emphatic is his testimony as given in Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians, letters about whose genuineness there is no question. "For I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i. 11, 12). This is the person, writes Paul, who "gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us out of this present evil world, according to the will of our God and Father" (i. 4). Nor is this all: "I have been crucified with Christ: yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself up for me" (ii. 20). The appreciation of the value of this gift appears in the words which follow: "I do not make void the grace of God, for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought" (iii. 21). "The righteous shall live by faith; and the law is not of faith. . . . Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us" (iii. 11-13). "God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (iv. 4, 5). Here is testimony as to deliverance from the power of the law, and from its curse, through faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The deliverance is possible because the Son of God was made a curse for us. This testimony, which from this single Epistle might be greatly extended, the Galatians certainly accepted as true. They knew that its author believed it to be true, that he wrote to them out of his own experience, and that he had endured many hardships in preaching to them the gospel to which in his letter he constantly refers.

Testimony equally important and no less striking is furnished by the Epistle to the Romans. In the first chapter Jesus is affirmed to be the Son of God, "promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures, concerning his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead" (ver. 3, 4). Paul says that his message which concerns itself with the life, death, resurrection, and teachings of this person, is his gospel, the gospel with which he has been put in trust, and which he presents not as his own gospel, but as "the gospel of his Son" (i. 9). In this gospel there is "revealed a righteousness of God" which is in contrast to that "of the law," which is "by faith unto faith." This gospel is "the power of God unto every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek" (i. 16, 17). This gospel is for all, for "there is no distinction; for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing of his righteousness at this present season; that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus" (iii. 22-26). The same thought is expressed in chapter x. 4, "For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth." He who has this righteousness is at peace with God. "Being justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . and let us rejoice in hope of the glory of God" (v. 1). The ground of this peace is the fact that Christ died for us. "For while we were yet weak, in due season Christ died for the ungodly" (v. 6). "God commendeth his love to us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ

died for us. Much more, then, being justified by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through him. For if, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life: and not only so, but we rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received this confidence" (v. 8-11). "For if, by the trespass of the one, death reigned through the one, much more shall they that receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ" (v. 17). Nor is this all; for, "if we have become united with him by the likeness of his death, we shall be also by the likeness of his resurrection; knowing this, that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin; for he that hath died is justified from sin. But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him; knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him. For the death that he died, he died unto sin once: but the life that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Even so reckon yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (vi. 5-11). "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto sanctification, and the end eternal life" (vi. 22). Bondage to sin is the source of perpetual struggle and burden. In despair the apostle cries out, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (vii. 24). The joy of this deliverance finds expression in the words, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death" (viii. 1, 2). The ground of this deliverance is that God, recognizing the weakness and

inability of the law, "sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as an offering for sin, condemned sin in the flesh" (viii. 3). Then follow descriptions of the wonderful privileges of the sons of God, who, as heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, are to be glorified with him.

Is it said that Paul as a Jew was inclined to explain the death of Christ in accordance with the spirit and original intention of the Jewish sacrifices, and that we should therefore be on our guard lest he pervert for us the actual teachings of Christ? We must not forget that as a Jew Paul was liberal enough to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, and to insist, when one of the twelve stood up against him, that in their acceptance of the gospel they should be subjected to no burden of Jewish ritual. He taught them that men are justified, not by obedience to law, but by faith, and that that is circumcision which is of the heart and not of the flesh. Of all the early preachers of the gospel Paul was freest from Jewish prejudice, and most likely to present the gospel in its actual form and original simplicity.

The testimony given in the letter to the Romans is briefly this: Men are helpless sinners. They cannot be justified before God by an obedience rendered in their own strength, to the law written in their own hearts, or by obedience to the Jewish law. Freedom from condemnation and peace with God come through faith in Jesus Christ, who, as the Son of God and the descendant of David, was sent into the world an offering for sin, that as many as believe in him may have eternal life. The assertion of divine Sonship is unqualified, and the fact affirmed that the death of the divine Son is the only ground of the sinner's justification.

These statements are in harmony with Matt. xxvi. 28, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins." That reference is here made to

an expiatory offering, says Meyer, in the edition of 1890, edited by Professor Bernard Weiss, is undeniable. "The words 'unto remission of sins,' added by the evangelist, indicate with perfect accuracy the purpose of the shedding of blood in the establishment of the covenant, since that man only who has been freed from guilt through forgiveness of his sins (the ground of the offering of blood or the reason for it) can enter into covenant with God." The apostle and the missionary are at one in believing and asserting, that, "without shedding of blood, there is no remission."

In the letters to the Corinthians references to the death of Christ are less frequent than in the letter to the Romans, but they are none the less emphatic or clear. The testimony they bring as to the opinion of their author concerning Christ is all the stronger in that these references are, as it were, casual, and not of set purpose. Paul writes as if he took it for granted that his readers would know that the ground of their hope of eternal life is the voluntary death of Christ in their behalf. The quotations must be few. "Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you?" (1 Cor. i. 13.) "We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God" (ver. 23). "Of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" (ver. 30). "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified" (ii. 2). "Through thy knowledge he that is weak perisheth, the brother for whose sake Christ died" (viii. 2). What assertion could be clearer that Christ died for men? In the fifteenth chapter, in which the mysteries of the resurrection of believers are unfolded and connected with the death and resurrection of Jesus, Paul declares, as of the

utmost importance, that he delivered first of all that which he received, "how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (ver. 3), and that, after appearing to others, he "appeared to him, also, as to one born out of due time, and unworthy to be called an apostle, because he had persecuted the church of God" (ver. 8-9). In the account of the establishment of the Lord's Supper as a perpetual feast for all believers to enjoy, Paul says, "As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come" (xi. 26). On him alone can we rest our faith; for "other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (iii. 11).

In the second letter to the Corinthians, the apostle begs those whom he addresses to remember what the gospel is, "the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God" (2 Cor. iv. 4). "For the love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all therefore all died; and he died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto him who for their sakes died, and rose again" (v. 14-15). Still more emphatic is the declaration, "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf: that we might become the righteousness of God in him" (v. 21). Thus, while in these epistles speaking primarily of the life believers ought to lead, and of the temptations and peculiar sins against which they were to guard themselves, the apostle reminds the Corinthian Christians again and again of their personal indebtedness to Christ, who died for them, that through his death they might be reconciled unto God.

Is such testimony to be rejected because it is the testimony of a person whose manner of thought differed from that of the writers of the first three Gospels, because he was philosophical and abstract in his presentation of truth rather than concrete and direct? Is not the Saviour whom Paul honors, the Saviour of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke?

Does he not, with them, bear witness to the descent of Jesus from the house of David, as well as to his divine Sonship? Does he not speak with as much clearness as they, of the crucifixion of Jesus, of his burial, resurrection, and ascension? Does he not as earnestly as they urge men to find God through faith in his Son? Does he not say more than once that he preaches Christ, and Christ as directly revealed to him from heaven by Christ himself? Why should testimony be set aside because it is presented in a more logical form, with clearer reference to prevailing philosophical and rabbinical opinions, than is done in the Gospels? Paul believed his testimony to be worthy of confidence. Multitudes of those to whom he preached, believed it to be true.

Where it was questioned, as for a time in Corinth, he was at pains to show upon what grounds he was worthy of confidence as an apostle, and equal in dignity to the very chiefest of the apostles. He preached and wrote out of his personal experience. He verified the truths of the gospel before presenting them to others. What he has to give, he gives from knowledge which has come to him through no intermediary, but from Christ himself. This supernatural revelation is so clear and convincing that he can no more set it aside than he can set aside the consciousness of his own existence. He knows what the gospel is. He understands its value for men. That value he has himself tested. What better testimony could we desire? It is independent of that found in the Synoptics, but is in harmony with it. It is given from a point of view which only a man like Paul could occupy. It is colored through and through with his personality. It was a testimony which cost the man who uttered it the loss of everything men count dear in this world, and brought him to a martyr's death. Were this man to visit us to-day, to enter our assemblies and begin to speak "as Paul the

aged," "Paul the prisoner for Jesus' sake," Paul the evangelist, who would venture to call in question his competency to give us the primitive gospel? His personality would be convincing. The tones of his voice, his reverent spirit, his intense sympathy with sinful, unbelieving men, the long years of his service, would compel belief in his message. Were he to assert the supernatural birth of Jesus, the necessity of his death as the ground, and the only ground, upon which God can forgive sin, who of us would withhold confidence in his words? His words are with us in his epistles, in the results of his work. We cannot deny that in native ability he was the equal of any one of the twelve. He was better educated than any one of them. He was as anxious to discover the truth about Jesus as any one of them. As certainly as Matthew the publican, apostle though he was, must Paul have known what Jesus taught, what his teachings were intended to accomplish, what they did accomplish. Nor could he have known less about Jesus than Mark or Luke knew. How then can we escape the conclusion that Paul's testimony as to the fact and nature of sin, the need and ground of its forgiveness, the purpose of the death of Christ, the means we are to use to secure the benefits of that death, is of *prime* importance, and is not to be relegated to a subordinate place among the revelations made to us in the New Testament?

ARTICLE IV.

TWO GERMAN HYMNS: A STUDY IN GERMAN
HYMNODY OF THE REFORMATION.

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN W. BOWEN, PH.D.

GERMAN hymnody had its origin in the Reformation. Prior to this great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, the hymns which the Germans used were of course the mediæval hymns of the Romish Church, the Missals and Sequences. Though many of these are among the finest specimens of hymnography and still retain a place in our modern hymn-books, they were yet exotics, written in Latin, not in the vernacular of the people. For this reason the sentiment of these hymns, apart from their association with worship, was not readily comprehended by the people; and not being part of their mental furniture, so to say, they did not influence them as indigenous hymns, written in the mother-tongue, would have done.

The German people had songs of their own. The popular ballads which were lisped in infancy and still sung in old age appealed much more forcibly to the people, as a nation, than did the hymns imported by the church, however excellent these might be. For the Germans are, and always have been, preëminently a music-loving nation, and song has been honored by them from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. The historian Tacitus, in his monograph on Germany, which gives us the first methodical account we have of the Teutonic tribes, informs us of the characteristic passion of the ancient Germans for song, and adds that they were accustomed to sing even on going into battle, and that by the

singing of these battle-songs they aroused the spirit and courage of their soldiers to the highest pitch. This same passionate love of song has manifested itself all along through the history of the people down to the present day; and Germany offers a list of musicians, from Bach and Händel to Liszt and Wagner, which no other country can surpass, and few, if any, equal. But behind this list of illustrious musicians lay a deep and abiding national passion for song, a native instinct; just as, behind those superb fragments of the Parthenon frieze from the chisel of Phidias, and behind those soul-stirring tragedies of Sophocles, lay an exquisite innate appreciation in the Greek character for art and literature.

Martin Luther recognized this fact, and it was his knowledge of the appreciation of the people for their own native songs that led him, in the very beginning of the Reformation, to compose sacred songs and set them to the well-known tunes of the old, familiar ballads. This was a happy stroke of genius on his part, and this fact serves, in a large measure, to explain the early success of the great movement which Luther fathered. Viewed from this point, there is then much truth, though not so much as the statement implies, in the hyperbolical saying of Coleridge, that "Luther did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible." These hymns, when once published, were on the lips of every one. Not only were they sung in the churches, but also in the streets and in the fields, in the workshop and in the palace, "by children in the cottage and by martyrs on the scaffold." Expressing as they did the sentiments of the new movement, they became the means of educating the people and giving them correct views upon theology and religion.

German hymnody may be said to date from 1522, the year in which Luther published his first volume of hymns.

This small collection he afterwards enlarged to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, and published in 1545. In the preface to this edition of his hymns, he said that he desired that this "beautiful ornament should in a right manner serve the great Creator and his Christian people." Not all of these hymns, however, were Luther's own production. The collection was the joint product of the "house choir," to use his own words, a company of Luther's musical friends, including Weiss, Justus Jonas, Eber, and others, whom the great Reformer had associated with him as collaborators in the work of compiling his hymn-book. Luther's individual contribution numbered thirty, one-third of which was made up of translations or adaptations from Latin originals. The remaining two-thirds, dealing with such subjects as the sacraments, the church, grace, death, etc., include paraphrases of the psalms and other parts of the Bible, of the commandments, the creed, the Pater Noster and the Te Deum, which is one of the oldest, the most catholic, and widely diffused hymns in the entire Western Church.

The most celebrated of all of Luther's hymns, and the one by which he is best known to the English-speaking world, is his famous battle-song of the Reformation, "Ein Feste Burg ist Unser Gott." Of this I shall speak in detail because of its history. Ranke said of this hymn, which Heinrich Heine called "the Marseillaise of the Reformation," that "it was the production of the moment in which Luther, engaged in conflict with a world of foes, sought strength in the consciousness that he was defending a divine cause which could never perish." There is an eminent fitness of things in the fact that the first verse of this remarkable hymn was chosen as a suitable inscription upon the monument of Luther in Wittenberg. For this hymn represents, as no other of his hymns does, the noble spirit of the great Reformer in his heroic struggle to

liberate his fellow-men from the traditional superstition and corruption of the church, which, like a dire disease, was undermining and destroying the moral life of the nation. From this strong hymn even the author himself, in times of deepest peril and gloom, was used to draw comfort and inspiration. "Come, Philip," he used to say to Melancthon, his collaborator, when the world seemed to him to be out of joint, "let us sing the forty-sixth psalm." By this he meant his own "characteristic version" of that psalm as given in his famous hymn.

This psalm, as Mr. Stead says in his "Hymns that have Helped," has always been a favorite with fighting men. "The Huguenots and Covenanters used to cheer their hearts in the extremity of adverse fortunes by the solemn chant,

'God is our refuge and our strength,
In straits a present aid;
Therefore, although the earth remove,
We will not be afraid.'"

"It will be noted," continues he, "that although Luther's hymn is suggested by the forty-sixth psalm, it is really Luther's psalm, not David's. Only the idea of the stronghold is taken from the Scripture, the rest is Luther's own, 'made in Germany,' indeed, and not only so, but one of the most potent influences that have contributed to the making of Germany."

This hymn, which Frederick the Great with soldierly instinct once described as "God Almighty's Grenadier March," was composed by Luther for the Diet of Spires, when the German princes, on the 20th of April, 1529, made their formal protest against the revocation of their liberties and consequently became known as Protestants. The song spread like wild-fire over the land. It was caught up by prince and peasant, old and young alike, and wafted throughout the fatherland. It soon became the battle-

hymn of the country, and was sung by the soldiers on the field, just as "Die Wacht am Rhein" was sung on the French frontier in the late Franco-German war. It cheered the heart of Melancthon and his friends when, after Luther's death, they were driven into exile, and heard it sung by a little girl in the street as they entered Weimar. "Sing on, my dear daughter," said the banished Reformer; "thou knowest not what comfort thou bringest to our hearts." It was sung well-nigh a century later by the army of Gustavus Adolphus, just before the battle of Leipsic, in which he gained that brilliant victory over the Catholic forces; and the brave warrior and Christian hero thanked God that He had verified to him the promise, "The field He will maintain it." It was sung again by the army of the same noble king when, on the memorable morning of the battle of Lützen, his forces stood in battle-array, facing those of Wallenstein, and prayed to the God of victory, after which he heard it sung no more. It was sung in recent times by the German army on the eve of a notable battle in the Franco-Prussian war, as it will be sung again whenever the heart of the German nation is so profoundly stirred as it was in those trying days, and the army won a glorious victory.

The text of this wonderful hymn, so rich in historic associations, as given by Julian in his monumental "Dictionary of Hymnology" as the earliest High German form now accessible to us, is as follows:—

"Ein' feste burg ist unser Gott,
ein gute wehr und waffen.
Er hilfft unns frey aus aller not
die uns ytzt hat betroffen,
Der alt böse feind
mit ernst ers ytzt meint,
gros macht und viel list
sein grausam rüstung ist,
auf erd ist nicht seins gleichen.

“Mit unser macht ist nichts gethan,
 wir sind gar bald verloren:
 Es streit fur uns der rechte man,
 den Gott hat selbs erkoren.
 Fragstu, wer der ist?
 er heist Jhesu Christ
 der Herr Zebaoth,
 und ist kein ander Gott,
 das felt mus er behalten.

“Und wenn die welt vol Teuffell wehr
 und wolt uns gar vorschlingen,
 So fürchten wir uns nicht zu sehr
 es sol uns doch gelingen.
 Der Fürst dieser welt,
 wie sawr er sich stellt,
 thut er unns doch nicht,
 das macht, er ist gericht,
 ein wörtlin kan yhn fellen.

“Das wort sie sollen lassen stahn
 und kein danck dazu haben,
 Er ist bey unns wol auff dem plan
 mit seinem geist und gaben.
 Nemen sie den leib,
 gut, eher, kind unnd weib
 las faren dahin,
 sie habens kein gewin,
 das reich mus uns doch bleiben.”

I subjoin the English translation of this hymn by Carlyle, which of the numerous versions is generally regarded as the best:—

“A sure stronghold our God is he.
 A trusty shield and weapon;
 Our help he'll be; and set us free
 From every ill can happen.
 That old malicious foe
 Intends us deadly woe;
 Armed with might from hell,
 And deepest craft as well,
 On earth is not his fellow.

"Through our own force we nothing can,
Straight were we lost forever;
But for us fights the proper Man
By God sent to deliver.
Ask ye who this may be?
Christ Jesus named is he.
Of Sabaoth the Lord;
Sole God to be adored;
'Tis he must win the battle.

"And were the world with devils filled,
All eager to devour us,
Our souls to fear should little yield,
They cannot overpower us.
Their dreaded Prince no more
Can harm us as of yore;
Look grim as e'er he may,
Doomed is his ancient sway;
A word can overthrow him.

"God's word for all their craft and force
One moment will not linger;
But spite of hell shall have its course,
'Tis written by his finger.
And though they take our life,
Goods, honor, children, wife,
Yet is their profit small:
These things shall vanish all;
The city of God remaineth."

Luther's hymns are not models of smoothness and finish. Their form sometimes leaves much to be desired. As the Earl of Selborne truly observes, they are sometimes homely and rugged, yet they are full of fire, manly simplicity, and strong faith. Born of the storm and stress of the Reformation, they reflect the spirit of the times, and show the strong, dominant force of the master mind of that great movement.

The hymns produced during the 'Thirty Years' War have a decidedly different character from those written during the preceding century, and in this respect offer a sharp contrast to those of Luther. His hymns, as we have just seen, breathe a spirit of conflict and of a triumphant faith

in the successful issue of this conflict. Not so the hymns of the seventeenth century. These are the expression of the individual soul longing for peace and reconciliation; impassioned expression, it is true, but lacking the fire and vigor and triumphant faith of the Reformation hymns. It was during this unhappy period, when German life and treasure were so ruthlessly poured out, that Gustavus Adolphus' famous battle-hymn, "Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein" (Fear not, O little flock, the foe), was composed. Another product of those sad days was Rinckhart's "Chorus of God's faithful children," introduced by Mendelssohn into his "Lobgesang," which has been called the "Te Deum" of Germany.

The most noteworthy hymn-writers of the first half of the seventeenth century were Hermann and Rist, both of whom belonged to the first "Silesian school" of German poetry, founded by Martin Opitz. The best known productions of Hermann are his "Song of Tears" and his "Song of Comfort." These are rather subjective, but still quite popular at home. Rist was by far the most prolific hymnographer of those times, having published, it is said, six hundred hymns, which were "pressed out of him," to use his own phrase, "by the cross." To him Miss Winkworth, in her "Christian Singers of Germany," assigns a high place "for the sweetness of form, and depth of tender, contemplative emotion to be found in his verses."

But the renown of these writers was dimmed by the glory of the illustrious trio Gerhardt, Franck, and Scheffler, who represent the best traditions of German hymnody during the latter half of the century under discussion. Of these, attention is drawn to one only, Gerhardt, who is by far the most important as well as the most representative of his age. He is "by universal consent the prince of Lutheran poets."

It is the fashion in some quarters to disparage the poetry

of hymns. Without doubt the poetry of many of our popular songs, sacred as well as secular, is open to criticism on the score of violating almost all of the canons of good taste. This stricture applies to Gerhardt's poems only to a very limited extent, but yet it does apply, just as it applies to the hymns of Cowper. Even Homer sometimes nods, the adage reminds us. It is rare that a religious poet maintains himself throughout at a high key of interest and passion. The very intensity of his passion is apt to make him transcend the limits of good taste; and if he is rather copious, his muse occasionally deserts him, and he becomes quite prosaic. This also is true of Gerhardt.

But Gerhardt, however, was not simply a religious singer. He was a poet as well as a hymnographer, and a poet who helped to keep alive in those sad, gloomy days of the Thirty Years' War the native German lyric which had blossomed out so beautifully under the fostering care of Walter von der Vogelweide and the other minnesingers of his day. Indeed, Gerhardt's work may be said to be the beginning of modern German lyric poetry. Scherer, the eminent critic of German literature, remarks pertinently, "What Gerhardt did in the religious sphere was completed by Goethe in the secular, and it is by no mere chance that we find these words of Gerhardt echoed again by Goethe: 'How long shall I be sorrowful, and eat my bread with tears?'"

But the poems of Gerhardt did not simply preserve the lyric spirit and hand it down to Heine and Goethe. His religious songs did far more than this noble service to the literature of his country. They were a potent factor in the preservation of the national life during the calamitous times of their production. Says Francke, in his "Social Forces in German Literature": "There can hardly be a question that no other species of seventeenth-century liter-

ature has exerted so healthy an influence upon national life and has helped so much to reawaken a strong and manly sentiment as sacred song. At a time when princely courts had come to be meeting-grounds of vice and frivolity, when the city halls and market-places had ceased to echo with the sounds of popular energy and enterprise, there still remained a refuge for noble imagination in the churches, and from more than one solitary country parsonage there shone forth a light which in due time was to mingle with the dawning of a better day. Only ten years after the death of Paul Gerhardt, two men were born who were to make church music the vehicle of emotions as lofty and exalted as any that ever found expression in poetry and art, Bach and Händel. And these men were both still living when Klopstock, the first great poet of modern German literature, arose to sing the delivery of the human soul from the thralldom of sin, the resurrection of mind, the immortality of the individual." So much for the influence of these sacred songs.

Gerhardt wrote no hymn which has taken so firm a grasp upon the affections of the German people as Luther's great battle-hymn. But still some of Gerhardt's collection have become almost household words, and will ever live in the memory of a grateful nation. "Many of them," says Scherer, "have really become sacred popular songs, in which millions of faithful souls still continue to find edification." Two of these possess an historic interest,—the hymns beginning, "Zeuch ein zu deinem Thoren" (Come to Thy temple here on earth), and "Gottlob, nun ist erschollen" (Thank God, it hath resounded). The one was written at the commencement of that unhappy war from which Germany emerged exhausted in resources and more than decimated in population; the other was written at the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia.

But the most popular of Gerhardt's hymns, among

English-speaking peoples, is his notable "Hymn of Trust." It was not till during the Methodist movement, when there was such a copious outburst of hymns in England, that this song of comfort was translated into English. If the translator of this hymn could have known beforehand how much good his translation was destined to do, surely it would have been one of the most joyous labors of love he ever did in his life, so abundant in good works. The version was made by the distinguished founder of Methodism; and so terse and dignified was the English John Wesley employed in his translation, that it has retained, even to the present day, a welcome place in most hymn-books. This version was published in 1739, under the caption "Trust in Providence," in Wesley's collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems. It is now divided into two hymns, beginning, "Commit thou all thy fears," and "Give to the winds thy fears." Commenting on this, in his "Notes on the Methodist Hymns," Stevenson says: "There is not a hymn in the book which has afforded more comfort and encouragement than this to the Lord's tried people."

The circumstances of the origin of this hymn, inasmuch as it grew out of the actual experience of its author, may not prove uninteresting to the reader. Gerhardt, who in 1659 was appointed Deacon of the Nicholai-Kirche in Berlin, was an ardent Lutheran, and had little sympathy with the Calvinistic doctrine of a limited atonement. And so he preached against this doctrine with force and fervor. In 1666, the Great Elector, who wished to "tune his pulpits," ordered Gerhardt to sign a rescript forbidding him to preach against the Calvinistic dogma. But the fearless, conscientious preacher, like Bishop Latimer before Henry VIII., refused, saying, that he would preach only what he found in the Word of God, even though he should lose his home and his livelihood and be sent into banishment. So, with his wife and children into banishment he was sent by

the Great Elector. At the end of the first day's journey they lodged at a wayside inn, the wife and children weary and weeping, and Gerhardt's own heart heavy and saddened by the sight. He retired alone to the dark forest near-by, and laid the distressing situation before God in prayer. While praying, the text came to him, "Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him, and he will bring it to pass." He felt reassured and comforted in his heart. "Yes," said he, "though banished from house and home, and not knowing where to take my wife and children on the morrow, yet God sees me in the dark wood; now is the time to trust him."

He paced to and fro under the trees, thinking upon the exhortation and promise of the text, and the beautiful, comforting verses of his "Hymn of Trust" shaped themselves and crystallized in his mind. He returned to the inn and comforted his weeping wife with the same text and with the hymn he had composed; and they both retired, cheered by their implicit trust in God. But scarcely had they fallen asleep when a loud knocking at the door aroused them, and brought them again to their feet. It was the messenger of Duke Christian of Merseburg, who was sent post-haste to overtake the homeless exile and to offer him a home in the Duke's own realm. A sealed letter was handed Gerhardt from the messenger, which he opened, and read. "Come into my country, Paul Gerhardt," ran the Duke's letter, "and you shall have a church, people, house, home, and livelihood, and liberty to preach the gospel, as your heart may prompt you." So, the legend goes, the Lord took care of his servant.

The following is Wesley's excellent version of the hymn written in those trying circumstances:—

- “Commit thou all thy griefs
And ways into his hands,
To his sure trust and tender care,
Who earth and heaven commands:
Who points the clouds their course,
Whom winds and seas obey,
He shall direct thy wandering feet,
He shall prepare thy way.
- “Thou on the Lord rely,
So safe shalt thou go on;
Fix on his work thy steadfast eye,
So shall thy work be done.
No profit canst thou gain
By self-consuming care;
To him commend thy cause, his ear
Attends the softest prayer.
- “Thy everlasting truth,
Father, thy ceaseless love,
Sees all thy children's wants, and knows
What best for each will prove;
And whatsoe'er thou wilt'st,
Thou dost, O King of kings!
What's thine unerring wisdom's choice,
Thy power to being brings.
- “Thou everywhere hast sway,
And all things serve thy might;
Thine every act pure blessing is,
Thy path unsullied light.
When thou arisest, Lord,
What shall thy work withstand?
When all thy children want, thou giv'st;
Who, who shall stay thy hand?
- “Give to the winds thy fears;
Hope, and be undismayed:
God hears thy sighs, and counts thy tears;
God shall lift up thy head:
Through waves, and clouds, and storms,
He gently clears thy way;
Wait thou his time; so shall this night
Soon end in joyous day.

"Still heavy is thy heart?
Still sink thy spirits down?
Cast off the weight, let fear depart,
And every care be gone.
What though thou rulest not,
Yet heaven, and earth, and hell,
Proclaim, God sitteth on the throne,
And ruleth all things well.

"Leave to his sovereign sway
To choose and to command;
So shalt thou, wond'ring, own, his way
How wise, how strong his hand!
Far, far above thy thought
His counsel shall appear,
When fully he the work hath wrought
That caused thy needless fear.

"Thou seest our weakness, Lord,
Our hearts are known to thee;
O lift thou up the sinking hand,
Confirm the feeble knee!
Let us in life, in death,
Thy steadfast truth declare;
And publish, with our latest breath,
Thy love and guardian care."

Among Gerhardt's one hundred and twenty hymns, which he published in 1667, were many paraphrases of portions of the Bible, just as there were among Luther's collection. Indeed, his "Hymn of Trust," just quoted, is in the manner of a paraphrase, for every verse begins with a word or two from the text which inspired it, upon which it is based; and if you read the first word of each verse in the original, you read the text in full. Gerhardt also attempted an adaptation or translation of certain of the mediæval Latin poems, some of which are models of their kind, and so adequately meet all the requirements of a hymn, that they have as yet to be supplanted by our modern hymns, with all their boasted excellence and beauty. Among others he translated the glowing hymn of Bernard of Clairvaux, beginning "Salve caput cruentatum." This

sacred song of the pious monk of Clairvaux he rendered, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," and his version remains, to the present time, a favorite among the Germans. This German version, it is interesting to note in passing, was beautifully englished in 1830 by Dr. Alexander; and his English translation of Gerhard's version of the original Latin is our fine hymn, "O Sacred Head, now wounded," rightly included by Mr. Stead in his "Hymns that have Helped."

Gerhard's hymns are not far removed in tone and sentiment from the fervent hymns of Bernard. Like those of the devout monk, they are the impassioned utterance of the individual experience,—sweet and tender sacred lyrics. Themselves inspired by pious feelings, they appeal to the mind in its moods of religious emotion, and set the heart aglow with their sweet melody. Because they are the expression of the individual experience, they are consequently not so well adapted to congregational use. They are not, however, of a sad or dismal character. As a certain critic has observed, the poet's religious earnestness does not exclude cheerfulness, which forms indeed the leading moral characteristic of his poetry.

There is far more of the personal note in Gerhard's hymns than there is in Luther's. The hymns of the latter, sharing in the spirit of their author, are more militant and breathe less of peace and serenity than do Gerhard's. But Gerhard's poems lack the fire, the rugged force, and the manly simplicity of Luther's hymns. This lack, however, is offset, to a considerable extent, by the superior finish, elegance, and melody which Gerhard's hymns possess, as compared with Luther's. "Whereas with Luther," says Scherer, "the world is full of storm and tempest, with Gerhard, on the contrary, it lies in perpetual sunshine; everything, he thinks, is so beautifully calculated for the good of man; death and hell have lost their power, and

the soul rejoices in the certainty of salvation; we must throw our cares on God, for God cares for us, and if we succumb, he will extend his mercy to us. Luther resists evil like a man, but Gerhardt overlooks it like a youth. Even sin he thinks is of some use: 'Had I no guilt of sin on me, I had no part in thy mercy.'" So much for the difference between the points of view of Gerhardt and Luther, and for the consequent contrast of their hymns.

Gerhardt's hymns, as I have said elsewhere, lie midway between the objective, congregational hymns of Luther, on the one hand, and the subjective, sentimental hymns of the Pietists, on the other. He shows a decided *penchant* for the pietistic side in a few of his songs in which his ardent gush of feeling runs counter to the canons of good taste. In this respect, however, he was but following the tendency of sacred song in his age, for Pietism was already in the air, and it was only about the time of his death that Spener founded the religious school of the Pietists. The mystic hymns of Tersteegen and of the world-renowned Count Zinzendorf, so often disfigured by their florid, gushing language and their excess of imagery, represent the teachings of this school reduced in practice to their logical conclusion. And it required the cold didacticism and classical purity of a Klopstock and of a Gellert in the succeeding century to turn the course of German hymnody therefrom into the channel of its best traditions.

ARTICLE V.

GOVERNMENT AND ATONEMENT.

BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD EUGENE THOMSON.

THAT God's direction of the universe is the direction of a ruler admits of no question with those who have read nature or the Bible with any care. In the natural world we are encompassed on every side by laws which are rigidly enforced, and which we break at our peril. Through the entire Old Testament God assumes the title and authority of a judge and a ruler, and he is so addressed and spoken of by men. Abraham said, "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?"¹ In the wilderness, God, as a ruler, gave to Israel a code of laws. David said, "Yea, the Lord sitteth as king forever."² Jeremiah said, "But the Lord is the true God; he is the living God, and an everlasting king."³ In the New Testament, the "kingdom of God" and "the kingdom of heaven" were strikingly prominent in the preaching of John the Baptist and of Jesus, and appear frequently in the writings of the apostles. Jesus taught us to pray, "Thy kingdom come"; Paul, in an inspired and inspiring apostrophe, said, "Now unto the King eternal, incorruptible, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever,"⁴ and John saw God, as a ruler, administering justice to the world. The kingdom of God was largely the theme of Christ's conversation with his disciples during the momentous interval between his resurrection and ascension.⁵ Whatever God's relation to those who since their creation have heartily obeyed his

¹ Gen. xviii. 25. ² Ps. xxix. 10. ³ Jer. x. 10. ⁴ 1 Tim. i. 17. ⁵ Acts i. 3.

will may be, his relation to those who are disposed to disobedience must always be the relation of a governor to subjects.

There are certain characteristics which, of moral necessity, belong to a good government; and, as God's rule will certainly be perfectly righteous and wise, we are justified in affirming with certainty these qualities concerning his government. They are demanded by reason; they are the simplest applications of the moral law; and they are necessary to intelligent thought concerning God's government. Like time relations of God, it may be affirmed that he is free from them, but, constituted as we are, we cannot think of God without them. Further, these features are not only demanded by reason, but are shown by Scripture actually to belong to the divine government. It will be profitable briefly to review them.

1. *The Purpose of a Government.*—The purpose of a good government is to keep the governed in proper bounds, giving to each the best opportunity that can be had in harmony with the welfare of all. Thus a good government exists in the interest of the governed. It should be remembered that God's own conduct is under the general law of the government of which he is the head, and he is not at liberty to unduly sacrifice himself for the sake of his subjects, any more than to sacrifice his subjects for the sake of himself.

2. *The Purpose of Laws.*—Laws are the government's expression of the proper bounds of conduct mentioned above. They show the government's view of what is for the highest welfare of all, and therefore of what ought and ought not be done by all. Under a good government, therefore, laws are always intended for the highest welfare of the governed. Under a government of perfect character and perfect wisdom, the laws will be perfect to the smallest detail, and cannot be changed in the least partic-

ular without limiting the opportunities of, or giving undue license to, and thus harming, the governed. Such a government is God's. "As for God, his way is perfect."¹

3. *The Purpose of Penalties.*—Penalties are intended to secure obedience to the laws on the part of those who are disposed to violate them. If all subjects were perfectly righteous, laws would still be needed, since the subjects, being of limited knowledge, would be in danger of doing innocently what would be harmful to themselves or to others. The laws would, however, come to them not so much as authoritative statutes as greatly desired counsel from one capable of giving it in perfection. There is no need of penalties when the subjects are constantly in the attitude of him who said, "O how love I thy law!"² If, however, any are disposed to law-breaking, the highest welfare of the governed can be secured only by the enforcement of the laws, and such enforcement can be secured only by means of penalties. A wilful law-breaker is one to whom the rewards of law-keeping do not appeal sufficiently to insure his obedience. Such must be dealt with from the side of penalty. The painful consequences of wrongdoing must be made such as, if possible, to prevent the offender from repeating his offense, and to prevent others from entering upon his course of evil.

There are, therefore, two purposes in the general infliction of penalties, though not in every case; viz., the reformation of the offender, and the impressing others with a sense of the harmfulness and unprofitableness of the offense. When a trifling fine is imposed in the police court, the purpose is to make an impression on the offender. Very likely society will not be impressed at all. When a man is sent to the penitentiary for twenty years, the reform of the offender is desired, but the chief end in view is the prevention of similar offenses on the part of others.

¹ Ps. xviii. 30.

² Ps. cxix. 97.

When capital punishment is inflicted, the only purpose is to make the greatest possible impression on society. As President Fairchild used to say, "We do not hang a man to reform him." The government decides what crime shall have capital punishment for its penalty, and the Word of God tells us that under the divine government all mankind stood liable to that doom. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die"¹; "The wages of sin is death"²; "All have sinned."³ Now assume a perfect government; one which exists to produce perfect character. Any wilful violation of law under that government is properly a capital crime. It defeats the very end for which the government exists, and is therefore treason. Such a government is God's. The penalty shows in some measure God's estimate of the harm done by any wilful violation of his laws. A traitor has no place within the borders of the nation to which he has proved himself unfaithful. A sinner has no place, at large, in God's universe.

4. *Enforcement of Law.*—Since good laws are enacted in the interest of the governed, a good government will strictly enforce them. It is no favor either to society or the criminal to permit a lax enforcement. It is the worst of injustice to the law-abiding citizen, and encourages the offender in his course of crime. Such failure to enforce righteous statutes brings the government into contempt, leads men to take the administration of justice into their own hands, and causes lynch law. Even though the offender be truly penitent, he cannot be safely pardoned on that ground alone. Others, wishing to do some unlawful act, will say, "I will take my neighbor's property or life, and, if I am detected and convicted, I will repent." The way would be open to the safe committal of any crime. Anarchy would be a speedy result. Society must be taken into the account. This is where the moral influence theory

¹ Ezek. xviii. 4.² Rom. vi. 23.³ Rom. iii. 23.

of the atonement goes halting. For the at-one-ment of the sinner with God, two acts on God's part are necessary. (1) Since the sinner is certain not to repent of himself, God must do something to induce him, if possible, to return to his allegiance. This he does by his constant goodness; "not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance."¹ This, in supreme measure, Christ has done; "and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."² (2) Something must be done to make it safe, in view of the interests of the universe, for the penitent sinner to be pardoned. This also Christ did; "whom God set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood."³ To say that God can safely pardon the penitent sinner, without something being done to make upon society as great an impression as would be made by the punishment of the sinner, is, at the last analysis, to deny the freedom of the human will, because God's *power* must be relied on to prevent others from taking advantage of his leniency.

Therefore, God's goodness insures the execution of his laws. It is only a weak or corrupt government that gives lax enforcement. All believe this. The conscience of the nation was with Mr. Roosevelt, when he enforced law in New York City. A perfect government will give perfect enforcement, because only those laws will have been enacted which are absolutely necessary for the welfare of the governed. Not a word of those laws could wisely be changed; no violation of them can safely be permitted. Men plead God's goodness as their reason for expecting to escape the penalty of their law-breaking, forgetting that God's goodness is our one ground of expectation that he will enforce every law that he has made. He could not be

¹ Rom. ii. 4.

² John xii. 32. A true view of the governmental necessity of the atonement includes all that there is in the "moral influence" theory.

³ Rom. iii. 25.

holy else. Righteousness does not depend, in principle, on God. If there were no God, duty would exist wherever there were beings possessed of a moral nature. God is therefore under moral obligation as well as we. He is as much under obligation to make holy and perfect laws, such as he sees to be needed, and to enforce them perfectly, as we are to obey them perfectly. Hence, all proof that God is good is proof that his laws will be enforced, and that the law-breaker must suffer the penalty of his crime, unless some way can be found by which his pardon will not involve the defeat of the end for which God's holy and perfect law was enacted. If the sinner is to go free, two conditions must be fulfilled. (1) The sinner must abandon his sin. That goes without saying. No perfect government will pardon a law-breaker till he repents. (2) Some one must pay the penalty; not because God's law is a fetish, but because it is a holy necessity. Only by insisting on this necessity can God keep his government intact.

No aspect of God is more neglected to-day, and therefore more needed, than that which presents him as a governor, and puts mortals in their proper place as subjects, bound by every obligation to obey. Men need to remember that God's treatment of each sinner must be modified by the needs of the entire moral universe. A sinner wants to have God treat him as though he were the only finite being. God cannot do that. Angels, devils, and men are watching the enforcement of law. A great many faulty conclusions are reached by a kind of instinctive analogy. The sentimentalism with which a criminal is often treated by earthly governments, regardless of the effect on society, is carried over to the government of God. In these days, when sociology is so much talked about, and the solidarity of the human race is so often mentioned, it would be well if the solidarity of God's government and the created universe were more frequently considered.

How can this important part of the atoning work be wrought? Capital punishment is our due. Only life can buy life. Money cannot do it. One innocent man might die for a guilty one, and thus safely let him, if penitent, go free. But one common life cannot pay the penalty and atone for two. The death of the one would not make an impression on society equal to that which the infliction of the death penalty on the two was intended to make. The governor of a state might, we will assume, die for ten. His prominent position makes his life more valuable. The President of the United States might die for a hundred. But who shall die for billions? And who shall make such an atonement that they may be saved from eternal death? Manifestly there is but one of sufficient prominence. He is the Son of God. He did not merely suffer physical death. It was said of him, "that by the grace of God he should taste death for every man."¹ He did more than "taste" bodily death; he drained that cup to the dregs. On the cross, when the Father's face withdrew from him, he tasted the bitterness of eternal death.² Thus Christ was "once offered to bear the sin of many,"³ and so doing he made it possible for God to forgive the penitent sinner without doing injustice to the rest of the universe by permitting his holy law to be brought into contempt. God can now "be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus."⁴ Had not Christ thus been "made to be sin on our behalf," God could have justified the penitent sinner, that is, treated him as though he were innocent, but God could not at the same time have been just in his relation

¹ Heb. ii. 9.

² In his prayer at the last supper Jesus said, "And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." Then not to know God is eternal death. This bitterness Christ tasted.

³ Heb. ix. 28.

⁴ Rom. iii. 26.

to the rest of the universe, for whose sake, as well as this particular sinner's, the law had been enacted.

Further, the Bible must be our authority in this matter. No argument, however plausible, can be allowed any weight if it can be shown to traverse the Word of God; and what we find written in that Word is to be accepted as fact, though we may not be able as yet to see the full reason for it. It is interesting, however, to note that this view of God's government and the necessity of a sacrificial work of atonement is not only in accord with the biblical teachings, but exactly meets the moral condition of things in the world to-day.

It is a fact, often mentioned by those engaged in direct soul-winning, that it seems much more difficult to produce deep conviction of sin in the hearts of men than formerly. This is not unnatural; "where there is no law, neither is there transgression."¹ Anything that tends to contempt for the law of God reduces conviction of the sin of breaking the law, and nothing could possibly lead more directly to such contempt than remittance of penalty without something done to accomplish the purpose for which the penalty was decreed. This is a logical, necessary, and actual result of preaching the moral influence of Christ's death without its sacrificial character. In Jewish times the sacrificial victim died instead of the offender. To have let the offender go free without the sacrifice would have been to surely destroy regard for the law.² With this the conscience, when truly awakened, agrees. A man who has come to see his sins in their awfulness, and has caught

¹ Rom. iv. 15.

² It should be remembered, that under the Mosaic law atonement looked primarily not to the moral influence exerted on the offender, but to his sin which brought him under the judgment of God. To atone was (כִּפֶּה) to cover the sin. Atonement was (כִּפּוּר or כִּפּוּרִים) a covering for the sin, an expiation without which, however penitent, the offender could not be at one with God.

a glimpse of the holiness of God, sees clearly that some one must pay the penalty, and he finds rest from the terrors of the law, not merely in seeing that Christ died to win him from the commission of sin, but "the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all,"¹ and since Christ has borne the penalty, the repentant sinner need not bear it.²

The Bible does not represent the atonement as an appeasing of the wrath of God; neither is God "so bound by his own laws that Christ must cut the bonds." The same law of loving wisdom which required him to make regulations for the moral conduct of the universe, requires him to enforce those regulations. A distinguished preacher has recently said, "Sacrifice is not a condition of God's forgiveness; it is the method by which he forgives; it is the method by which he pours his life into men that they may live." If sacrifice is not a condition of God's forgiveness, his government bears no analogy to earthly government, and we do not know how to think concerning it. The biblical teaching is, that sacrifice is the method by which God makes the pardon of the penitent rebel to be safe, as well as the method by which he inclines the rebel to repent. "The chastisement of his peace was upon us, and by his stripes we are healed."³

The moral influence theory of the atonement is thus closely connected with a light estimate of sin. Only the depraved see their hopeless condition. Others, who have not become outwardly so corrupt, rest on their morality, and think their sin trivial, since all that is necessary for salvation is to leave that sin. No propitiation is needed.

¹ Isa. liii. 6.

² Most interesting and instructive is the account, by Rev. Thomas Laws, of the way in which Dr. C. A. Berry was led to preach the old-fashioned view of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. He found that nothing else would bring peace to a penitent dying woman who had led a life of shame.

³ Isa. liii. 5.

Paul, on the other hand, taught at Ephesus that salvation requires two actions on the part of man, viz., "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ."¹

Further, the teaching that Christ's atoning work has its full effect in the moral influence thereby exerted on the sinner leads to a denial of the plainly biblical statements concerning reprobation, that God will not continue long to wait on the stubborn sinner. Therefore sinners, who have no notion of missing heaven, take liberties with divine mercy, under the fatal delusion that at any time they can come back to God. Since there is no question of the integrity of a government, God, to whom eternities are cheap, can and will wait endless ages for the sinner, always urging his love till the sinner repents. Nothing could be more opposite to the biblical teaching, and nothing be more logically the result of ignoring the governmental necessity of atonement. While the Universalist denomination is not making rapid progress, the Universalist belief is tainting a fearfully large number of the members of supposedly orthodox churches, and as a result is destroying their spiritual life and their concern for their fellow-men. The empty treasuries of our missionary societies bear eloquent testimony to the fact that the foundations are being destroyed. To this spread of universalistic notions, that view of the atonement which limits it to the moral influence of Christ's work upon the sinner directly contributes.

Another result is seen to-day in the prevalent weakening of the grasp of duty on the soul. The impenitent do not see themselves as rebels against God, under his just wrath because of their law-breaking, and bound by every obligation to repent at once. Instead, they are too often taught to regard themselves as in such a manner objects of his intense desire, that he will mightily move them to that

¹ Acts xx. 21.

which is their immediate and imperative duty. They expect religion to be made so pleasing that its attractiveness will overmaster the attractiveness of sin, and make it easy for them to return to God. They are waiting for some mighty moral influence to be exerted upon them, instead of recognizing that, in justice to the ends for which his government exists, God must require them to repent of their sin at duty's call, whatever the cost to them. It is one of the devil's circles.

In the early part of this century men were intrenched behind God's sovereignty, and the notion that they could not repent until mightily moved. To-day, one of the most common difficulties met is the idea that men need not repent till thus mightily moved. The end is the same. A similar result is seen in the churches. Duty has small power; the Sabbath service and the prayer-meeting must be made attractive, or covenant vows will be broken; people will give only when moved by some strong impulse, and will work, or refrain from working, as it pleases them. In secular matters we are becoming a law-breaking nation. People make the obligation to obey the laws of state or nation to depend on public sentiment. However righteous the law may be, if a considerable portion of the community wish to break it, they count themselves as really outside its authority. This is perhaps best seen in the case of laws prohibiting the liquor traffic.

One of the great secular journals of Chicago, which advocated opening the Columbian Exposition on Sunday, despite the condition on which Congress made its grant of money, has been calling attention to the present-day need of the character possessed by the Puritans. The same disposition to disregard law is found within the church. Men seem to think that if a sufficient number of law-breakers can be found, God must set aside his statutes. If the church generally unites in ignoring the new birth, God

must count the demand for it annulled. Many within the church are longing for a return of Puritanic character, without seeing that one of the leading qualities of the Puritan was a deep reverence for the government and law of God. His character was built on a belief in an atoning work of Christ, which was necessary because without it that government and that law would fail of the purpose for which they were ordained. Next to its lack of biblical warrant, and the fact that it is an instance of the common method of putting man's opinion into the Bible instead of bringing out of the Bible the will of God, perhaps the strongest indictment of that view of the atonement which omits its governmental necessity is the fact that those who are guilty of that omission are looking back wistfully to the character which was built, not on sentimentalism, but on a recognition of the essential facts of the divine government.

With all its advantages, a republican form of government lends itself easily to law-breaking. "We, the people," regard lightly the statutes which we, through our representatives, have enacted. God's government is not a republic, but an absolute monarchy, and there is no greater need on earth to-day than that view of the sacredness of divine law which is gained in the light of the cross, by which Christ not only holds out infinite inducement to the sinner to repent, but by which alone he made it possible for God safely to pardon the sinner who should return.

ARTICLE VI.

IDEA OF SALVATION, AS PRESENTED IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY THE REV. FRANK CHURCHILL WOODS.

THAT there is something to be saved from, is the testimony of each soul. Every man is conscious, that many of his deeds are misdeeds; that he has failed in diverse respects to conform with the law of his normal being; that his present condition is not the highest to which he may attain, nor to which he might even have already attained. Every man has felt within him an energy or impulse constraining to do that which is contrary to his own welfare, as also the welfare of others; a passion to a performance against which judgment and conscience protest, and to which he consents in some fashion he knows not how. The consent and ill conduct are explained by many in the words of Dante,

"The stormy blast of hell,
With restless fury, drives the spirits on."

Others explain in the language of Paul, "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." Others dismiss the strange problem as too subtle for solution. However careful the sowing, whatever the quality of the seed, tares appear in the field. The question presses, Whence come these? All alike are aware that they are in need of salvation. As the trump of God at last shall awake the dead, so this clarion note at present arouses the spiritually dead.

At the beginning of the mission of Jesus of Nazareth,

this note was heard. Ere he had appeared at Bethlehem the nature of his spirit and of his mission was announced. The angel of the Lord informed Joseph concerning the supernatural conception of the child, and said, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins." In these words there is the ground of appeal that the Christ was to make to men, a prophecy of his accomplishment, and a comprehensive statement of the doctrine of salvation. As a guide and a means to the understanding of this doctrine in the New Testament, the prophecy of the angel should be given prominent place in mind. In the present discussion, attention will be given: (1) to what salvation is; (2) to the time of its realization; (3) to its relation to Christianity.

WHAT IS SALVATION?

The words already quoted from the angel are succinct reply: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus [i.e. Saviour], for he shall save his people from their sins." Throughout the rest of the New Testament, the changes are rung upon this brief statement. The purpose of salvation is not that men may find entrance into heaven. There is an ancient fiction, latent in the minds of not a few, that heaven is like a great and gorgeous house, in which there is naught but joy, and that the end of the gospel is in some fashion to enable man to gain entrance to the blessed abode. Some may have to struggle to get in, may have to squeeze their way through the door; but, so they at length are found inside, this is all to be desired. Nowhere does the New Testament lend sanction to so foolish a fancy. Salvation is not for heaven, but from sin. If heaven be thought of as a state of character, and not as a place of reward, salvation may be said to be for heaven. Salvation is to rid man of his meanness and wickedness; is to keep him from doing what is bad, to change the principle by which he is actuated and dominated; is to transform his manhood, that

through and through he may be worthy to be called a son of God. Heaven is a fact, apart from the question of salvation. Every man shall have his own place hereafter. Judas went to his own place; each of the eleven went to his place. In the Father's house are many mansions. What the place of any individual may be, is dependent of course upon his salvation. But the fact is patent, that salvation is primarily not for heaven, but from sin. So, also, salvation is not primarily from hell, in the sense that hell is punishment of sin or a place of punishment. If hell be thought of as wickedness within man, as Milton's devil says, "Myself am hell," salvation is rescue from such condition. But the truth to be emphasized is, that salvation essentially does not refer to the objective, but to the subjective; not to any bane or boon that may come to man or upon man, but to man himself, in his act, principle, and state. The physician who strives to save the insane patient gives exclusive attention to the cure of the malady. He would prevent the madman's deed, be rid of the subtle principle of mental derangement, make normal once more the disordered brain. He does not think of saving the man to be a politician, minister of the gospel, or aught else; but of saving him from insanity. Sin in its enormity and abnormity is the fact with which salvation has to do.

While this is true, deliverance implies corresponding benefaction. There can be no salvation from anything, unless there be salvation to something. If a man is saved from lying, he is established in a state of truthfulness. Deliverance from illness implies possession of health. Rescue from sin likewise implies attainment unto holiness. Conquest of sin was the primary purpose of Jesus; yet the idea of salvation necessarily hurries us into contemplation of its benefaction.

In a certain sense, salvation must pertain also to that

which is without. The inmost and the outmost cannot be long separated. As Emerson says, "The inmost in due time becomes the outmost, and our first thought is rendered back to us by the trumpets of the last judgment." At length there must be exact correlation between the subjective and objective, between the spirit and its conditions. The resurrection body and the last element of the future environment must bear the impress of the spirit's rescue. To such uniformity, there is constant tendency in the present life. If a man be saved from something within, he must also be saved from something without. So salvation from death is spoken of; a death which seems to imply much more than the subjective. "Godly sorrow works repentance to salvation, not to be repented of; but the sorrow of the world works out death" (2 Cor. vii. 10); "He who turns a sinner from the error of his way, will save a soul from death, and will cover a multitude of sins" (James v. 20).

The necessity of this objective bearing of salvation is explained by the fact, that what a man is, determines the divine attitude toward him. And what is the attitude of God, save an eternal environment? The attitude of man toward man constitutes the larger part of earthly environment. According as one is loved or hated in a community, is his outward condition agreeable or disagreeable. And where divine will is the supreme fact, divine favor the exclusive issue, divine fellowship the superlative boon, the outmost in environment must be determined by the inmost in spirit. Self will pervade circumstance. Circumstance will be the divine expression. The attitude of God is heaven or hell. So salvation, in last analysis, must touch the most remote element of the objective. In pursuance of this fact, Paul presents the outward bearing of salvation: "We shall be saved from wrath" (Rom. v. 9); "God did not appoint us to wrath, but to gain salvation

through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess. v. 9); "He that endures to the end, this one shall be saved" (Matt. x. 22). In these passages, thought is wrested from personal merit or demerit, to corresponding outward conditions.

As salvation has objective bearing on the future, so also does it apply to the past. A transformed character may command the gracious attitude of God so far as the future alone is concerned; but such character cannot erase the records of former sin, nor divest itself of the influence of such records. As the inmost becomes the outmost, so also the outmost often determines the inmost. Rescue from former divine wrath is no less necessary than rescue from future divine wrath. Release from sinning is contingent upon release from the pressure of guilt. There is no elasticity while conscience burdens the spirit with accusations of former transgression. The psalmist says, "I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou shalt enlarge my heart"; but there is no enlargement while the contraction of guilt is experienced. Weight of condemnation presses to abandonment to still further wrong. The past must be cleared, before the present and future can be righted. Sin must be covered, before it can be separated. Thus salvation implies atonement. The scriptural meaning of the word "atonement" is here maintained, viz., *covering of sin*. Salvation is the separation of sin. In order of experience, salvation is the middle ground between atonement and reward. But it logically extends into both realms.

As to the extent of salvation, man cannot trace its operation to the limit. This deliverance is as extensive as the nature and operation of sin. Who is possessed of metaphysical power, such as to discern the full content of the term "sin"? In the physical realm, there is a subtle energy that expresses itself now as electricity, again as light, again as heat; but who knows the inmost nature of this

energy, or can explain its transformation? So while sin is a fact with which we are familiar, who can discern its hidden meaning, or follow it in all its ways? How inscrutable is its operation in the will! Upon what grounds did it necessarily cause death? What an enigma is the fall! And as sin cannot be found out to perfection, salvation cannot be comprehended. Salvation is everywhere and in every respect the attendant and the foe of sin. Could we understand fully all that is implied by sin, we could set bounds to salvation. The two are coterminous.

THE TIME SALVATION IS REALIZED.

A strange and perplexing fact is met with in this part of the discussion. Here is the question mooted. Salvation is spoken of in the New Testament, in tenses past, present, and future. One is impelled then to careful consideration, in order to determine at what time salvation is consummated. In a discussion of the passages in which the word *σώζω* and related terms are found, there is no need that attention be given to those that pertain to physical healing. Of course, when any one was cured of disease, through the miraculous power of Jesus, such an one was straightway made whole. The words *σώζω*, *σωτηρία*, *σωτήριον* may be expected in these instances to describe a completed act. But the question that here prevails is, What is the significance of these words when employed to designate rescue from moral and spiritual infirmity? The time of physical healing was immediate; but what about the time of spiritual healing?

Prevailing passages on this subject refer to salvation as a present and future fact. Passages that speak of salvation in the present will first be cited. Of course but few can be given. In rendering these, care is taken to give to each the value of the present tense of the Greek. This is done, not only because the exact use of the Greek language

so requires, but also because one is not warranted in departing from such use, unless conditions make the departure absolutely necessary. Such departure implies an inexact and careless use of the language on the part of the writers of the New Testament. Reverence for writings held so dear, should make this resort the very last to be considered. The King James version is utterly indifferent to the value of these present tenses. The Revised version is more careful, but in several instances gives to the present the value of the aorist. Here are some of the passages:—

“The Lord added together daily those who were being saved” (Acts ii. 47).

“The word of the cross is to those who are perishing, foolishness; but to us who are being saved, it is the power of God” (1 Cor. i. 18).

“We are to God a sweet savor of Christ, in those who are being saved, and in those who are perishing” (2 Cor. ii. 15).

Another verse is peculiar; and suggests that the apostle Paul was either very careful or very careless in his use of tenses. The passage is, 1 Cor. xv. 2: “Through which [i.e. the gospel] also ye are being saved, if you are holding fast with what word I preached to you, unless ye believed in vain.” These passages are sufficient to show the use of the present; in the unfolding of this doctrine.

Still more numerous are statements that salvation is a fact of the future:—

“And this, knowing the season, that it is high time already for you to be awaked out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed” (Rom. xiii. 11).

“Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who is working in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure” (Phil. ii. 12, 13).

“But let us, being of the day, be sober, putting on a breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet, hope of salvation” (1 Thess. v. 8).

"Who by the power of God are guarded through faith, unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (1 Pet. i. 5).

"He that endures to the end, this one shall be saved" (Matt. x. 22).

"Much more, therefore, being justified by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath through him. For if, being enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life" (Rom. v. 9, 10).

"The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen" (2 Tim. iv. 18).

From these passages, the idea of the New Testament, concerning salvation, unquestionably appears to be, that it is a process now in operation, to be completed in future. But here the question demands answer, Is it necessary to translate the present participles with the force of the Greek present? i.e. as a state or action now existing? May they not be rendered as aorists, i.e. as that which is absolutely past, and which corresponds with the English preterite? This would cause the passages already rendered, "being saved," to read, "saved." Salvation would thus be presented as a work already effected in behalf of the believer, rather than as a process now in operation. In support of this aoristic use of the present, the statement has been made, that "the passive participle of the present tense in Greek is often, if not generally, used to express a complete action."¹

As illustrating this fact, such passages are cited as, "His father and mother were wondering at the things spoken [not speaking] concerning him" (Luke ii. 33). Also, "He saw the heavens opened," not opening (Matt. i. 10).

¹ T. W. Chambers, D.D., *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, June, 1886.

Whether the present participle is so employed in the New Testament, must be decided after inquiry into all mooted passages. That such is not the "general" use of the participle in the later Scriptures, is a fact that can hardly be questioned. One should deliberate carefully ere he recognize such use anywhere in the New Testament. In confirmation of this opinion, a few reasons may be briefly given:—

1. To use the present as an aorist is radical departure from the discriminating employment of the verb in classical Greek.

2. If it be held that the writers of the New Testament used the verb in so lax and indiscriminating fashion, what right have we to assert that any verb is to be assigned its critical and unique force? So when we find flashes of beauty or strokes of power in many portions of the later Scriptures, given in the peculiar use of the verb, making one wonder at the subtlety and grandeur of Divine thought, we must shut our eyes to such instruction, and conclude these writers used the verb so loosely that this may be the slip of human ignorance, rather than the precision of divine wisdom.

3. Grammarians admitted to be most trustworthy, such as Green and Winer, insist upon ascribing to the use of every verb its exact force. Winer pertinently remarks, "No one of these tenses strictly and properly taken can stand for another, as commentators would often have us believe. But where such an interchange appears to take place, either it is merely apparent, and a sufficient reason (especially a rhetorical one) can be discovered why this and no other tense has been used, or it is to be set down to the account of a certain inaccuracy peculiar to the language of the people, which did not conceive and express relations of time with entire precision."¹

¹ Winer, *Grammar*, 264.

4. Passages in which, it is insisted, the present participle is used as aorist, may probably in every case be interpreted according to the strict uses of the present. Take, for example, the passages already cited in opposition: "His father and mother were wondering at the things spoken concerning him." May not this be given the simple, unqualified force of the present, "the things speaking concerning him"? Those things were then coming from the lips of Simeon and Anna; and coming with an entirely new meaning. They were finding present and significant utterance. Also, in the passage "He saw the heavens opened," the present is commonly employed in vivid narration of past events. An illustration of this is, "In those days, cometh John." May not the statement of "the opened heavens" be, so interpreted, a mere historical present?

5. If the writers of the New Testament wished to speak of salvation as an accomplished fact, why did they not employ language about which there could be no doubt? They regularly used the aorist to express this thought. Why should they depart in this instance, and use the present, that might be susceptible of diverse interpretations?

6. If it be granted, that the present participle of the passive voice is sometimes used to express complete action, unquestionably such use is the decided exception. Since this is the exception, why should we take the exceptional use of the present, and upon this as a foundation build one of the most important of doctrines, viz., that of "salvation"?

This discussion of grammar has been extended because of its vital bearing upon the subject. Without this there could be no comprehensive consideration. In the light of this and other facts, salvation, as presented in the New Testament, is manifestly to be understood as a process, now in operation, to be completed at some future time. Or, it

is a subject considered from three points of view; viz., those of its inception, continuation, and completion. In apparent contrast with other teaching on the subject, the apostle Paul wrote five verses that demand attention. These speak of salvation in past tenses. They are the following: "By hope we were being saved" (Rom. viii. 24); "By grace ye have been saved" (Eph. ii. 5); "By grace ye have been saved through faith" (Eph. ii. 8); "God, who saved us, and called us with a holy calling" (2 Tim. i. 8, 9); "According to his mercy he saved us" (Tit. iii. 5). Striking as these passages are, shall they be taken in refutation of Paul's constant teaching elsewhere? Since these are so few in number, are they not rather to give precedence to other and more numerous statements from the same pen, and be understood to refer to the inception of the process of salvation? This appears to be the only candid interpretation. Those addressed are such as have committed their souls to Christ for constant and continuous cleansing. As to the reality of their act, and sincerity of their faith, the apostle has no question.

In these passages, also, Paul may regard the initial act of salvation in the light of its consummation. The strong faith, earnest effort, of these Christians, together with divine promises, may have hurried his thought from the beginning of the operation to its close. Often in common speech is a process termed complete, when indeed it is only at its beginning. The drowning man is spoken of as saved, when he has just been taken into the life-boat. The untutored boy is spoken of as rescued from ignorance, when he has only now been placed in the school. So Paul addressed as "saved" those who were in the process of salvation, and to whom he further declares, "Ye shall be saved by the life of Christ." In confirmation of this view of salvation is the teaching of the Old Testament on the subject. Israel was regarded both as a nation already

saved and as a nation to be saved. Throughout the word of God, the words of the angel to Joseph are found to be true in their literal significance. Salvation is something to be wrought in and for those who have already become the people of God.

In the light of the foregoing, it may be asked, Should a Christian speak of himself as "saved"? This is warranted, if he bear in mind the meaning of the word employed. Did not Paul so speak of himself and Timothy; also of other Christians? Why may not the Christian of to-day apply the same language to himself and others? Only let him be sure of this, that he has with Paul, determination to be rid of sin; coöperation with his Lord, to combat evil in every form; passion dominant above every other, to work out his own salvation. Unless there be present striving against sin, it is in vain that one speaks of himself as "saved." There is a sort of salvation, conspicuous in much religious fancy, that is not contemplated in the New Testament. It is a salvation that pertains to the past and future, but not to the present. A salvation possessed as one owns a ticket for an entertainment; the ticket has been obtained, and guarantees admission when the time of the entertainment shall have come. Nothing is to be looked after between the time of purchase and that of attendance. This idea may also be likened to the political act of registration. The name has been duly inscribed on the books of the ward. When the time of balloting shall have come, the man may appear at the polls as a voter. Between registration and voting there is nothing to cause concern. This idea of salvation impels one to sing, in blissful abandon, concerning his faith in its entirety, "I left it all with Jesus long ago." Profession of religion has been made; the church joined; the matter ended. Such salvation includes no present and constant denial of self; feels the pressure of no cross, borne for the rescue of others; is characterized

by no rigorous purpose, that each step be taken in the foot-prints of the Lord Jesus. Whether salvation be a fact of the past and future, is dependent on its being an intense fact in the present. No man is saved from the past and for the future who is not being saved in the present. Faith that operates forensically, operates also ethically. The ground of present judgment is faith; that of the last judgment, is works, or faith that extends from the inmost to the outmost—"Ye did it," "Ye did it not." Faith severed from strife is not recognized in the New Testament. Mark the presentation of the fact in the sixth chapter of Romans. If the atonement removes guilt, it excites revulsion to sin. If salvation has place in grateful memory and complacent anticipation, it has place also in present restless purpose. If it gives release from Nemesis, and promise of reward, it will give impulse to immediate renovation. If aught that Christ did is appropriated for us, the principle of the work will be cultivated in us. If expiation and imputation be true for any man, their reality will be attested in present passion. If one say then, "I am saved," let the stress of the claim be placed, not on what has been or will be done, but on what he and his Lord are now doing in his character. The test of faith is vitality.

The discussion also throws light on the duty of the Christian ministry. They are preachers of salvation. This means truth necessary to the separation of self from sin; all that serves the removal of wrong, and participation of the life of Christ. To induce a man to come to Christ, is to bestir him merely to enter on the process of salvation. He yet needs truth upon truth, even the deep things of God, into which the Spirit searcheth, to enable him to be rid of hidden, tortuous, and persistent wrong.

THE RELATION OF SALVATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

As salvation is the end Christ came to effect, Christianity is the means to this end. Christianity answers the

question of Job, "How should man be just with God?" And again that of Paul, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" From of old, men had known the necessity of deliverance from evil. This fact is emphasized by Hebrew prophets, and in writings of other peoples. But the question that had perplexed writers of every age was, in what manner to effect the end so clear to the discerning mind. The simple fellow could say to the astronomer, If you wish to see what the rings of Saturn are like, take a journey thither. How easy to say to the man on a sinking vessel, There is the shore, hasten yonder. The aspiring politician might be told, Be elected to the Senate of the United States, then your course will be clear. But all of these—the astronomer, voyager, politician—would straightway reply, The thing to be done is clear enough; but what concerns me is, the method of its accomplishment. So was the state of mind of men before the coming of Jesus. They knew to large extent the thing of which they were in want; but the want was much deeper than they could meet. Christianity embraces the atonement, the work of the Spirit, and every means that serves to effect salvation.

The question, then, that Christianity answers, is "how," rather than "what." Many adverse critics of the religion, not perceiving this fact, have made derogatory statements that are wide of the mark. They have said, that much of the teaching of Jesus was not original with him. His golden rule had been earlier given by Hillel, Aristotle, Isocrates, and even Confucius. His model prayer is said to be all found in the Talmud, or in liturgies now used in synagogues. What if all this be true? Quite natural that much truth, innate in man, should have come to light before the advent of Jesus. But the truth that had not come to light, and that he came to declare, was, *How* man may

be enabled to observe the golden rule, and enter into right relationship with God.

The statement is sometimes heard, "My creed is the Sermon on the Mount." A lofty creed indeed! But it lacks the essential element of a Christian creed, viz., *how to observe* the sermon on the mount. Dr. George P. Fisher says, "Christianity is the means of salvation. To hold up the idea of the absolute religion in the midst of a world under the sway of ungodliness and selfishness, can only be compared to the conduct of one who, when the plague is raging, runs about with an excellent definition of health."¹ Before the sermon on the mount was given, men knew a loftier ethical code than they put into practice. Rousseau says, "When Plato paints his ideal man, he paints, feature after feature, Jesus Christ: the resemblance is so striking that all the fathers have felt it, and it is not possible for any one to mistake it." Perhaps Rousseau is correct. Plato's fancy may have conceived such an ideal. But only the thought of God, and the gift of God, has made possible attainment to that ideal. Here is the essence of Christianity, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins."

It was not the statement of any ideal on the part of Jesus that amazed and bewildered his disciples. They were already possessed of conceptions that enabled them readily to grasp his more complete presentation. They not only discerned the worth of ideals he presented in words, but especially that he gave in himself. In him they perceived the matchless symmetry, that has won the reverence of the world. The explanation of this symmetry was even detected: "Thou art the Christ," says Peter, "the Son of the living God." As the recipient of this divine instruction, the apostle is straightway pronounced "Blessed." But other divine instruction they did not, would not, and

¹ Supernatural Origin of Christianity, p. 453.

(before the resurrection) apparently could not, receive. This was concerning the method of attaining to the ideal. This is the acme of all instruction, even of that which is divine. This is the most difficult truth for the unspiritual mind to grasp.

"From that time began Jesus Christ to show to his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised up. And Peter taking him aside began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be to thee. But he turned and said to Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block to me: for thou art not thinking the things of God, but those of men."

Jesus indeed dispelled the mists from the mountain-top of truth; but his chief work was to open a way thither.

ARTICLE VII.

LETTERS OF JOHN McLEAN TO
JOHN TEESDALE.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER.

[The Honorable John McLean was a member of Congress from Ohio, 1813-16; Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, 1817-22; Postmaster-General, 1823-30; Judge United States Supreme Court, 1830-61. In these offices his ability and integrity gave him eminence as a statesman, and won for him the support of many as a candidate for President, "because he would continue as a dispassionate and impartial judge in the Presidential chair, in which only a statesman should be seated, to hold the scales of justice between the North and the South."¹ Among his supporters were James W. Grimes, of Iowa, in 1848, and Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, in 1856. "Whether, if nominated and elected, McLean would have proved equal to the situation, is a question to which no answer can be given."² His own views upon the questions then at issue were freely communicated in letters to a confidential friend who was then an editor in Ohio. They throw light upon a dark time of American history. Their sentiments and elevated tone make them worthy of attention from those who would keep our country to the front among the nations in the moral order of the world.—W. S.]

CINCINNATI, 27 *March*, 1846.

I HAVE RECEIVED your friendly letter in regard to the future course of the Whig party. No one who has not been familiarized with the action of the Government at Washington can form any adequate idea how low it has fallen. I do not consider the office of chief magistrate as an object of honorable ambition except for the purpose of rescuing our institutions from their rapidly downward tendency, and placing them on the principles which consti-

¹ Constitutional and Political Hist., U. S., Von Holst.² Von Holst.

tuted the basis of the Republican administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. And I declare solemnly, as I have often done, that without having any pretension to the office, if it were offered to me I would reject it with disgust, unless it were conferred on such principles as would enable the administration to correct the fatal abuses which now exist.

The arrangement to bring out General Scott, at Washington, to which you refer, I have reason to believe had no foundation in fact. I was invited to the dinner party at which it was said to have taken place, but could not go. Whatever may have been said on the subject on that occasion, I presume, must have been said in jest to General Scott, who was present and probably took in earnest what in the merriment of the hour was said in jest. Mr. Mangum, who was represented to be on that occasion the most active, has disclaimed the intention attributed to him; and Webster, who was of the party, said a few days ago that under no circumstances could Massachusetts be induced to vote for Scott.

It would be extraordinary if Mr. Clay's friends should again bring him before the country. One thing is certain, that without his consent they will make no such effort. Personally, I have no feeling in this matter. What little influence I could exercise was given to Mr. Clay in the last contest. I never voted against him, or for his opponent.

No sane mind can suppose that the Locofoco party will have more than one candidate at the approaching contest. The distracted state in which the party now is, only requires a judicious course by the Whigs to insure an overwhelming defeat of that party. The people are tired of ultra-party struggles, and thousands of Locofocos see and admit that the Government must be overthrown, unless party violence and corruption shall be proscribed. If the Whigs sincerely desire to reform the Government, they

will look more to that object than to the individual through whose instrumentality it shall be accomplished. To merely gain a victory by party organization will make no reform. An administration by the Whigs that shall have no higher object than to reward its friends and punish its enemies, instead of retrieving our affairs, will only hasten the ruin which awaits us. The Whigs as a party can never govern this country except on the highest principles. Four years out of twenty would be as much power as they can hope for on any system of demagogism. The Locofoco party will always succeed in controlling the lower and baser passions of our nature. To get power and retain it, the Whigs must reach and rouse the moral tone of society, and bring it to bear upon the whole action of the Government. Demagogism must be put down.

The caucus system as a means of creating and controlling public sentiment must be abandoned. Let the people do their own work without the aid of political managers. This should be the Whig basis. The other side cannot take one step without a caucus. On this ground the Whigs can insure a victory more overwhelming than the one achieved by the name of General Harrison; and it will give a power to the new administration to do whatever the public interest requires. On this ground only, in my judgment, is the Presidential office desirable.

You see that I write to you without restraint; for, although I have not the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, I know that you are deserving of high confidence. The journal you chiefly edit, as I learn from your letter, is conducted with great ability and tact, and I have pleasure in giving you this opinion.

CINCINNATI, 9 *July*, 1846.

Your favor of the 4th inst. relates to a subject of great interest and of no little delicacy. The charge of Jackson-

ism rests upon no better basis than the following: I never knowingly or intentionally influenced an individual to support or vote for General Jackson. I never voted a Jackson ticket. When General Jackson invited me to remain at Washington, I told him that I had not done anything to advance his election, but that, in the discharge of my official duties, I had been actuated by no other motive than to promote the public interests. He approved of my course; but it was found before his administration commenced that I could not take one step with them. The bench was offered to me, and I accepted it. I censured the course of the administration, and was denounced from time to time by the *Globe*. Toward the close of Mr. Adams's administration, I was denounced as favorable to the election of General Jackson, and, knowing that this was done with a view to my removal from office, I was too proud to offer a word of explanation. I stood upon my rights, and was ready to receive the blow. So much for my Jacksonism.

No person in the Union desires more ardently than I do, the ascendancy of Whig principles generally. . . . Let the intelligence of the country be called into its service. Let men be appointed to office, not because they are Whigs, but because they are best qualified to fill public appointments; and in a short time more Whigs will be engaged in the public service than could be advanced under any other rule of appointment. On this ground only can Whig principles be maintained, and the Government be brought back to the purity and energy of its original principles. If the chief magistracy were within my reach, I declare most solemnly and firmly that I would reject it on any other principles than these. If placed in so eminent a charge, I will reform the Government or fall in the attempt. To fall under such circumstances would be a higher and nobler destiny than to sustain myself upon the

dishonorable, disgusting, and corrupting policy which has disgraced the country for so many years.

CINCINNATI, 26 September, 1846.

Among those who are acquainted with Mr. Schenck [Robert C.] at Washington, his political opinions have little weight. Some suppose that he acts under the sanction of Corwin. Mr. Corwin professes to be a warm friend, but *he has his fears* that I may not be available. I do not charge him with duplicity, but he hesitates as to future results. On such subjects he has little confidence in his own opinions. He never leads, and would like to follow one who is confident. Schenck by his impulsiveness, though a gentlemanly man, has always been a dead weight on his party. He was mainly instrumental in breaking up the Legislature some years since, which threw the Whigs into a minority in the State.

In regard to the Bank of the United States, it should be kept out of the ensuing contest. It can do no good, and may do much harm. I was a member of Congress when the charter of the late Bank of the United States was passed, and voted against it. My principal objection was that it authorized the holder of the scrip of the United States to subscribe it at par (of the last loan) when there was paid for one hundred dollars in scrip eighty dollars in depreciated paper, which was not worth more, I think, than fifty dollars in specie. The stock of the Bank was expected to appreciate, and it did appreciate twenty-five per cent in a short time. I considered that the holders of this scrip were not entitled to this bounty of the Government, that they should be permitted to subscribe it at the amount paid for it to the Government. This was the view which governed me, right or wrong.

Mr. Madison considered the constitutional question of the Bank as settled by the repeated action of the legislat-

ive, executive, and judicial branches of the Government. And this was the opinion of the Democratic party in Congress when the late Bank was chartered, with two or three exceptions. The question is undoubtedly settled as fully as it is possible to settle any question arising on the construction of the Constitution. I consider this bank question as the plaything of the demagogue; and if the Whigs act wisely they will abstain from making issues which cannot advance their interests and will be made to operate against them. On this question twenty thousand votes may be lost, perhaps a greater number. It would injure the Whigs much in Pennsylvania.

A tariff sufficient to meet the economical expenditures of the Government, so graduated as to encourage our own industry, I have for years believed was the proper policy. The truth is, that Andrew Stewart of Pennsylvania consulted me, and it was on my advice that he made his first speech last winter on the tariff. That speech did more in Pennsylvania than all the other speeches delivered in Congress; and Stewart made this speech against the remonstrances of his Whig friends generally.

I have been in favor of distributing the proceeds of the public lands among the States. I was among the first, if not the first, who broached that policy. But why should this be dragged into the contest? It will do mischief and not add a vote to the party. The South is generally opposed to it.

The veto power, I think, should be modified. I have never known the exercise of it to do good; only evil results from it. Perhaps a majority should pass the bill after considering the reasons of the President.

As to the annexation of Texas, why inquire about that? Why not ask whether I was opposed to any other thing which is now beyond the reach of the Government? Texas is annexed, and we cannot change it. Then why shall

the Whigs make this a point among themselves? It is known that the Southern Whigs were in favor of annexing Texas. The Whigs in Congress of North Carolina with some exceptions voted for it, and I believe all the Whigs of Georgia and Tennessee. There is not a Whig member from either of those States who does not know that I was opposed to the annexation of Texas; but knowing the honesty of my convictions, it produced no unfriendly feelings. The effect would be different with the people at large if my friends were to publish my views on the subject at this time. Corwin voted against the annexation at the last session, and by doing so he said in his late speech at Ridgeville that he had destroyed his popularity in the South. The compact having been made, the South considered that vote as more objectionable than a vote against the first proposition to annex. These things are not for future action; why then drag them before the country at this time? As to the order for the army to leave Corpus Christi and invade Mexico, every one that I have conversed with knows that I have been utterly opposed to it. The question is asked for no other purpose than to embarrass, and do mischief particularly to myself. I have no opinion that I am not ready to avow on any occasion that may be proper, but I shall not subject myself to be catechized by those who have no other than an unfriendly object.

My opinions on all the leading questions of the day are the same now that they have ever been. When in office or out of it they have been openly avowed. Before I was of age to vote they were formed in the Jefferson school. In Congress until the close of the war, my votes show my opinions. I was an ardent and decided supporter of the war and of the administration. No man was more intimate with Colonel Monroe than I was, or gave his administration a more sincere and hearty support. Toward the

latter part of his second term I was Postmaster-General, and possessed not only his confidence, but his warm friendship. I continued Postmaster-General through Mr. Adams's administration. In all things I gave to it that support which I should wish a postmaster-general to give to me, if I were at the head of the Government. It is true, jealousies grew up during that period because I would not use my official influence in the contest. I stated to Mr. Adams, that, as Postmaster-General, I would have nothing to do in making him President, or General Jackson; that I would devote my whole energies to serve the public. I never did an act with the view to advance the election of General Jackson; no man now living or dead did I attempt to influence. Because I would not enter into the contest, I was denounced as a Jackson man by one or two papers friendly to the administration. Knowing the object was to remove me from office, I stood upon my avowed principles, but I scorned the imputation, and would not, and did not, say one word in explanation.

To General Jackson I said, on his sending for me when he was about organizing his cabinet, "Before you make any proposition to me, I wish to remark, that you may perhaps be under an impression, from charges made against me in certain papers, that I have promoted your election; I wish you to know that I have done no such thing. If I had done so, under the circumstances, I should consider myself as unworthy of your confidence; and I wish you distinctly to understand that what I have done I shall continue to do. I will not swerve from my principles a hair's-breadth."

I could not, and did not, take one step with the administration. The bench was proffered to me, and I accepted it. I do not recollect that I approved of any measure of Jackson's administration that was a topic of general discussion. I was denounced in the administration papers often,

and General Jackson became very hostile to me. I did General Jackson justice in conversation when I thought he was unjustly assailed. I did the same thing to Mr. Adams. General Jackson offered me my choice of either the War or Navy department, which I declined.

In 1831, I declined a nomination for the Presidency proposed to be made by the Anti-Masonic party at Baltimore. Mr. Wirt was nominated. Notwithstanding I positively declined in three or four letters to the members of the convention, nearly half the convention cast their votes for me; Governor Seward, John C. Spencer, and Thurlow Weed were members of that convention.

In 1835, every Whig member of the Ohio Legislature, with the exception of one, named me for the Presidency. I withdrew my name for the reason that two or three others on the same side seemed determined to remain in the field. From the first I said to my friends, If the issue be made between Mr. Van Buren and myself, I have no fears as to the result, but I will not stand if the party shall be divided.

A letter lately received from Governor Seward says: "Rely upon it, New York will be Whig in 1848"; and he speaks in unequivocal terms in reference to the successful use of my name. From Mississippi the most friendly assurances are given with a strong hope of success. In fact from every quarter friendly reports are received, with the exception of papers attached by relationship and close associations with my friend Corwin. Many prominent Locofocos profess themselves ready to act. The prospect of the party is as good as can be desired. But this may be changed by a few impulsive and selfish politicians who care more for themselves than the country. I am fully aware that, having been withdrawn from politics since I left the office of Postmaster-General, the young and ardent stump men of the State have little knowledge of me, and may be hostile, should they prefer another.

The office of chief magistrate is now not worthy of an honorable ambition except thoroughly to reform the Government, and this can never be accomplished until the moral tone of the people be brought to bear upon political action.

WASHINGTON, 11 *December*, 1846.

I had a conversation with Gales last evening, and I find that he has become alarmed at the misguided ultraism of some of the Whigs. Should they give a direction to the party, the present Whig ascendancy will be destroyed even more rapidly than the Harrison majority. Mr. Schenck, I am told, is very active in declaring to the members of the House of Representatives that under no circumstances can I carry Ohio, if nominated. Now if he is the Whig party, or the exponent of the Whig party, it may be so. But my impression is that I could bring to the Whigs twenty thousand more votes than any other person. Not that the ultra Whigs will not prefer anybody rather than me, but they would vote right in the event of a nomination, and the conservative vote of the other party and the Liberty party would make up the above number. Whilst I would not cross the street for the office, and would not accept it on any other than the highest principles, I confess that the course taken by a few produces some excitement. ~~For~~ Aside from that, I would say to my friends, Throw me aside and concentrate upon any one else. I have no doubt that a strong movement in Ohio by the Legislature would be decisive not only as to Ohio, but as to the Union. One of the most intelligent gentlemen from Michigan, who is not in Congress, told me this morning that a hearty coöperation of my friends in the other States would make my success certain in Michigan. This gentleman is a leader of the Democratic party and as prominent as any other in that State. I am aware that my position is deli-

cate. The friends of Clay, Scott, Corwin, would feel an interest in prostrating me. It would not be judicious, therefore, to make an issue which shall excite them. You will soon know the feelings of the members. They should know the efforts that have been used, and the prospect in other States, and also that I do not seek the office, as I do not. If they are disposed to work out a reform, and put down Locofocoism, it cannot be done by such men as Schenck.

WASHINGTON, 17 *December*, 1846.

Finding no other ground on which to assail me here, Schenck is busily circulating among the members that I voted for Van Buren in 1836. This is wholly false. I not only did not vote for Van Buren, but I never in my life voted an Anti-Whig ticket. Harrison was brought out by the friends of Mr. Clay. When my friends first used my name, I told them that, if the issue could be between Mr. Van Buren and myself, I would consent; but, if more than one name should be brought out on the Whig side, I would decline, as I would not accept the office through the House of Representatives. Webster was a candidate in the North, Judge White in the South, and, Harrison being brought out, I declined. I may have said, as I now say, that Van Buren was better qualified to discharge the duties of chief magistrate than Harrison, but I never voted for Van Buren. My impression is that I was in Kentucky when the Presidential election took place in 1836. My court commenced there in November, and the election was in that month.

WASHINGTON, 22 *December*, 1846.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Mangum, the other day, who speaks with confidence as to the South. He says the States of North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and

Tennessee were safe, and that the leading Senator from Mississippi informed him recently that the ticket would carry that State against any other name except that of John C. Calhoun. Maryland is very unanimous, Pennsylvania is strongly inclined in the same direction, New Jersey stands well, and the prospect is flattering in New York. From several sources I have been informed that Greeley is friendly. In all New England, Mr. Webster out of the way, there would be, it is said, little difficulty. This would seem like settling the matter. What changes may transpire no one can tell. I have been surprised to hear so many leading men speak with a fixed determination against bringing Mr. Clay out again. A few desire to bring out Rough and Ready; and that, I think, Mr. Clay's Kentucky friends look to, if their first choice shall be defeated. The impression is general that it is premature to agitate the subject.

The administration is falling lower and lower, and it must soon become contemptible.

WASHINGTON, 2 February, 1847.

My friends here think everything is moving on as well as they could desire. The disposition to bring out General Taylor seems to be measurably relinquished. I am not sure, however, that the attacks on him by the administration may not do mischief. Mr. Corwin's strength has not, to my knowledge, increased beyond Mr. Schenck. Greeley is in the city, but I have not yet seen him. I shall not call upon him. At this point I was called to breakfast, and on my return found Mr. Greeley waiting for me. We had a long and an agreeable conversation in general. Nothing was said in particular in relation to the ensuing contest. Upon the whole my friends here see everything to encourage them. I am pressed, indeed overwhelmed, with the business of the court and other matters.

WASHINGTON, 6 *February*, 1847.

The movement you speak of surprises me. In this city, with the exception of Schenck, I am not aware that there is a single member of Congress for Corwin. They do not consider him as among the competitors for the Presidency. But this movement in Ohio may change things. The effort to elect Corwin will be in vain; but if my friends in Ohio abandon me, I shall withdraw. I have not a doubt of success with an ordinary effort on their part. But to be deserted at home is mortifying. I shall await the result, and do nothing hastily.

CINCINNATI, 6 *April*, 1847.

Of all the falsehoods which have been circulated against me, that of being favorable to the present war with Mexico is the most outrageous. I have never uttered a word or drawn a breath on this war which was not condemnatory. Never was a war undertaken, as I believe, for more unholy purposes. Had I been in Congress, I should have called for the return of the army to the Neuces; and, in granting the appropriation of ten millions and fifty thousand volunteers, I would have imposed a condition that the troops should not invade the Mexican territory. But the war was recognized by Congress. Without the slightest opposition, except the fourteen who voted against the war, these measures were passed, and the army invaded Mexico and achieved at Monterey a great victory.

Under these circumstances, I think that the Whigs as a party cannot oppose the supplies to the army. We must oppose the acquisition of territory. That is the true ground. I would as soon sustain any other robbery as to rob those poor wretches of their homes. This ground if manfully sustained would give us peace. It was in consequence of my suggestion that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, offered the first resolution in Congress against the acquisi-

tion of territory. In the Senate, Judge Berrien copied substantially this resolution; afterwards Mr. Webster adopted, and finally every Whig, I believe, in both Houses voted for it. This expression will drive the administration to make a peace, to offer such terms as will be accepted by Mexico. I have reasons to believe that this has been done already.

At the next session there will be a majority of Whigs in the House. They will be as much opposed to robbing the Mexicans of their territory as the Whigs of the late House. What object is there then for the administration further to prosecute the war? No law can be passed which will sanction such an acquisition. And it would be hopeless to expect that two-thirds of the Senate could ratify a treaty which would give additional territory.

Several of my warmest friends have taken the ground to withhold supplies. They have acted conscientiously, and with their views I would not say they have acted wrong. But if my judgment is worth anything, this can have no effect to bring the war to a close. Such a vote cuts off from us the Southern States. We sacrifice the Whigs of North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Such a position taken by the Whigs as a party overthrows all our hopes of reform and of a coming triumph. Indeed the measure would be suicidal. I have had some experience during the late war (1812-15), and I hesitate not to say, that, if we want to destroy ourselves as a party, we need only take this ground. And whilst it will destroy us, it can never bring the war to an end. My view is that the administration should be called on to offer terms to the Mexican government, asking no territory. No man breathes who detests this war more than I do. And I propose the only practicable mode of forcing the administration to make peace. This is the end we all aim at. And surely we all desire to secure a triumph to the Whig party. A

man must be blind to all the lights of experience who can hope to obtain a majority of votes in either House to withhold supplies; then why is this issue urged? It can never be made available. It can only destroy us. Let those who take this ground maintain it; and we should give them full credit for their honesty and patriotism; but why may not the mass of the Whig party who think differently ask of them the same toleration? Why shall we quarrel about this? This our opponents desire. We all agree that the war must be ended. Let us end it by reaching the administration at the most effectual point. A contrary course will distract and may ruin us. As wise men, as patriots, as Christians, we should take the ground most likely to remove from our country this terrible calamity. And when that is done, the authors of so much evil should be called to account.

Does some principle of selfishness lurk at the bottom of this movement among our friends? Agreeing in the great point, why quarrel about the details? But if a contrary course from that I have indicated be taken, a Southern man will be found at our head. I say no more, as I have but a common lot with others.

CINCINNATI, 14 *April*, 1847.

The effort to bring out General Taylor has been a confined one, extending to several gentlemen whose names were mentioned for the Presidency, but who, despairing of success, were determined, as the next best step for themselves, to elevate a man who would look to them for counsel and direction. The enthusiasm for General Taylor seems to be strong, and great efforts are made to increase its strength. I had supposed that he had good sense enough to decline a consent to the use of his name, as his position as Major-General would place him on higher ground and one more congenial to his taste and qualifica-

tions. Perhaps the military fever will overcome the objection to a Southern man and a large slaveholder. Some may suppose that to take a man from the army now for President may at the next election encourage the army on some pretext to make a President. But on this subject I shall acquiesce. Seeing the movements and dishonesty of politicians, my hope of reform such as will save our Government becomes weaker. I trust in God that there will be a majority of Whigs in the next House of Representatives that will go against the acquisition of territory, which would place before the country the single issue of land plunder. Unless the military fever shall sweep over the country, I have no fears of the future. But this may give the ascendancy to the South and its peculiar interests.

CINCINNATI, 29 *April*, 1847.

I have nothing to complain of my friends, but one hundred friends who remain passive may be overcome by a single vindictive and unprincipled enemy. Schenck, aided by one or two other persons, has done more to injure me in Ohio by false representations than a hundred friends have counteracted. At Washington, where I am better known than in Ohio, the efforts of Schenck are harmless.

By rallying upon Taylor, in all probability the Whig party will lay the foundation of its speedy overthrow. Admit that he may be elected with a rush, the elements will be discordant, and neither Taylor nor any one likely to be associated with him can give consistency and harmony to the future action of the party. He is rallied upon by a set of politicians determined to give ascendancy to the South and to advance themselves. If we must have a military republic with the view of extending Southern interests, I hope it may be under Taylor. As to Scott, there never was a more ridiculous thing proposed than to make him President. A vain, pompous, empty-pated man, who

always makes himself ridiculous among sensible men.

I see papers are coming out for Corwin in the northern part of the State. I may have been misled in supposing that I had friends there. Corwin was the first man that spoke to me on the subject of my becoming a candidate. Knowing him, I had not confidence in his sincerity, and I soon found that his professions of friendship were used to depress me. He was for Scott, and I shall expect to find him for Taylor. In short, he is for himself; and his instruments are active.

My impression has been that the military fever may subside, and the people may resume the exercise of reason. Before the military fever rose so high, my friends at Washington often said, if it were not for the opposition in Ohio, there would be a general concurrence among the Whigs, so as to supersede a national convention. But my Ohio friends seem to yield to the efforts of a few unscrupulous and selfish individuals.

CINCINNATI, 21 *August*, 1847.

A letter I received yesterday gives an account of movements in New York more favorable to Taylor than I had expected. The Whigs act as a flock of sheep, and it is probable they will be led by the South. A short time will indicate the course of coming events. My situation on the bench ties my hands, so that I can do nothing but talk with a very few friends.

23 *September*, 1847.—I have been overwhelmed day and night with the labor of my third volume of Reports. This is the first moment I have been relieved from the work.

WASHINGTON, 11 *January*, 1848.

Ohio might have controlled the election of chief magistrate, had she been united, but the time has passed, and

she has only to follow other States, instead of being at their head, as she might have been.

25 *January*, 1848.—Unless I am greatly deceived, the military fever is fast subsiding. This may be, in a considerable degree, attributable to Mr. Clay's movement. He is still here. We have had a friendly interview. I cannot speak particularly on the subject, but I do not believe that Mr. Clay is desirous that his name should be used, unless under circumstances that shall insure success. His friends will act judiciously, and not permit their attachment to him to blind them from facts. If they shall advise him to run, it will be under a conviction that he will succeed.

Doctor Bailey, in the *Era*, has fully indorsed my views in regard to the power of Congress over slavery. Giddings and, I believe, all the anti-slavery men in Congress will do the same.

WASHINGTON, 1 *February*, 1848.

Mr. Clay's presence here has abated the military fever; yet it may be again raised. If the non-slaveholding States shall remain firm, they may control the result. So far as I know, the friends of Mr. Clay here entertain no feelings of hostility to myself, and, should he withdraw, they will not go to Taylor. I have twice had very free and full conversations with Mr. Clay, and I am quite sure that he will not consent to the use of his name unless there shall be the highest assurance of success. And I do not believe that he will in this respect be as easily misled as he has heretofore been.

15 *February*, 1848.—A union of Ohio on myself would still control the result. But if Ohio shall be divided, there will be little or no prospect. If Ohio were united, the non-slaveholding States would wheel into line as soon as Mr. Clay shall withdraw, which seems to be generally anticipated.

1 *March*, 1848.—Corwin's friends have become the supporters of Mr. Clay under the hope that a conflict will be brought about between his friends and mine in Ohio, which shall induce the friends of Clay to rally upon Corwin, should Clay decline. Now this conflict of friends must be avoided. Schenck is at the bottom of this. The clique are desperate, and I fear that they will have a contest. There must be none, however, between Clay's friends and mine. My position has been taken, and was taken at the first, that if Mr. Clay's friends can come to the conclusion that he can be elected, I shall not be in the way. All my friends know that the office is not an object of solicitude with me, and that I do not desire it except under circumstances which shall lead to a thorough reform of the Government. And if Mr. Clay can be elected I shall be content and gratified. In the event of his declining, I am told his friends will unite with mine.

INDIANAPOLIS, 19 *May*, 1848.

Schenck reports that Ohio and New York are in a blaze for Scott. The object of my adversaries is to break me down in Ohio, and thereby promote their own selfish motives. In this State the people are united, and their delegation will present at the convention an unbroken front. If Ohio would do the same, the result would not be doubtful. I do not believe, if nominated, that Scott can carry the State. The Liberty party will not support him, and there are many thousands of our best Whigs who will not vote for him. The Quakers will not consider an individual whose merit consists, and qualifications for the Presidency, in his having fought well, and slain in a miserable war many thousands of his fellow-creatures.

DETROIT, 24 *June*, 1848.

Early in May I left home for my circuit, and since then

have been laboriously engaged, night and day, in the performance of my judicial duties. My enemies have triumphed, but they have gained nothing for the country or for Ohio. The result has not in the least affected my equanimity. You must not suffer yourself to be depressed. You shall not want a friend whilst I shall live.

WASHINGTON, 10 December, 1848.

General Taylor, I have no doubt, will act under the best motives, and by the advice of those he shall deem most worthy of his confidence. But he may have a less tranquil time than may be expected. The experiment is yet to be tried as to the success of an administration which must be controlled by the heads of departments. If these offices shall not be filled judiciously, there will be trouble. General Jackson was chiefly influenced by his friends; but the impression was, generally, that he dictated the course of his administration. This, I think, will not be the case with General Taylor. We must hope for the best, and I shall rejoice if he shall succeed beyond the expectations of his most ardent friends. He will have to meet the Wilmot proviso, and in sanctioning or vetoing it must give great offense to his friends either south or north of Mason and Dixon's line.

Ohio richly deserves her fate. A more unprincipled set of political jugglers never lived than was found in Ohio. Looked to as the leading Whig State, she might have led the Union, but she was sacrificed from selfish and personal considerations. And the very men who contributed to her debasement (the vote of Ohio went for the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass) have been eulogized more than others for their efforts to sustain the Whig cause. At an early stage of the contest it seemed difficult to get a candidate who was Whig enough, and at last these very men rallied

on a man who said he would not be the candidate of any party or represent the principles of any party.

I did not approve of the candidate brought out by the Western Reserve, but I believe the Whigs of that part of Ohio showed a higher devotion to principle than the Whigs of any other part of the State. Unscrupulous as Schenck has been, he acknowledges that, in taking the course he did, he abandoned the Whig ground. I have no doubt that many of the Whig leaders would agree to the extension of slavery, if in doing so they could sustain themselves. But badly as I think of many of the Whigs, there is no hope for the country which does not rest upon the Whig party. And I should deeply regret to see the free-soil Whigs amalgamate with the Locofoco party. Without conciliation, the Whig party of Ohio is doomed to become a small party. They have been somewhat abusive of the free-soil Whigs who, I admit, have been equally violent. I hope a better feeling may be restored, and that on the free-soil ground a party may be rallied, having the Whigs for its basis, which shall carry three-fourths of the votes of Ohio and of all the free States.

CINCINNATI, 2 November, 1855.

The pressure of the business of my court is such that I have not a moment's leisure. I have regretted to see the course taken by Judge Kane. Next winter a case will be before the court, which involves the right of a slaveholder to bring his slaves into a free State for any purpose whatever.

I voted for Chase under protest. Our personal relations have always been friendly, but I have been opposed to his ultraism and to the means used for his own advancement. Statesmanship seems now to consist in arraying one part of the Union against the other in order to carry an election. This will soon ruin our Government. The ultra men are unwilling to plant themselves on the Constitu-

tion. The Supreme Court has decided that slavery exists by virtue of the municipal law, and is local. The Constitution gives Congress no power to institute slavery; then there can be no slavery in the Territories; for there is no power but Congress which can legislate for the Territories. Squatter-sovereignty is not a part of our Government.

When a people of a Territory come to form a State government, they have a right to say whether the State shall be a free or a slave State. And there is no more danger of a free Territory becoming a slave State than there is of a free State becoming a slave State. It is a question which belongs to the people of a State, and there is no danger in leaving a Territory open to be populated by the people of the Union. More than five will settle in it from the free States where one settler will come from the slave States.

As to the frauds of Missouri, they do not belong to our system, and they should be rebuked and punished by the national power, the Territory being under the protection of the Union and the power of Congress.

Our Government has been so corrupt that I have doubts now whether there is virtue enough in the country to reform the Government. All I have predicted in regard to this has been realized, and unless the demagogues who have ruled us for years can be put down, and the Government brought back upon its old foundations, it must come to an end, even sooner than I apprehended. You may as well build a castle in the air as to sustain a free government without a moral basis.

In regard to the other matter referred to in your letter, I have not thought of it. One thing is certain that if I could reach the office by every vote in the Union I would refuse it, unless it could be conferred on such principles as would lead to a thorough reformation. This I doubt is now out of the question. All the politicians are against me, and have been, as they have good reason to believe

the change would be of little or no service to them. I can say in truth that I do not desire the office. This hasty note I write to you in confidence. It is better that my opinions should only find their way to the public from the bench.

We have fifty-four of a majority from the free States in the House of Representatives. Is it not a shame that this majority cannot protect our rights? My opinion is that our efforts should be directed to reform ourselves in sending to Congress instable men.

CINCINNATI, 8 *March*, 1856.

I thank you for your very kind letter. Feeling no desire to change my position, I shall remain passive and await popular action. Knowing the manœuvres of politicians, I am sure we are to witness again, as we have for years past, that the demagogues are to control the people through the instrumentality of a convention. Look at the results of the late one in Philadelphia (Native American). A few Southern men undertook to divide the North, to secure a Southern victory. And yet Northern men are led by such means. Bluster is more successful than good sense. Popular government is a curse rather than a blessing, when wielded by selfish and corrupt men.

MINNESOTA, LAKE PEPIN, 3 *September*, 1859.

In regard to the ensuing election for President, I have given myself no other concern than to state, when occasion required, that this Government could not, unless reformed, continue twenty years. A torrent of corruption, wide and deep, has overspread the country, and must ruin it, unless speedily arrested. The convention at Philadelphia (1856) had the game in their own hands. They knew that Mr. Buchanan could be beaten in Pennsylvania, and that would have ended the controversy. But the bar-

gain had been made by the New Yorkers with Fremont, a man not fit to discharge the duties of an auditor, and they determined that the spoils should be secured by them. Not a man in the South who did not know what the result would be on the above issue; and yet the North incurred the risk of defeat rather than give up the spoils system. Every one of Pierce's cabinet admitted they could be beaten, especially Marcy, their ablest man. The late Speaker of the House, Orr, said to me just after the election, "If you had been brought before the country, you would have smashed us up." I observed to him that I would have done another thing, and that is, I would have taught the South how to behave itself. He laughed and observed, "Perhaps you would." So far as I know, the fact is now generally admitted, but Fremont was nominated. To elect him, one of the managers said to a friend of mine, "A half million of dollars may be had to insure his election."

Now can any honest man trust such a body as that? I have said to no man that I should consent to the use of my name; but my friends have requested me to keep the subject open until the next Congress. General Cameron, a trading politician, has entered into an arrangement with Seward, and has engaged to transfer Pennsylvania. It is generally thought that a man of such known predilections and contracted qualities will not be able to carry out this arrangement. The result will be known by the next session of Congress. Upon the whole my friends think that nothing is lost by delay in this matter.

In regard to Chase, he is the most unprincipled man politically that I have ever known. He is selfish, beyond any other man. And I know from the bargain he has made in being elected to the Senate, he is ready to make any bargain to promote his interest. I know him well. I speak positively, because I know what I say.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

BY Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK.

AMONG the great forces that have ever moved man to activity we must hasten to record the love of country. Like ocean currents or trade-winds that hasten a boat onward to its destination or drive it from its course, so life's great motives urge man on to duty, to adventure, to peril, and even to death. Said Hamlet:—

“Do you think that I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me.”¹

Yet, at that moment Hamlet was played upon by a motive of action that was greater than any physical force. The forces within him moved him. The love of home, the desire to acquire, the longing for a good name, the desire for knowledge, the hope of immortality,—all these and more are placed in man to lure him forth from a condition of ignorance and sloth, from a savage life into the paths of virtue and industry and wisdom. In his efforts to satisfy the wants that are aroused within him by these life motives the wild savage in the jungle becomes civilized man, clothed and in his right mind. Into this golden urn,—the love of country,—the poet, the orator, and the artist have flung all of pathos and eloquence. The national hymns of every land are its language, for music has poured forth its grandest notes in homage to this passion. In defense of fireside and native land, the noble Gaul went forth to death when the legions of Rome and the cruel Cæsar

¹ Act iii. Sc. 2.

were coming; while the more timid cast their jewels, and then themselves, into the flames, preferring death to subjugation and slavery.

The love of country is the racial instinct of self-preservation, and is divinely implanted in man for a wise and noble end. The savage boy that accompanied Stanley, cried with joy when he saw again the jungles that he called "home" and some tattooed savages that answered to those words, "father" and "mother" and "brother." About this sentiment, more powerful than argument or logic, because it is a native instinct that leads man forth to victory, have clustered the choicest of man's affections, the noblest of his ambitions.

Hence, conquest by the sword, from any desire for territorial acquisition, for selfish purposes, to exact tribute, or to satisfy a false notion of national glory, whether in the name of religion or civilization, is a warfare against the best instincts of human nature; and the voice that instinctively cries out in protest is nothing but the echo from a far-off and divine shore. The waves that break in ripples at our feet are the spent forces of a boundless deep, for the love of country is a divine passion. Lamartine has said, that the love of country includes all other passions. The savage loves his own country as naturally, if not as wisely, as we love our own. He will defend its borders from foreign intrusion, his hut and naked offspring, as naturally as we defend our firesides and our homes or our national integrity and honor. The racial instinct of self-preservation may vary in its moods and tenses, and it may, through ignorance, mistake a friend for a foe, as did some of the savage tribes in Africa who shot poisoned darts at Stanley and his followers, but in the last analysis the passion is one.

The love of another's country, compared with that of one's own, is like the love of another's property or another's family compared with the love of one's own. Such

a love may exist, and have the real good of that country or property or family more at heart than the one who is their natural defender or legal guardian. Such a love would naturally be open to the closest scrutiny, for its twin sister is covetousness. Covetousness desires not to serve, but to conquer. It is not love, it is lust. It has not the good of an object at heart, but the good of self, falsely so-called. It resembles the divine quality of unselfish good-will as avarice resembles the desire to acquire; as rationalism resembles reason; as credulity resembles faith; as ignorance resembles innocence; as fanaticism resembles zeal; as superstition is like religion. Hamlet held up to the face of his mother that brother who was but a counterfeit presentment of the true king; so every trait in human nature that is imperial and noble has its counterfeit that is degrading and contemptible because it is selfish. This counterfeit king may usurp the throne and may, therefore, like any vice pass for virtue, and often be mistaken for it; but in every essential quality it is wholly unlike it, both as to the motive that gave it birth, and as to its fruitage. Fanaticism is ignorance on fire; enthusiasm is energized intelligence.

The final word of patriotism, no less than of religion or of ethics, is the old commandment, "Thou shalt not covet." We approach the border-land of duty and right, when we watch the setting sun upon our own possessions or native land, and there we find those words, as at the gateway of the World's Fair, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

With this great instinct, so universal and so powerful that it has moved all men alike, civilized or savage, and in all ages from antiquity to modernity, international morality has been compelled to make a treaty of peace, and no nation to-day dares to ignore it as a theory, if not the practice, in international law. International morality is noth-

ing but the golden rule exalted into a social force and nationalized. Righteousness exalteth a nation, and its fruits are the arts of peace. Principles make international morality; the usage of nations makes international law. The one is the ideal, too apt to be a theory; the other is the real, usually the practice. One is too likely to be the fancy, the other the fact. International morality would question the right of England in India, in Africa, in Egypt,—in all of those countries where her drum-taps follow the setting sun. It would ask the Dutch to explain by what right twenty-five million people in Java are governed by two-fifths of one per cent of their number in Holland, and that for purposes of gain. It would inquire of Spain where she acquired her rights in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. International law, however, assumes that these nations have sovereign power in these remote lands, because by conquest international law recognizes sovereignty. Woolsey says,¹ that the territory of a nation, or that portion of the earth over which it exercises the rights of sovereignty, may have begun to pertain to it in a variety of ways. It may have derived its title: 1. From occupation of land which was before vacant, and from prescription public and uninterrupted; 2. From occupation by colonies, or other incorporation of land before occupied; 3. From conquest accepted as a fact, and at length ending in prescriptive right; 4. From purchase or from gift.

The Philippine question involves not only a keen discrimination between international law and international morality, but a careful study of the nature of liberty; for we must all agree with Lamartine, that civilization itself, imposed through force, is a servitude; and the first condition, in order that social progress may be accepted by a people, is, that this people may be free to refuse it.²

¹ International Law.

² Car la civilisation même, imposée par la force, est une servitude, et la

It is just here that such a wide diversity of views on the Philippine question is possible. If the American people, from motives of gain, or from desire for conquest, or even for purposes of civilizing an unwilling people, were resorting to force-power, instead of influence-power, as a means of accomplishing a selfish or even an unselfish end, the conscience and good judgment of the people would be sadly under a cloud which time and reflection would surely cause to pass away. No political party can afford to let the people find a flaw in its moral perceptions. A political party may be forgiven mistakes of judgment, but not mistakes of purpose. If, as Secretary Long says, the Philippines are an elephant on our hands, then the mistake is one of judgment on the part of our commissioners at Paris, not necessarily a cloud on the moral horizon of the existing administration.

Now it is idle to say that the American people have overlooked some plain and fundamental principles of right and justice in considering the Philippine question. The very cause of war with Spain was a righteous indignation at her treatment of the Cubans. A more unselfish motive for war could not be conceived of than led the people and the Congress to push the President into it. All civilized people condemn England because the cry of the Armenians and the Greeks in their unequal struggle with the barbarous and savage Turk went unheeded. That the strong shall protect the weak is a fundamental maxim in international morality, and the Monroe doctrine is founded on it. No one can claim a monopoly of patriotism, or wisdom, or moral character in viewing the duties and rights of America in the Philippines. The President and his Cabinet are as sensitive to the demands of international morality, no less than to those of international law, as are Edward
première condition qu'un progrès social soit accepté par un peuple, c'est que ce peuple soit libre de le refuser.—Jeanne D'Arc.

Atkinson, Andrew Carnegie, Senators Edmunds or Hoar.

The pamphlet published by Edwin D. Mead, "The Present Crisis," is most admirable in its spirit and purpose. It is a fine *résumé* of the moral precepts and political maxims at the basis of this republic that we are all familiar with, and that we should need now to recall provided our sovereignty in the Philippines had no moral basis for support. But that is the very question at issue. Hence it is misleading to quote these as if any one had forgotten them; for, in so doing, Mr. Mead begs the entire question. If President Schurman is right, then Mr. Mead is wrong; not in his precepts and maxims, for those are always true, but in assuming that they apply to the Philippine question.

President Schurman says:—

"First, the United States having assumed sovereignty over the Philippine Islands by virtue of a treaty of peace with Spain, the chief executive is engaged in establishing that sovereignty. The issue to-day is not a commercial one, although the natural resources of the Philippines are of great value, and wait only American capital for their development. Nor is the question one of political expediency or of party politics, although in its collateral branch there may be aspects on which political parties may properly divide. The question to-day is a purely moral question. The vital issue is the honor of the nation, the protection of loyal Filipinos, and the fulfilment of our obligations to the nations of the world involved in our acceptance of sovereignty.

"Secondly, the means and agencies for the accomplishment of this end must be decided by the President; and it is well to bear in mind that the President understands the situation better than any one else can possibly do, inasmuch as he is in receipt of information from a variety of sources, civil and military, and has the judgment of experts upon the facts reported. I have no doubt the President will soon effect a solution of the Philippine problem which will be entirely satisfactory to the American people. To his statesmanship and tried ability we must entrust the issue with perfect confidence."

And Mr. Isabel Artacho, a former partner of Aguinaldo, has made a statement, under oath, under date of July 19th, a part of which is as follows:—

"The present rebellion, far from aiming at the true emancipation of the country, is carried on to gratify personal political ambitions, mean and spurious affectation, in order to perpetrate with immunity, under the guise of a so-called political system established under the name of a republic, acts eminently barbarous, treacherous, and despotic, and crimes unknown in the code of penalties throughout the world.

"The present rebellion against the sovereignty of the United States of North America, while having for its professed object the absolute independence of the people of the Philippine Islands, is in reality a movement to bring the people under the most intolerable slavery—domestic slavery—and to place in the hands of an individual the sacred attributes of God, country, King.

"That the present rebellious movement does not have the support of the best elements in the inhabitants of the island, those who are free to exercise a wise and honest discrimination, for they recognize that, instead of bringing them the desired happiness and prosperity, the assumption of independence will lead to self-murder, for the state of chaos that will result will bring misery and ruin to the people."

Secretary Long in his Home Market Club speech was not wanting in moral perception, when he said:—

"Why doubt and repine, when the time of doubting and repining is inexorably past, and when doubting and repining can now do no good? Why shall not the United States, now that these lands and tribes have been intrusted to its disposition, enter upon the trust thus imposed upon it, with the determination that, as it began by freeing them from the yoke of oppression, it will go on and insure them still larger blessings of liberty and civilization, and will so bear itself toward them that in securing their welfare it shall also promote its own, and, as always happens when men or nations coöperate in the spirit of justice and good-will, the reward shall come to both in their mutual increase? Is not that the statesmanship of the great Master who limited not his mission or that of his disciples to his own chosen people, but proclaimed that his gospel should be preached in all the world unto all nations—that greatest statesman of all time, Jesus Christ."

Governor Roosevelt, in his speech at Ocean Grove, N. J., was not lacking in moral heroism when he said:—

"The nation is face to face with a duty that calls for heroism. We put our pick into the rotten foundations of Spanish government, both in the East and West Indies. We tumbled the building down in as righteous a war as was ever undertaken. If we are worth a place among the great nations of the earth, we must see to it that the ruins are cleared away, and the temple of justice and honesty reared in their places.

"We shall be guilty of a terrible wrong to humanity, if in the Philippines we retreat before armed savagery, instead of organizing a suitable government, which shall guarantee justice to every one, and an ever-increasing measure of liberty to those who show themselves worthy of it.

"The history of the world shows that the wrong done by the mere sentimentalist is often of larger proportions and more elastic than any other kind of wrong, and of this wrong we shall be guilty if we fail to do our task thoroughly and well.

"If the people let their representatives in Congress hamper the administration, as they did last winter, when they refused to put the army upon a proper footing, then the people have themselves to thank if the war lingers, with difficulties and dangers increased. What the people have to do is to resolve to back up the President to the full in seeing that the outburst of savagery is repressed once for all, and what is even more important, to see that these tropic islands in the east and west alike are not left to the prey of paupers and spoilers, but are governed primarily in the interest of their inhabitants, and, therefore, ultimately for the honor and renown of America."

We may not agree with Governor Roosevelt in his estimate of the intelligence of Aguinaldo and his leaders, for the rank and file of his army may be savages, but all the testimony goes to show that he is intelligent.

If the Filipinos were a civilized people, or even a savage tribe, having no relation to us or to other nations, in the full possession of their own land, having a government, or even a recognized head, with power to declare war or make treaties; or having at least, as ex-President Cleveland would say, a post-office address, then no one could question our duty or our opportunity with such a nation, no matter what its code of ethics or its political science might be. But Aguinaldo does not represent even one island, much less the fourteen hundred islands that are in this archipelago. He can show no authority for treating in their behalf, except that of a dictator. His domination would be fatal to personal and property rights, for which, by the treaty with Spain, our government has undertaken to be sponsor. The territory of these fourteen hundred islands is as vast as all of the New England States,

New York, and Pennsylvania. Many of these islands have never yielded to Spain or to any foreign power.

The play is not worth the candle, or they would have been subjected long ago to Spanish protection, or to English civilization in the form of "bullets, brandy, and the Bible." Notwithstanding these evil companions, the Bible, introduced even by these methods, has done its leavening work, and has civilized wherever it has gone. If forty-seven per cent of the English soldiers in India are diseased, as Carnegie says, they have been in good company to the extent that they have carried moral precepts with their immoral practices.

When we entered upon the war with Spain, our course was perfectly simple, and the President voiced public sentiment when he disclaimed any purpose of acquiring new territory. The whole issue was a moral issue,—the rights of the Cubans in Cuba. Our apology for the war was that American interests were involved. To avoid this war, how long and how patiently the President parlied with Spanish diplomacy, Spanish cunning, deceit, treachery, until the destruction of the *Maine* drove him to action, and this was done by the Congress bringing its pressure to bear upon him, rather than from his own volition. The Congress acted because, as the President said, the condition of affairs was intolerable.

Secretary Long has made such an excellent statement of the result that I will here quote it literally.

"At the beginning of the war with Spain, Commodore Dewey with the Asiatic fleet was at Hongkong. The declaration of neutrality by Great Britain made it imperative that the American admiral should sail away. Spain's Asiatic squadron was stationed only a few hundred miles away, at the seat of the Spanish stronghold in the Pacific. Military strategy made it clear, as Dewey's success soon afterward proved, that the thing to do was to strike at the heart of Spain's power in the Philippines.

"After the destruction of the fleet it was necessary for Admiral Dewey to maintain the advantage thus gained. After the conquest of the city

of Manila by the army and navy, the interest of humanity, property, and commerce made it compulsory upon the United States to maintain its authority, and thereby prevent arson, riot, and chaos, which would have followed the abandonment of the city by the Americans.

"Personally, as I have said before, I would have been very glad if the Philippine elephant had never been put on our hands. But at the end of the war the islands were in our hands, as the result of the destiny of war, and there was no other alternative for the President but to hold them, and endeavor to maintain order until their future government could be mapped out by Congress.

"In the maintenance of American authority in the Philippines, the President had in mind their future welfare and the betterment of their deplorable condition. Orders were sent to General Otis to do all in his power to preserve harmony with the Filipinos, and to impress upon them the good intentions of America toward them and their future. Notwithstanding the constant efforts of General Otis and the American officials to preserve peace and to avoid a conflict, Aguinaldo and his army of Tagals attacked our soldiers, who had delivered them from Spanish despotism. After their attack there was nothing left to do but to take aggressive measures until the insurgents surrender to our lawful authority, and keep the peace.

"I am in favor of the most liberal form of government for the Filipinos, and I have no doubt that when they have proven that they are capable of self-government a form of government will be given them which will be acceptable. Of course the insurrection must be quelled before the matter of civil government can be decided. I believe peace will soon come in the islands. The question of their future government Congress will have to deal with.

"Official reports received by the administration show that many of the best elements in the islands are in favor of American control. When the American authority has secured good order I predict a future for the Philippines which will be one of peace, contentment, and prosperity for the people there."

So far as any light may be derived, therefore, from the moral side of the question, we are in the Philippines as the logical result of a war that was begun from the most unselfish of motives,—a war in behalf of a long-suffering and down-trodden people. There is no doubt that General Weyler intended to exterminate the Cubans, and, but for our interference, would have accomplished his purpose. It is easy to say that Spain had no rights in the Philippines, and that she had nothing to do with us for our twenty

million dollars, that her quit-claim was valueless. This would seem to be the opinion of some thinkers like the Rev. Mr. Dole of Jamaica Plain. Ex-President E. Benjamin Andrews, on the contrary, says that the Philippines are as much a part of our national possessions as the State of Illinois. If we have no rights there sanctioned by international law or international ethics, then our duty in the Philippines is to withdraw, and our opportunity there is simply that of a nation that is trespassing, and we must turn about. What would be the result of such action to the Filipinos themselves? How would it affect the distributing of China?

The Chinese wall is coming down, and must now be used for scientific purposes. The Eastern question, the interests of nearly four hundred millions of people in China alone, depend upon our action. Asia is to be Europeanized. The European demands ten times as many commodities as an Asiatic. The effect of Western civilization upon the oriental is seen in the awakening of Japan. The foreign trade with Japan is \$9.60 per capita. With China it is 9 cents per capita of population. The hope of China is in awakening to modern civilization, and, while she is doing it, in the protection against Russia, which can come only from the united action of England and the United States. We are interested in the commercial conquest of China; for, if the Muscovite found the Philippines abandoned, he would seize upon them as upon the threshold to China. It is a question, if the most cruel thing that the Americans could do to-day would not be to leave the eight million Filipinos to the mercy of Russia. The Polish people could tell them what that means. Beware of Adam Zad the bear.

Morality takes deep root in principles, but principles need interpreting; hence morality must listen to the voice of wisdom. Religion and ethics rest upon intelligence. If,

therefore, we would remain and conquer in the Philippines, is that action consistent with the highest code of morals? Is it doing as we would be done by? Were the American people half savage and uncivilized, as are the Filipinos, we should be incompetent to judge of a question involving an enlightened conscience; and the world's opinion, as expressed through civilized nations, would prevail. Does England, France, Germany, or any other power, say we have no right to exercise sovereignty in the Philippines? Who interprets the world's conscience on this point? Aguinaldo?

The people of this little planet called earth are divided into groups or families called nations. Their differences have been such as are made by want of intercourse one with another. The same instincts move all alike; and when civilization fuses and melts into one common mass the European and the Asiatic, a new era in the world's history will have dawned. The divine command to each member of this great family of nations, and the savage is not exempt, is to be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. The stronger members of this family have become so by obeying this command. The arts and sciences flourish when industry and intelligence have prepared the way. The dependent, the deficient, and the delinquent members of this family group are the barbarous and savage tribes that are in slavery to their lower natures. The Filipinos are not free, and would not be were we to leave their soil. Like the Indian, they are in bondage. They have said to ignorance, "Be thou my master," and to sloth and idleness, "Be thou my king." They have not conquered space or time, as we have. The earth beneath their feet is full of wealth that the world needs, but they refuse to dig for it. Their soil would pro-

duce coffee for the nations of the earth, but they permit an insect to destroy it. Disease and death prowl through their streets by night, because they are too slothful to study and adopt sanitary measures. All the blessings of a high civilization are unknown to them. It is a question if they may dodge behind that instinct called "love of country" to defend them in their love for an animal existence, disobeying every known law of progress and development. To what extent, then, must they obey the dictates of the more enlightened members of this family group, and do their part in the work of subduing the earth? Who is the best judge of motherhood, Queen Victoria or Queen Liliu-okalani?

Even if the Filipinos were united in their opposition to our sovereignty, the consensus of the opinion of civilized nations would not agree with them, knowing that our motive is not to enslave, but to set free. But they are not united. Aguinaldo cannot show his authority for resistance to our sovereignty. He is credited with being a man of superior intelligence, of great physical courage, and shrewd. He would seem to be a sort of generous-hearted dare-devil, that takes great risks and loves notoriety. He assumes to act for the Filipinos in his resistance to our authority, but he does not. There is not a shadow of doubt that he fully understands the character and purpose of the American people, but that, like all Asiatics, what is kind and gentle he interprets as weakness. He is the kind of a character to respect the Russian bear or the English lion more than the American eagle. He knows that liberty and equality are the foundation stones of this republic, that we freed the slave, that we went into the war from the noblest of motives, to free Cuba, and that we would bring to his people all of the arts of peace. American capital, intelligence, machinery, churches, colleges, and common schools. He knows that the American people are honest,

liberty-loving, and magnanimous. He knows that civil, political, and religious liberty are our watchwords. If he does not know these things, then every estimate of his intelligence is false, and he is a more dangerous and hostile enemy to the best interests of the Filipinos themselves than he is to us. He is unfit to be a ruler, much less a dictator, in his own country, and it would be cruel to let him have sway. If he does know these things, he is a selfish schemer, who wants not what is best for his people, but what he falsely imagines is best for himself. He should be overcome in such a case at all hazards and by force of arms.

Aguinaldo has grown up under the tutelage of Spanish diplomacy. His father was probably poisoned by the intrigue of the monks. Spanish methods he is most familiar with, and is trained to respect force. It would be strange, therefore, if he could adapt his mind to a political science that is illumined by the conscience, and to a friendship that seeks to serve, not to subdue.

But the Philippine question cannot hinge upon the character and motives of Aguinaldo. Whether he be a patriot or a pretender should make no change in the policy or purpose of the administration, so long as duty was made to wait on conscience, and war was made to wait on both. Under the Anglo-Saxon touch, Hawaii has become a garden spot in the Pacific. The Philippines can also be made what the President called them,—the gem of the Orient. Whatever might have been our judgment as to the wisdom of assuming sovereignty, we have done it, and our self-respect and the respect of other nations demands that we shall not climb out of the window or sneak through the alley, because some ignorant or designing Tagals, indorsed by some people at home, have seen fit to call us burglars. The coat has been made for us; but it does not fit, and we will not put it on. Let us face the difficulties heroically

and courageously,—and they are not a few, for, as Secretary Long has well said, “We have an elephant on our hands.” Here are just a few of them.

We are confronted with constitutional limitations. Suppose we acquire territory in any part of the world, and to do it lawfully, Congress must legislate for it; and the moment it does so, constitutional guarantees are operative. Life, liberty, and property are guaranteed to all. Religious freedom to Mohammedan and Christian alike; free speech; free press; the right of assembling and of petition; the right to bear arms; security from unreasonable search and seizure; freedom from quartering troops; the necessity of presentment by a grand jury on a capital charge; the right of compulsory process to secure witnesses; the aid of counsel when accused, and the right of trial by jury. Wherever the United States has territories, these rights must follow. Judge Baldwin has expressed it as his opinion, that the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States must lead to the conclusion, that no conviction for crime could be had in any of our new possessions, after the establishment there of an orderly, civil government, except upon a jury trial. He also says, that to give half-civilized peoples the benefit of immunities framed by a civilized people for itself would be a serious obstacle to the maintenance there of an efficient government.

Professor Woolsey concludes,¹ that a military government is the only one possible in the Philippines. And this, he says, depends upon the inaction of Congress. Its constitutional basis lies in the fact, he says, that the United States as sovereign is responsible for the maintenance of justice and order for the defense of its territory, for the protection of its subjects' rights. The President, pending action by Congress, as Commander-in-Chief of army and navy, must act in a despotic form to secure

¹ *Annals of Am. Acad.*, Supplement, May, 1899.

peace; for it is not martial law, it is not military law, it is the will of the President. No other course is possible. A change of policy is sure to come with each change of administration, for mistakes of the party in power are always exaggerated for political reasons.

We shall have to recognize the religious liberty of the friars and Mohammedans, as England has so wisely done in India and her other dependencies, and the Spanish priests are large property owners, which is secured to them under the terms of the Spanish treaty preventing sequestration.

As to the wisdom of this venture in the Philippines from the standpoint of commercial loss and gain, the war with Aguinaldo is costing a half-million dollars a day. The expense in July is estimated at sixteen million dollars. The revenue from the islands can never repay such enormous outlays. Spain had in revenue five million dollars per annum from fifteen days of forced labor of each person; two millions from customs; one million from stamps, gambling, opium, cock-fighting; one million from lotteries. How much of this would be available to a civilized and liberty-loving people? From what, then, will our revenue come?

The Philippines are different from Hawaii, Porto Rico, or Cuba. The inhabitants are Asiatics. Foreman enumerates their virtues and their vices. They are hospitable, sober, cleanly, patient, but they are also profligate, improvident, cruel, superstitious, and treacherous. All of them are liars, even at the confessional, and they respect only force. Half of them are savages. It is impossible to rule them except by despotic power. Bryce says:—

“Probably no task has been presented to the English in India or in any of their colonies during the last fifty years so difficult as that to which Americans will have to address themselves when they become responsible for these islands, with their area of one hundred and fifteen

thousand square miles and their semi-savage and savage population of nearly eight millions.

"No enterprise of like magnitude or complexity has ever lain before the United States before; for, when she purchased Louisiana, and again when she conquered vast territories from Mexico, the area acquired was almost empty, and all of it was a temperate region, fit to be peopled by the overflow of her own population and to receive her institutions."

It is a vital question, Can the white man live and thrive in the tropics? If not, can we successfully colonize the Philippines? Mr. Kidd believes that white men cannot be acclimated in the tropics. Another vital question, Will Asiatics take kindly to a civilization, and be drawn toward what seems to us as self-evident truth? Professor Lowell thinks that we can rule the Tagals, the Visayans, and the Moros as successfully as the English have ruled India. He insists that the three requisites for a successful administration are justice, a consistent policy, and a thorough knowledge of the native character. The rule of the British in India is believed by him, as it is by most writers on political science, to be the model we must pattern after. Except as England finds a market for her goods, she derives no profit from her colonies. The question of Chinese immigration must be squarely faced. Shall we prohibit it as in Hawaii and in the United States? James Anthony Froude has expressed himself as to the government of dependencies in these words:—

"The leading of the wise few, the willing obedience of the many, is the beginning and end of all right action. Secure this, and you secure everything. Fail to secure it, and be your liberties as wide as you can make them, no success is possible."

Another vital question, Is democracy sufficiently elastic to govern dependencies successfully? Can a policy that is consistent be maintained with the possibility of a change in administration every four years? What will be the cost in troops and treasure of convincing, not Aguinaldo, for he knows it, but his followers, that we desire not to subjugate, but their highest welfare? Could not this be

accomplished more quickly, and with less loss of life and money, by a proclamation from the President, announcing to the Filipinos the same intentions that we have toward the Cubans?

In conclusion, but one practical issue is before the American people. We must support the President. No other alternative is left us, because we are responsible before the world for the protection of life and property. It is not the business of government to save men's souls, but to make good citizens and to exercise authority over those committed to its charge. Let the people know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and they will support an administration as they did Lincoln in the darkest hours of the civil war. A press too rigidly censored is not the way to do this. It is my privilege to know one member of the Cabinet personally, Secretary Gage. He once told me that when a banker from the far West confessed to him that the net result of the quantity theory of money would be to let the water out of wages, and if it were done in any other way we would have revolution, Secretary Gage replied, "Tell the people the truth, and then, if they want a revolution, let it come."

Whatever might have been our judgment as to the wisdom of assuming sovereignty in the Philippines, we have done it, and now self-respect and the respect of other nations demand that we shall assert our authority because our motives were and are pure and honest. Dewey sailed into Manila harbor to the music of bands, and we cannot now sail out of it to the music of hisses, because the inevitable issues of war demand the solution of a problem that seems difficult. There is one duty before the American people to-day, and no other duty is equal to it in importance; and that is the duty of asserting successfully our sovereignty in the Philippines, and then of convincing the world that we are absolutely unselfish in our purposes.

ARTICLE IX.

AMERICA AND THE FAR EAST.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH.

A GREAT historic incident is never solitary. As the lightning flash is the illuminant of the approaching electric storm, so an historic incident is the flash which throws light upon the great historic movement behind it. It has been remarked that the entrance of two American naval commanders into two Oriental ports forty-five years apart successively opened to America the Far East. This statement exaggerates the importance of those courageous and noteworthy deeds. The entrance of Commodore Perry into the harbor of Yedo, while it may have precipitated, did not cause the inevitable appearance of Japan in the arena of the world's affairs. And so the sailing of Commodore Dewey into Manila Bay did not create, but only made manifest, the problem of the Far East which, sooner or later, America was bound to face. And each year that elapsed between the thunder of Perry's guns and the flash of Dewey's cannon saw the steady growth of the clouds and heard the increasing murmur of the storm which we now see to be upon us. This statement is fundamental to a correct understanding of the position of our country in the affairs of Asia to-day. If we believe that George Dewey unwittingly created a problem which never existed before, and that this problem consists in nothing more than the dilemma as to what we are to do with the Philippines, we are far from seeing more than a small portion of the facts that are coming into sight. Unless we remember that there is a great Far Eastern problem in which all the

world is interested, and that no nation can do business or exert influence in the western Pacific without becoming involved in it, we shall fail to understand that the Philippine problem is the least of those which we are set to answer.

Let me name certain underlying facts that emphasize the largeness of our Far Eastern problem.

1. The first fact which I name is that of the *Conflict of Races*. The last millennium of the world's history has been the story of a duel between the Teutonic and the Latin races. This is a large statement, and I have space only barely to indicate its proof. When, at about the same time, the great Western Roman Empire fell before the savage Visigoths, and England was beginning to emerge as a nation from its scattered tribes, there was seen but the first dim prophecy of what was to come. Then Europe plunged into the Dark Ages. When she emerged, the battle lines were distinct. Upon one side were Spain and Portugal, the two mightiest naval and colonial powers in the world, and the Papacy, with its great temporal power; upon the other were England, now a strong nation, and the coalescing states of the Germans. To-day the battle has been won. The Pope has lost his temporal power forever, Portugal long ago and Spain recently have been shorn of their colonies. France, Spain, and Italy are no longer great world powers. The clock of time has struck at Waterloo, Sedan, and Santiago de Cuba: each stroke has been the knell of a Latin power; each stroke has been a peal of triumph to a Teutonic power. To-day England, America, and Germany, Teutonic nations, outweigh the southern nations of Europe.

But now another duel is to be fought. Less than two centuries ago another race entered the battle of the world. With the rise of Russia dawns a new day in history. Now against the great Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic

race, rich, cultured, and restless, rises the huge, barbaric, stubborn Slav. It is Orion with his sword of light against the pitiless Great Bear. The history of the world in the next few centuries will be the story of the victory of one or the other of the twain. The conflict will be fought out on the shores of the Pacific. Ancient history centered about the eastern Mediterranean. Mediæval history and modern history have faced the Atlantic. The next act will take place beside the world's greatest ocean. Russia is reaching eastward as fast as she can build her railways across Siberia and Manchuria, and southeastward as fast as she can feel her way into India. England is strengthening herself at Calcutta, Bangkok, and Hong-kong. America suddenly finds herself at anchor off the China coast. All the unexplored and undeveloped portions of the world to-day border on the Pacific. All the new and growing nations—Australia, Mexico, Canada, America, and Japan—face thither. The dominant nations upon the borders of that great ocean are all either Anglo-Saxon or Slavic. The development of our own country steadily westward leaves us peering over the edge of that sea with eagerness and ambition. The contest may or may not be bloody, but it will be real. The greatest military or commercial war of history is yet to be fought, and here is the battle-field.

2. The second fact is the growing *Solidarity of the World*. Along with, and in spite of the wars of history, human brotherhood has been growing. Once there was no fraternity except among kinsmen; then there was none except among tribesmen; then none except among allied provinces. To-day we are familiar with the brotherhood of friendly nations, and this very year we are beholding at the Hague the first intimations of a confederation of the world. We are not isolate here in America, and we never have been. We have fought England twice and France

once. We have battled with Spain before now. We have fought Mexico. We bombarded Tripoli, Japan, China, and Corea. Every one of these experiences has demonstrated our necessary nearness to the rest of the world. Our Monroe Doctrine has strengthened to a virtual protectorate of the Western Continent which must sometime involve us in many delicate relations with European powers. We are already umpires of South America to a greater degree than Russia can ever hope to be of Asia. Our millions of immigrants have made us a confederacy of aliens, and have multiplied the ties which bind us to the countries from which they came. When America asks, "Who is my neighbor?" the cable and the steamboat answer by bringing the antipodes nearer than Richmond once was to Boston. The fortunes of war have laid down our indemnity in the very doorway of Asia.

But the solidarity of the world has not come through war and conquest, but through peace. The reason we are interested in the affairs of Asia, and the reason we are becoming sharers in the responsibilities of the world, are not the sudden ones of unexpected circumstance, but are those which have been slowly arising from our growth in manufactures and trade. We may remove our army and navy from the Far East, but in their place will go a greater army of peaceful traders and a mightier navy of merchant marine, who will reawaken in peace questions which war first caused us to hear.

Spain conquered to plunder. America lives by the peaceable conquest of trade. Already we hear the cry of overproduction. The stupendous trusts, thriving upon protective tariffs, are combining to curtail production to the limits of national needs and home markets, but they cannot succeed so long as the markets of the world are calling for American products. In these new markets is the American workingman's salvation.

Thither capital and labor can go, not as enemies but as friends, side by side. No new markets are so promising as those which lie along the Pacific. There two-thirds of the population of the world are awakening to a demand for the productions of modern invention and labor. One-half of this population is in China alone. Here in the most ancient empire on earth, by a strange foresight, we gained years ago most valuable trade privileges by treaty, constituting the solemn pledge of a perpetual open door to American exports. Trade may not follow the flag, but wherever trade goes the flag must go to protect it. National commerce must be guarded by national diplomacy. Our duties and responsibilities in this great Pacific area have lately been greatly increased by the annexation of Hawaii, the stepping-stone to Asia, by the revival of Alaska, by the increase of our merchant marine, by the renewal of the project for the Nicaragua Canal, and by our recent accession of the Philippine Islands, the southeastern gateway of the Orient.

In addition we are brought into close sympathy with some of the actors in the great drama of the Pacific, by the late intimations of racial and national friendship on the part of our English brethren, and by the growing respect and admiration of the Japanese, who have absorbed from us, more than from all others, the ideals of their newly created national life. By no means the least powerful tie which binds us to an active interest in Asia is the fact that for nearly a century we have shown a personal interest in the welfare of all these people by the presence of a devoted class who have gone from us, not to carry our national flag, but to carry the purest and best of American and Christian ideals. I refer to our missionaries. In Japan, in India, and in China the missionaries from America have been the most forceful and the most trusted of all foreign influences.

We are then already in the Far East by our soldiers, our traders, and our missionaries. If we were warranted in opening Japan by the guns of Perry to American trade and a Christian civilization, is it not the plain providence of the present if the guns of Dewey shall speak the word of America not only to the Philippines, but to the whole Pacific coast?

3. Another fact to which I can but briefly refer is the history of the *Development of Inferior Races*. History for these races in the sense of actual progress and world-events did not antedate Columbus. With that explorer the Latin system of colonization began to have trial. This theory was manifested in Mexico, Peru, and all of South America and in North America, as long as the Spanish rule lasted. It consisted simply in the enrichment of the home governments by robbery and oppression. That system failed. It resulted in the successful revolt of the whole Western Continent and in the gradual alienation of all the other colonies of Spain. With the possession of India by England began the Anglo-Saxon system of colonization. This consisted in the insistence on peace, followed immediately and at every step by the progressive development of the natives unto self-respect and industry. This policing of the unruly savage by his peace-loving brother and his subsequent uplifting are what we see now in India, in Africa, in Australia, and wherever the English flag waves. That it is the true and ultimate policy is proven by the success of the English and Dutch colonies, which have tried this method, and by the failure of the colonies of France and of Italy, which have not.

Two other great regions now come into view to be cared for by stronger nations,—the Philippines and China, the last of the unguarded peoples. They must be policed and educated. If left to themselves they will continue in anarchy and lethargy. That they will not be left to them-

selves is shown by the eager interest of Russia in China and of Germany in the Philippines. The inheritance of the earth is growing very precious, and the meek will have to keep their eyes open if they are to enter into its blessedness. Shall these childlike peoples be dominated by a ruthless despotism, or exploited by a selfish autocracy, or shall they be peacefully developed into a self-governing condition? The Latin has failed, and the Slav will undo. The Teuton is able, but his flesh is weak. Unto the Anglo-Saxon is the mission and the opportunity. This is "The White Man's Burden," not a self-glorifying task:

"No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper,
The tale of common things."

An ungracious but a necessary and an immediate duty.

These facts—that of race conflict, in which we are already involved; that of world solidarity, from which we cannot be the only nation to stand aloof; and that of our responsibility to such dependent and undeveloped peoples as come under our influence—suggest the immediate tasks of America in the Far East. These, in a word, are: to spread in the Philippines the area of peace and order, and to develop the people within that realm in self-government and civilization, according to the best Anglo-Saxon traditions; to work for the integrity of China, and to insist upon the perpetuity of our treaty rights there, by assisting the self-governing and conserving powers of that empire; and to accomplish this by working at home for a firm, strong leadership in our own government, the maintenance of a trained diplomatic and an adequate naval force, and the impressing of our American manhood with the sense of our enlarged and stupendous responsibilities.

These facts bring with them their own arguments for this suggested national policy.

1. There is first the argument of *Responsibility*. We

need not even open the question of the right and wrong of our present position in the Philippines. All arguments for action based upon the theory of our going there are rendered out of date by the fact that we are there and we cannot get away. The islands are now ours or nobody's. They are ours or the property of the first power that may grasp them. Even the question as to whether these islands are under our protectorate or are an integral part of our territory is secondary. Those who oppose expansion of our domain and suggest that we can just as well keep other nations from seizing them by leaving them to self-government and notifying others to keep their hands off, forget that the other nations will demand from us such a measure of control as shall insure open ports, peaceful opportunities for trade, and safety of life and property. This is what we are actually trying to secure. For this we are responsible. Has there been an hour since the victory of Dewey, or has a moment yet come, when our deserting the Philippines would have been safe to humanity?

There are those who believe that a patient and generous dealing with Aguinaldo would have secured the building up under his leadership of a well-governed native state. His followers have been compared to the God-fearing Pilgrim Fathers, of whom Longfellow said, that "God sifted three kingdoms to find the wheat for this planting, then sifted the wheat as the living seed of a nation," and the dark-skinned leader himself to our own great Washington. Granting the preposterous claim, may we not question whether even Washington could have welded in one the thousand islands, tongues, and tribes of the Philippines? And can we credit the nations of Europe with forbearance to wait while he toils through anarchy and bloodshed to his distant goal? Put a boy in a lonely field with a big purse in his pocket and a heavy hoe in his hand and surround him with giant robbers—and what is his guardian's

duty? Will it be kinder to leave him alone, or to stay by and help him? What the boy wants, or what the giants want, or what casual spectators want, has nothing to do with the duty of the guardian of that field and that purse and that boy. This is the situation in the Philippines.

We cannot unboil the egg. We may have made mistakes in the conduct of affairs. We may have done our duty with little tact and much lack of purpose. This only makes more necessary vigor, force, and straightness of aim in fulfilling our ungrateful but increased responsibilities. Having done this, we have by no means done all. These islands have come to us by the fortunes of war. They are rightly spoken of as a gateway. A gateway to what? To the commerce of Asia. Manila is, next to Hongkong, the most important port in the Orient. Our guardianship of, and commerce in, the Philippines will bring us continually into the affairs of China. Possessing a gateway, we shall want to enter. Indeed we find we have already entered. Our acquisition of Manila becomes a flash to reveal to us that we have already great and growing interests in the peace and prosperity of China. No one has more interest than we in the future of the Far East. We remember that we have the rights of a favored nation forever by solemn treaty. But upon the dismemberment of China, where will those rights be found? They are already subject to immediate attack. Each slice of territory granted, each sphere of influence set up, decreases our future in the Far East. The completion of the Siberian railway will bring the Russian paw down upon the northern provinces of China. Germany, Italy, and France are already gnawing, like mice, at her fringes; even England hesitates between the policy of "the open door" and taking her lion's share along the fertile valleys of the southern waterways. It is safe to say that her hesitancy is largely due to doubt as to what America will do and say. If we speak, and

speak now, we shall not be too late. England and Japan will stand by us, and old China will arouse to new life. Not to conquer or to annex, but to save, should be our motto, and the salvation of China will solve the problem of the Far East.

2. The second argument is that of *Peace*. This is the great watchword of the hour. No one can prophesy just what in every case will bring war or what will bring peace. But there is not much doubt here. The unconditional withdrawal of America from the Philippines would bring on a great European war. Any letting go of the reins there foreshadows anarchy, with general war lurking in the background. The consistent carrying out of our firm and humane policy will probably bring peace within a very short time. To this end the object-lesson of our institutions in active operation in and about Manila will probably contribute even more than will the sword. So in China. To allow things to take their course there is to precipitate the greatest war of history, a war in which we may be even the aggressors. To insist firmly and constantly upon our rights and the rights of others will tend to keep the stability of the East and the peace of nations. Betrayal of sacred trusts and relinquishment of purchased and chartered rights do not point toward peace—or honor. We have surprised the diplomatic world lately somewhat by our American fashion of “the diplomacy of truth.” It has always been our way of doing things, and it has amply justified itself as a peace-making policy. It will bear further trial.

3. I have not space to enlarge upon the argument of *National Interest*. It is impossible to exaggerate the wealth, the fertility, the resources, the productive and receptive ability of the people of the Philippines and of China. Their value is now in its lowest terms, and it will be a thing not of a few years but of unmeasured time.

They are the unentered treasure-house of the world. If we care for labor and trade and prosperity and the manhood which these encourage, we must take a firm and consistent and unmistakable position upon the Eastern Question. And in so doing we are not selfish. For what we do in keeping the door open for ourselves we do for the world, as we throw wide open the portals of adventure and opportunity.

4. There is also the argument of *Privilege*. The preparations of our history have been for this very hour. By a strange providence our New England was the scene of England's solitary effort to govern a colony by Latin methods. Our Revolution taught England the lesson which she has practiced in Canada, India, and Australia. Our Louisiana Purchase, Florida, California, and the Mexican Cession had all been under a Latin yoke. Our whole country has been through this tutelage. Our Indian problem and our Negro problem have given us colonial experience within our very midst. Our history has been the story of the conquering of undeveloped lands for agriculture and commerce. We are a nation full of men of ambition and adventure. Our great corporations and institutions have developed able promoters of industry and leaders of men. Our explorers and business men are equally at home in the Klondike and in Cuba. We have had here at home instruction in most of the things which we have to practice in the Far East. We have not learned all our lessons well. But there are no people under heaven who are better fitted for hard tasks, stubborn obstacles, and ultimate triumph. Do we not want a part in making this world freer and better? Do we expect to remain always at home while others do the world's work? Have we not some of us a fine enthusiasm to send with the emissaries of commerce the messengers of American ideas and ideals, and to save these islands and this ancient empire, not for

an imperialism of conquest and annexation, but for the imperialism of the kingdom of God?

There are arguments against this position, and I will try to state them. We have plenty of home problems to engage our attention, we are told, and we are not oversuccessful in governing ourselves. We are told that we have not the ability nor the virtue to do this work; that the cost will be more than the results, as the present war already shows; and that recent history has plainly taught us that our national leaders are insufficient for the honorable and successful carrying out of this suggested policy. My reply must be a general one. We have the ability to do whatever we ought to do. The counting of costs and of values can never be accurately done beforehand; but this one thing is sure, it will always cost more, and pay less, in the long run to do wrong than to do right. If our national leaders are incompetent, we the people must provide ourselves with better ones. The fact that we are not doing our work well at present will not be an excuse for not doing what more we have to do. We learned all this thirty-five years ago. The nation that cried, out of the dilemma of slavery, that it was not able to do right and that it would cost too much, did succeed in doing right in the end, and paid for every day of its delay in the awful cost of men and means. That nation looked in despair from its vacillating presidents and weak-kneed statesmen and dress-parade soldiers unto God, and God gave us Abraham Lincoln and Secretary Stanton and Ulysses Grant. We were doing a great many things none too well, but we had to stop and do this first.

And so now. I believe that God still rules even the War Department at Washington, and that God still keeps his eye on the President's chair, and that when his people cry out in their need he will give them a Man. I believe he sees the end from the beginning, and that

when he leads our nation up into a doorway and shuts the way behind it, he means that it shall enter. The way before may be neither clear nor sunny. Senator Hoar, in a recent able article on the character of Daniel Webster, has given his explanation of the later acts of that statesman's life by saying, that Webster was unwilling to believe that it was the duty of this country to leave the course of apparently safe compromise for that of danger and struggle. It may be that the remark is true of the venerable writer himself. There were many sunken torpedoes supposed to be lying in Manila harbor when Dewey sailed daringly in over them to victory before breakfast. The "Dewey dangers" of our national future are by no means imaginary or small, but it may be that a swift and stern grappling with them will bring the most speedy victory.

The trouble with the so-called anti-imperialist position is, that it paints all these possible dangers in darkest colors, and then proposes to deal with the whole matter in a way which was only possible in the past, and which, if tried in the present, will bring up still more certain and appalling dangers in the farther future.

But the strongest objection to our proposed forward movement in the Far East is one that appeals, not to the trader or the fighter, but to the moralist. Is it right to fight the Filipinos and to try to govern them? To the great bar of Justice the American nation is summoned; and, unless the decision be an acquittal, we know that the Judge of all the earth will become an Avenger. We have already approached this aspect of the case by showing the inevitableness of our present position and the impossibility of withdrawal, by showing that the Far Eastern question is not a matter of sudden appearance, but one of ancient and steady growth, which must be faced sometime, and which can be disposed of now better than later; we have said that

it was necessary to protect our merchants and missionaries and our commercial interests; we have intimated that in the work of policing the world our turn and time had come; we have made it plain that the interests of permanent peace seem to be met by the action proposed; and we have laid emphasis upon the responsibility which we, and we only, bear for the future of these islanders. Upon this latter point alone we may rest our case. While the anti-imperialist has many means of approach, perhaps his most effective question is in some such form as this: "What right have we to risk the health, morals, and lives of the youth of our country in shooting down the brave patriots of a cause which the citizens of a free nation ought to applaud and bless?" This large question, with its implications of tyranny to ourselves and of patriotism to our rebel antagonist, is rather startling—until examined. Its implications are both false. We are not tyrants. Free speech is an inalienable right, and I do not share in the indignation expressed by some because the words of those who are opposed to active measures have encouraged the revolutionists near Manila, but I do insist that this wholesale accusation of honest thinkers, sober public men, and brave soldiers as tyrants, thieves, and agents of corporations and business enterprises, is somewhat tiresome. Are the honest men all on one side in this matter? So of the other statement. If the Filipinos were a civilized people, if they possessed a government entitled to declare war and protect foreigners, if they had any experience in self-government, or had ever shown any evidences of humanity and self-control, these comparisons of them to the American patriarchs of liberty would mean something. If they were in the situation of our fathers in 1776, isolated and distant from the complications of world-politics, and out of the track of empire, in a time when the world had not all been divided up into spheres of influence, and when each nation was not strain-

ing every nerve for new trade opportunities, then they would have opportunity and leisure to work out their experiments in government; and their well-meaning ebullience would have some chance of some time reaching a knowledge, sanity, and maturity which would dignify it as patriotism. But their efforts at the end of the nineteenth century are a hundred years too late. Their unaided endeavors are as out of place as those of a child who sits down with his playthings in the midst of Broadway. They are in the roadway, they are in the very midst of the rush of westward-moving international competition, and they must be overwhelmed. Now, which is kinder, to leave them thus, or to remove them, even if they struggle a little, to a place of safety? In the eyes of international law this land is ours, and to us, and to no one else, the nations look for its peace and their protection. We wish these people to be free, and we intend to make them so. But they are not free now; they do not know what freedom is, nor how to attain it. If their leader does not understand our purposes and know our history as a free people, then he is not fit to free his own people, and it is cruel not to restrain him. If he does know us, then he proves himself a selfish dictator, whose suppression is necessary to true liberty. It will cost something in that which is the most precious capital of the country—its young manhood—to do this, but it will cost less to do this than to try to do anything else, and it **MUST BE DONE.**

In conclusion, I wish to say soberly that, with the aid of one condition, we shall succeed. I expect there will be corruption and injustice and crime. But as I believe the negro is better off in America to-day than he would have been if he had remained in Africa or had gone anywhere else, and as I believe the Indian has been uplifted since he has lived with the white man, and as I look upon Hampton and Tuskegee as being better types of the ultimate fu-

ture than the slave block and lynching; so I believe that, in the slow progression of time, the Philippine Islanders will learn to thank the white man for what he brings him. It will not all come at once. It did not so come when Augustine preached to the Britons, and Ansgar to the Danes.

The condition which I name is the sufficiency of American manhood. It has slowly arisen to each emergency in the past. Will it in the future? Here friend of action and of inaction abroad should forget their differences, for here they can agree. Whatever our foreign policy, we need MEN. We need them in the army and navy; we need them in diplomacy; we need them even more in legislation and in the seats of the mighty; and we need them most of all, where all ultimate power resides and all national policies gain their sanction, in the voting constituency, the common citizenship, of our great republic. We must turn for them, where we have gone before, to the great conserving and fructifying institutions of our land—the public school, the public library, the people's caucus, the free platform, the free press, and the church of God.

ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, explained and discussed for Protestants and Catholics. By FRANK HUGH FOSTER, PH.D. (Leipzig), Hon. D.D. (Chicago Theol. Sem.), Professor of Theology in Pacific Theological Seminary, Oakland, Cal. 12mo. Pp. xii, 366. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1899.

We may be in some danger of underestimating how notable an event the publication of Dr. Foster's careful and affable discussion of the fundamental ideas of the Roman Catholic Church is. It is easy to accord it only a languid welcome, under a general impression that there is no lack of manuals of the Roman controversy already at hand. Even in this broad form, however, this impression may be scarcely justified. Rome is always with us, and she never sleeps. It is debatable whether the American churches have been doing their full duty in protecting their children from her perennial encroachment. But in any case there has been a decided lack among us of such manuals of the Romish controversy as Dr. Foster's. Though popular in form, in the sense that it is written in a style which will commend it to every educated man, and is free from unnecessary technicalities, whether of language or of thought, it is no mere "popular" assault on the tenets of a rival religious system. It is a calm, courteous, fair-minded, well-reasoned, in the best sense scientific, examination of the fundamental points of teaching in which the Church of Rome differs from the Protestant system. As such, it is a contribution to positive theology, as well as to controversy.

We will not say this is something new to American polemics. But we certainly have no plethora of such treatises. The Germans have been more faithful than we have in prosecuting the Roman controversy in a scientific spirit. In England, the peculiar growth of "Anglican claims" has given birth to a vigorous and often very thoroughly-wrought controversial literature along certain rather confined lines. In Scotland, something of the right kind occasionally appears: and, oddly enough, there comes thence to us, contemporaneously with Dr. Foster's volume, an admirable little book which may fitly stand by its side, not indeed as its rival but as its complement,—the Rev. J. P. Lilley's "Principles of Protestantism," a book which, with much the same end, seeks it by presenting the other side of the shield, discussing as it does rather the fun-

damental ideas of Protestantism in contrast with those of Rome. But in recent American literature, there seems to be nothing precisely like Dr. Foster's book,—nothing, that is, which in succinct form, but with adequate learning and in a spirit as generous as it is calm, seriously reviews the fundamental points in which the Church of Rome differs from Protestants with a view to understanding them thoroughly first, and then soberly estimating them. Nothing in recent English literature occurs to us at the moment, in fact, quite worthy of a place at its side, *except* Dr. Salmon's fine lectures published under the title of "The Infallibility of the Church" (1888). Dr. C. H. H. Wright's recent "Primer of Roman Catholicism," though a very meritorious primer indeed, is yet too much of a primer to take a place by the side of this more extended volume.

Dr. Foster has gone to the authoritative sources for the statement of the Romish positions, and has sought their interpretation at the hands of Rome's most accredited dogmaticians,—such as Möhler, Perrone, and Heinrich,—supplemented on the more popular side by such writers as Cardinal Gibbons or the authors of the "Catholic Dictionary." For the sake of completeness, he might have also consulted such an accredited writer as Franzelin on the fundamental topic of tradition, and perhaps throughout so trusted a dogmatist as Hurter; and for the sake of the English reader he might have referred to some more extended and systematic treatise than Cardinal Gibbons' "Faith of the Fathers,"—say, for example, to Wilhelm and Scannell's Englished Scheeben. But the reader will certainly acquit him of any insufficiency of information as to the Roman position.

In his criticism of the Roman system he has kept before his mind such master-examples as the inimitable "Polemik" of Hase, and the thorough studies of the lamented John Delitzsch; but he has relied chiefly, of course, on his own independent thought, studying at all times scrupulous fairness and striving solely to elicit the truth. The admirable words in the Preface in which he outlines his purpose are fully justified by the outcome:—

"In all this work it has been the constant purpose to set forth the Catholic doctrine fully and fairly from the authoritative sources, to present its ideal form, and to state the arguments for it in their full force and at as great length as the limits of this work permitted. It is hoped that no Catholic will be able to complain of misrepresentation or injustice. It has been the writer's desire to state the Catholic case as strongly and as well as a Catholic could do it. But he has then attempted to refute what he believed to be wrong with equal clearness and completeness. He has hit error as hard as he could. He believes that strenuous conflict will be appreciated by great-hearted souls. The antagonism between Catholic and Protestant is at bottom founded upon a difference in convictions, in ideas. Nothing but a thorough understanding between the parties, and nothing but a surrender by either party of what it may find to be wrong, will ever produce harmony or promote the triumph of the truth. It is for these reasons that the theme has been chosen, and in this spirit that the controversy has been waged in the present volume."

Of course, the whole mass of Roman teaching cannot be brought into such full review as Dr. Foster proposes, within the compass of one small volume. A selection was therefore necessary, and the title-page accordingly confines the scope of the work to "the fundamental ideas of the Roman Catholic Church"; and even this is, perhaps, too broadly put. What is in mind is the fundamental points of disagreement between Romanists and Protestants. These, Dr. Foster discovers especially in two topics,—those that treat of the Church and of the Application of Salvation, or in more technical language in the *Loci de Ecclesia* and *de Gratia Christi*. In focussing attention on these two topics, Dr. Foster has certainly been very well advised. There may, to be sure, be other topics more basal to the Roman system itself, in a sense at least: the doctrine of God, for example, must be *the* fundamental idea in any religious system, and the doctrine of the God-man must occupy a place beside it in any specifically Christian system. There may also be topics in a sense more fundamental even to what is distinctive in the teaching of Rome than some of those chosen for particular treatment here: the doctrine of Sin, for example, certainly underlies any doctrine of salvation from sin, and in the Romish Anthropology and Hamartology, accordingly, are hidden the roots of the Romish doctrine of Salvation. It does not surprise us, therefore, that Dr. Foster, though passing over these topics *ex professo*, finds it impossible to explain the Romish doctrine of salvation without prefixing a few words, as by the way, on the Romish doctrine of sin (§ 87, p. 171). But it cannot be doubted that the most obtrusive differences between Rome and Protestantism lie within the spheres of the two topics chosen for formal treatment. It might even be fairly said, that all that differentiates the Roman system may naturally be discussed under the single caption of "The Church." Its doctrine of the Church, in a word, is determinative of the whole body of the teaching of the Church of Rome; and all that is really distinctive of its teaching might be gathered under this one rubric, in its two aspects of the Church as the *principium notitiæ*, and the Church as the *institutio salutis*. Such a presentation of the matter might have introduced into the development of the subject a somewhat stricter unity than the volume presents now, with its formal separation of the two topics. But the upshot would have been the same; and doubtless there are compensating advantages arising out of the formal separation of the matter presented, into two approximately equal parts, on "The Church" and "The System of Doctrines Pertaining to Salvation" respectively.

When thus separately viewed, the chief interest of the Romish idea of the Church centers in its doctrine of the Church as Teacher, that is to say in its doctrine of the Rule of Faith,—which is, of course, the subject that above all others meets the inquirer at the threshold of his investigation of every religious system. The question: "What is the source of our knowledge of God?" necessarily antedates and underlies every other

theological question. Now, the answer that Rome gives to this question is shortly: "The Church"; or, nowadays, we may even say, practically: "The Pope." Of course this is not said brusquely. What is said, in words, is: "The Bible, supplemented by tradition, as interpreted by the Church, through its mouthpiece, the Pope." But this lengthy answer is the deposit of a long course of history, and betrays in its stratification the stages of the controversy in the troubled waters of which it has silted down. We obtain the practically operative position of Rome when we omit all the preceding words, and retain only the simple declaration that the cathedraic deliverances of the Pope are the Rule of Faith of the Romanist. The current roundabout way of saying this, means merely that the Romanist appealed originally to the written word of God alone as the source of theological knowledge; but, on that proving insufficient for the validation of his peculiar tenets, was forced to add tradition to the Bible; and, the Bible and tradition together still proving insufficient, was forced to flee to the living voice of the Church, brought in under the color of interpretation; while now he has finally completed the structure by pointing to the Pope as the organ through which the infallible Church infallibly expresses itself.

It must not be overlooked that very much indeed is held as to the Rule of Faith in common by Rome and Protestantism. The frank supernaturalism of the Roman position is common to it and Protestantism: the decisive appeal to "external authority" is common to both. The difference between the two concerns only the place where this supernatural "external authority" is deposited. The Protestant says, "In the Bible"; the Romanist, "In the Church," or, now practically, "In the Pope." There is a very wide sphere of agreement here, therefore, in principle: the difference affects only what may be called a detail,—though certainly it is a detail of such deep-reaching importance as itself to rise into the dignity of a principle. The apprehension of the true relation between the two will, however, greatly aid us in properly orienting ourselves relatively to the more serious controversies of the day. What it means is, that, in all the more fundamental and burning controversies that are vexing our times, the Romanist and the Protestant are natural allies. As over against the Rationalist and the Mystic of all types, they stand in principle together, validating, as they do, in common the prime principle of authority in religion—the fundamental fact of the need and existence of an "external authority," over against the spirit of man itself, as the source of religious knowledge. Thus they stand together on the same side of the great cleft that separates the principle of Revelation from the principle of Intuitionism in religion; and that separates as well the principle of Corporalism from the principle of Individualism in religion. If there is an "external authority"—a revelation from heaven, whether it be incorporated in a book, or speak in the living voice of a church organized under an earthly head,—then each man cannot be a law to him-

self, but there is one law for all, to which all must needs conform. About this question the greatest conflict of our age is raging. Men are demanding, "Where is to be found the seat of authority in religion,—within us, or without?" The Romanist and the Protestant stand shoulder to shoulder in replying that it is without us. It is only when we raise the subsequent question, "Where without us is it discoverable?" that they part company. The Protestant replies, "In the Bible only": and it is this that is meant by Chillingworth's famous declaration, that the "Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." The Romanist practically says: "In the Church," or even, nowadays, "In the Pope": though he formally phrases it more warily, thus: "In the Bible, plus tradition, interpreted by the Church, speaking through the Pope."

In this reply, the Protestant considers, the Romanist betrays the true principle they have contended for in common. It is not because he proclaims an "external authority" that the Protestant draws apart from him: the Protestant is as eager to announce an "external authority" as the Romanist can possibly be. It is because he assigns this "external authority" to a source in which it does not reside; because he transfers it from God to a man, and so delivers the helpless Christian, bound hand and foot, over to the vagaries, and the ignorances, and the deceits of an imperfect—often very imperfect indeed—human intellect and heart. As Dr. Foster truly puts it, "The error of the Catholic is that he takes upon insufficient grounds an authority which has no real claim upon him" (p. 49). Nor is this a little error; it is no less than to mistake the voice of man for the voice of God. To its investigation and refutation it is altogether well that Dr. Foster consecrates the first half of his treatise, tracing out with the utmost patience all its assumed grounds and all its gradually elaborated defense, until he lays the hollowness of it all fully open before us.

The elevation of the Church, in the Roman system, into the infallible organ of the revelation of God, is matched, as we have already hinted, by its corresponding elevation into the indispensable organ of saving grace. The Roman doctrine of salvation turns on the assumed functions of the Church as the institute of salvation, centering and culminating in the sacramental system, through which alone may grace be distributed to the souls of men. The elements and outgrowth of this gigantic development of externalism, Dr. Foster describes and criticises in the second half of his volume, beginning with the doctrine of Justification (in the treatment of which we miss something of the firmness of handling which is elsewhere conspicuous) and proceeding thence to its outgrowths in the doctrines of Merit and of the Sacraments. In connection with the latter we have a clear exposition and exposure of the strange but inevitable doctrine of "Intention" that has grown up as the base of the whole system, but by which, nevertheless, as Mr. Lea has abundantly shown, the whole system is undermined. By it the efficacy of all ecclesiastical functions

is made to depend on the internal intention of the officiant to do what the Church intended by the office performed. Dr. Foster pointedly exclaims: "Into what fearful uncertainty is one educated in the Catholic promises thrust, when he considers such words as these of Bellarmine: 'No one can be certain with the certainty of faith that he receives a true sacrament, because the sacrament cannot be valid without the intention of the minister, and *no man can see another's intention.*' And hence even the officiating priest, when he knows that he, for his own part, has the 'intention,' *does not know whether it is of any avail*, because he cannot know whether he himself has been truly ordained"—whether, that is, the intention of ordaining may not have failed in some one or the other of the numerous links that bind him to the Apostolic age. "Everything," as Dr. Foster remarks, "is thus gone." The Church, whose proud boast it is, that it, and it alone, can give certitude in religion, casts all her children on a sea of uncertainties: nor will it avail for her to counsel them in such circumstances to put their trust in God,—for not only has she reiterantly taught them that it is only through the valid ordinances of the Church that they can reach God, or God them, but it is not a matter of trust in God that is here thrust forward, but rather of trust in man. Who can assure them that "in all the almost immeasurably long and certainly immensely complicated system of consecration for two thousand years, there has never been a single lapse in the heart of any evil man, leading through lack of 'intention' to the invalidity of church orders?" Who indeed! Thus the Romish system ends in this sphere too by directing the eye of men away from God to man, and with the most disastrous results.

It is a boon to have such firm and safe leading as Professor Foster's book provides through the intricacies of such discussions. But we must not make its stimulating quality the excuse for a longer notice of it. It is certainly a good book, which should be in the hand of every student of Christian truth.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THEOLOGIA PECTORIS: Outlines of Religious Faith and Doctrine, founded on Intuition and Experience. By JAMES MUSCUTT HODGSON, M.A., D.Sc., Principal of the Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches of Scotland. Pp. 207. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.40.

The successor of Drs. Alexander and Simon (in the Theological Hall of the Congregational churches of Scotland) departs widely, and we fear not wisely, from the theological views of his predecessors. We cull a few characteristic utterances: "There is no reason whatever to regard any of the functions or operations of the Divine Spirit as having been restricted to the apostles or the writers of the Scriptures" (p. 69). "The final appeal in all moral, spiritual, and religious matters is to our personal intuitive perception and appreciation of the true and right, the good and the divine" (p. 75).

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF PROTESTANTISM. By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated, with the Author's Sanction, by THOS. BAILEY SAUNDERS. Crown 8vo. Pp. 64. London: Adam and Charles Black. 1899. \$1.00.

A vigorous protest against the undue exaltation of the creeds above the Bible, and of ecclesiastical authority above the authority of the Spirit,—dangers much more prominent in Germany than in the United States.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (International Theological Library.) By GEORGE BARKER STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. Post 8vo. Pp. xvi, 617. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$2.50 net.

This volume illustrates both the strength and the weakness of modern attempts at treating what is called biblical theology. It was formerly supposed that systematic theology should be biblical, and, certainly, it ought to be required of biblical theology that it be systematic. Otherwise it is a mere compilation of individual instances unworthy of the name science. This is well recognized by Dr. Stevens in his remarks upon the primitive apostolical preaching, when, as a systematic theologian, he forms a working hypothesis which pays little attention to the uncertain results of historical and critical research. According to the author, the primary task of the biblical theologian "is, not to trace the development of thought within the New Testament period (although every aid for so doing will be of great service to him), but to expound in systematic form the contents of the New Testament books. The doctrinal content of an epistle, for example, may be correctly and adequately exhibited, whatever view be held respecting its author or its date. It makes no essential difference for our purpose whether the Epistles of James and Peter are pre-Pauline or post-Pauline. What they teach must be depicted in substantially the same way, whether it be done in an earlier or a later part of our work. Indeed, the mere chronological relation of books is of comparatively small importance for biblical theology. Of much greater moment is the logical order—the order which may be supposed to represent the development of religious ideas from the more simple and elementary to their more elaborate and reasoned forms" (pp. 248-249).

And so in general the work proceeds independently of biblical criticism. Jude and Second Peter are given their proper place in the construction of theology without magnifying the doubts urged by some respecting their canonicity. In the few places in which the author treats of critical questions he betrays very strong leanings toward that looseness of interpretation which deprives language of its ordinary meaning, and makes it a medium for concealing rather than for expressing thought. Not only does he disbelieve in the reality of demoniacal possessions, but he declares that when Christ, speaking of the 110th Psalm, affirms that it is what "David himself said in the Holy Spirit," and builds his argument upon the fact that David uttered the words, he teaches nothing concerning the authorship of the Psalm (p. 91).

DIE GRIECHISCHEN CHRISTLICHEN SCHRIFSTELLER DER ERSTEN DREI JAHRHUNDERTEN. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

ORIGENES' WERKE. Band I.-II. bearbeitet von PAUL GOETSCHAU in Jena. Einleitung.—Die Schrift vom Martyrium (exhortatio).—Die acht Bücher gegen Celsus.—Die Schrift vom Gebet (de oratione). Pp. xcii, 374, 545.

HIPPOLYT'S WERKE. I. Band: 1. Der Kommentar zum Buche Daniel und die Fragmente des Kommentars zum Hohenliede, herausgegeben von N. BONWETSCH.—2. Kleine exegetische und homiletische Schriften, herausgegeben von HANS ACHELIS. Pp. xxvii, 309.

To those who believe in the supernatural character of Christianity and in the inspiration of the New Testament, this monumental task of presenting to us the most correct text of the most important Christian church fathers will be duly appreciated; while even those who are willing to drop Hebrew from the required curriculum of our theological seminaries, and even those who are willing to make Greek elective, cannot be wholly indifferent to the scholarship which gives us the earliest apologetical writings in its best form. The works of Hippolytus are of especial value to the Christian apologist, because of their date, and are of special interest on account of the recent discovery of some of the most important portions.

Hippolytus was a contemporary of Irenæus, and, according to Photius, heard Irenæus lecture. It seems altogether probable, also, that Origen heard him during the first quarter of the third century; all of which presents to the imagination a vivid picture of the eminent procession of Christian witnesses at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century.

So much alike were these great men, that a fragmental work of Hippolytus was mistaken for a work of Origen, but in 1842 "The Refutation of All Heresies" was discovered, in nearly its complete form, at Mount Athos. Subsequent examination shows clearly that this was a work of Hippolytus, written probably somewhere about the year 234, though the first chapters of this, which had been long known, had been attributed to Origen.

The testimony of the works of Hippolytus to the canon of the New Testament is most important. According to Bunsen, "it contained:—

"(1) The four Gospels.

"(2) The Acts. . . .

"(3) The Pauline Epistles to seven distinct churches; nine epistles as we read them. . . .

"(4) The four Pastoral Letters: to Philemon and Titus, and the two addressed to Timothy.

"(5) The six catholic (or general) epistles: the Epistle of St. James; the Epistle of St. Peter (our first); the three epistles of St. John; the Epistle of St. Jude.

"(6) The Epistle to the Hebrews. . . .

"(7) The Apocalypse of St. John."¹

¹ Bunsen's Hippolytus and his Age, Vol. ii. p. 139.

The force which the testimony of Hippolytus adds to that of the lately discovered Diatessaron and of the new Syriac Gospel, combined with the evidence previously existing, can be resisted only by being ignored. The Christian churches of the latter part of the second century had a New Testament canon corresponding almost exactly to that which was formally adopted by the Council of Carthage, and which has been generally accepted to the present day. On account of the importance of this testimony, therefore, we doubly welcome this new and in every way satisfactory edition of the works of Hippolytus. The two parts of the first volume, however, include only the best-known portions of his writings, namely, his Commentaries upon Daniel, with fragments of his commentaries upon Matthew and John, the Apocalypse, and numerous minor works. The Commentary upon Daniel is accompanied by a German translation. Altogether the work leaves nothing to be desired, and is indispensable to every thorough scholar of the early church history and of the New Testament. At least every theological library should possess it. We await the second volume with high expectations.

In the same thorough style with the preceding are the first two volumes of the writings of Origen, which contain the whole of the treatise "Against Celsus," occupying over six hundred pages, together with the writings concerning the martyrs.

There is also an index, filling 130 pages, which will enable the scholar to find any passage of which he has the dimmest idea. The study of Origen's great work "Against Celsus" must deeply impress every one with the thoroughness with which apologetic questions were discussed by the early church fathers. Almost every argument against Christianity put forward at the present time will be found answered in it. In the mad rush after latter-day novelties, there is imminent danger that we shall be neglectful of the central facts bearing upon the authenticity of the early church records. Nothing can take the place of the critical study of these portions of patristic writing as they are now placed before us in these well-edited volumes.

GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR, as edited and enlarged by E. KAUTZSCH, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated from the Twenty-fifth German Edition, by the late Rev. G. W. COLLINS, M.A. The Translation revised and adjusted to the Twenty-sixth Edition, by A. E. COWLEY, M.A. Demy 8vo. Pp. xx, 598. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. \$5.25.

The value of Gesenius' Grammar in the past is well known to students since its first appearance in 1813. The genesis of the present volume, and its exact relation to the German editions, is stated with utmost brevity in the translator's preface, written by A. E. Cowley. "The Delegates of the Clarendon Press arranged with the German publishers . . . to issue . . . a translation (of what is practically a new book), and entrusted the work to the late Rev. G. W. Collins (of Corpus Christi College, Cam-

bridge, and Keble College, Oxford), with whom I was afterwards associated. His translation of the twenty-fifth (1889) edition was already approaching completion when a new edition of the German was announced as being in preparation, and the Delegates decided to await its publication in order that Professor Kautzsch's latest improvements might be incorporated in the English translation. The new German edition, however, did not appear so soon as was expected, and in the meantime Mr. Collins died. The task of revising the translation, and of seeing it through the press, thus devolved upon me. Its accomplishment has been somewhat delayed, partly by the intervention of other work, and partly owing to the numerous additions and improvements introduced by Professor Kautzsch into the twenty-sixth edition (1896) which of course had to be incorporated. With regard to the method pursued, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English."

The twenty-fifth German edition was a real jubilee one, in that the editor entirely remodeled and greatly strengthened the *Syntax*. The twenty-sixth differs in many details, but the changes do not greatly affect the character of the book. They are the necessary modifications in recognition of the work done upon Semitic languages during the seven-year interval. The editor gives special recognition to the researches of Lagarde and Barth with reference to the formation of nouns. The paragraphs upon relative pronouns and relative sentences are wholly reconstructed.

In 1893 appeared a "Second American Edition" edited by E. M. Mitchell and I. M. Price (noticed in BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, Vol. I. No. 199). This was an older affair made over to fit the twenty-fifth German. For the *Forms* and *Etymology* the old plates were used as much as was possible, more than was wise, with amusing effect upon the looks of the page. For the *Syntax* a new translation was made, and for some reason the work was, mildly expressed, very unsatisfactory.

In sharp contrast to this American edition—it is to be hoped that our reputation will not be determined by it—stands the present volume. There are minute inconsistencies between the work of the two editors who have been engaged upon it, but these need not greatly disturb the reader. The translation does not take into account all the *addenda et corrigenda* of the German, but corrects numerous typographical errors.

In a work of this kind scientific completeness and practical usefulness contend for recognition. The twenty-sixth German and its translation make increased claim to the former, and by a very simple device secure a gain in the latter. It is becoming less and less possible to use Gesenius as a text-book, and even as a reference-book its heavily loaded pages make a specific reference difficult. The paragraphs average more than three pages in length, some cover eight pages such as this. Letters are now placed in the margin opposite each subdivision of the paragraph so

that reference to a particular section is greatly simplified. E.g., we can now say "§90 g." in place of "§90, 2. (c) Rem. b." One of the most helpful ways of using the grammar in connection with exegetical work is to search out, by means of the Bible Passage index, the comments upon the forms and constructions contained in the several verses. The new method of citation makes this much easier. But one thing leads to another: why should we not have had the paragraph number placed above these letters, in the outer margin opposite the first line of the page? They are now found opposite the running headings in the inner margin; so they are visible only when the book lies quite open and the eye must wander over the whole page before it finds rest.

OWEN H. GATES.

MITTELSTRASSE 10. Erinnerungen an August und Mathilde Tholuck im hundertsten Jahre nach seinem Geburt. Von MARTIN KAEHLER, Dr. u. Prof. der Theologie in Halle. Leipzig: A. Deichert Nachf. 1899. M. 1.

AUGUST THOLUCKS GEDACHTNISS, gefeiert im hundertsten Jahre seiner Geburt von der theologischen Fakultät zu Halle. Rede von MARTIN KAEHLER. Leipzig: A. Deichert Nachf. M. o. 50.

The eagerness with which theologians of the present day devote themselves to historical studies contrasts markedly with the readiness of many of them to ignore their own immediate predecessors in the same field. I have been amazed to note the paucity of the references in recent important theological works to the names of men who stood in the front rank as investigators, thinkers, and scholars not a generation ago. The chief sinners in this respect are the Ritschlians and the so-called Higher Critics—they write as if systematic theology, the history of Christian doctrine, criticism, and so on, began with Ritschl and Wellhausen; and as if nothing worth attention were produced outside the "ring" to which they belong. They "boom" each other accordingly without ceasing: and the veriest whipper-snapper on their side is greeted as with the words, "A Daniel come to Judgment"—particularly if he be a foreigner, —an American or Briton by Germans; a German by Americans and Britons.

I think I can detect an undertone of sadness in the two booklets by Professor Kähler of Halle, of which the titles are given above, due to the way in which his friend and master, Tholuck, is being forgotten and ignored. Personally I am thankful to him for what he has done to revive the memory of past times. His pictures of the old house in the Mittelstrasse, Halle; of the Herr Rath and the Frau Rätlin; of their doings and ways; of their joys and sorrows, and so forth, recall my student days so vividly that I am ready to exclaim with Heine,

Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten,
Dass ich so traurig bin;

only that, instead of a "Märchen aus alten Zeiten," I am reminded of facts and experiences that exercised a blessedly determinative influence

on my life. What I feel I am sure many, many others will also feel. That house was a treasury out of which the householders, both of them, constantly brought forth things new and old,—intellectual and spiritual; poetical and musical; scientific and mystical; to the quickening, the joy, and the edification of numberless students.

And *they* are being forgotten! God help those whom *moderne Aufklärung* is so puffing up that they fail to appreciate what once made Halle one of the chief Meccas of Protestant religious and theological pilgrims.

The second booklet contains Professor Kähler's *Rede* on the hundredth anniversary of Tholuck's birthday, delivered in the presence of the Theological faculty of the University of Halle. It presents a careful and sober, yet sympathetic and high estimate of Tholuck's place and work in the theological and religious development of Germany during the first seventy years of the present century.

In reading both productions I could not but wish that Professor Kähler had taken, or would take, in hand the preparation of a moderate sized volume devoted to Tholuck's life and work; and that he would incorporate with it contributions from some of Tholuck's still living American and English pupils, giving their reminiscences and impressions. Such a book ought to be valuable, not only as history, but also as a means of quickening the intellectual and spiritual life, and stimulating the theoretical and practical zeal, of many of the younger generation.

D. W. S.

THE STUDENT'S LIFE OF PAUL. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary, author of "The Student's Life of Jesus." 12mo. Pp. x, 279. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. \$1.25.

The importance of this volume must not be measured by its size. Though brief, it is remarkably comprehensive and complete in its discussion of all mooted points, and full in its literary references. The arrangement of the material is logical; the style, clear; and the historical judgment displayed is in every way worthy of commendation. Discrepancies are not exaggerated after the shallow and unscholarly methods of Dr. McGiffert and the clique of German critics whom he slavishly follows. In fact, there can be no better antidote to Dr. McGiffert than the straightforward, scholarly, and sober-minded discussions that appear in this volume. In discussing the chronology of Paul's life, Dr. Gilbert fixes the conversion in the year 32, the Council in Jerusalem in 48, the arrest of Paul in Jerusalem in 56, and his martyrdom, after a second imprisonment, somewhere between 65 and 68.

THROUGH NATURE TO GOD. By JOHN FISKE. 16mo. Pp. xv, 195. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899. \$1.00.

In his later writings, Mr. Fiske lacks but little of becoming an orthodox Calvinist of the New England type. In his marvelously clear, dis-

criminating, and forcible style he has in this volume established the reality of religion, and presented a plausible theory to explain the mystery of evil without denying either the freedom of the will or the omnipotence of God. ". . . From the general analogies furnished in the process of evolution, we are entitled to hope that, as it approaches its goal and man comes nearer to God, the fact of evil will lapse into a mere memory, in which the shadowed past shall serve as a background for the realized glory of the present. . . ."

" . . . Many are the pains of life, and the struggle with wickedness is hard; its course is marked with sorrows and tears. But assuredly its deep impress upon the human soul is the indispensable background against which shall be hereafter the eternal joys of heaven ! " (Pp. 55, 56.)

RAMAKRISHNA : His Life and Sayings. By the Right Hon. F. MAX MUELLER, K.M., Foreign Member of the French Institute; Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. Pp. x, 200. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$1.50 net.

The introduction of this volume, by Professor Müller, contains, in very small compass, a vast amount of information concerning the religious condition of India. The biographical portion is prepared by the noted, or more properly notorious, Vivekânanda, and is permeated with much of his credulous confidence in Hindu philosophy and legendary lore. The "Sayings" are, many of them, most striking and beautiful in themselves, and will attract all readers. One or two will suffice.

"248. Be not like the frog in the well. The frog in the well knows nothing bigger and grander than its well. So are all bigots: they do not see anything better than their own creeds."

"391. How long does godliness remain in man? The iron is red so long as it is in the fire. It is black the moment it is removed from fire. So the human being is godly so long as he is in communion with God."

There are three hundred and ninety-five of these "Sayings." Even the Christian cannot but be charmed with their pantheistic glow, in which he will unconsciously see the reflection of Christ.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D. Vol. II. Imperial 8vo. Pp. xv, 870. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Cloth, \$6.00 per volume; in Half Morocco, \$8.00 per volume.

This volume carries on the work from Feign to Kinsman. Everywhere it is evident that great care has been bestowed upon the shorter articles; while the longer articles are many of them treatises in themselves. That upon the Flood by F. H. Woods is full of learning, whose value is great, independent of the author's erroneous critical theories; a

fair summary being given of the late Mr. Prestwich's views. An excellent example of the thorough work done in the longer articles is found in that upon Food by A. Macalister, which occupies fifteen of the large double-column pages, and gives detailed descriptions of every kind of food mentioned in the Bible, and of the methods of cookery. Among the more notable articles upon Geography are those upon Galatia by Mr. Ramsay, Galilee by Selah Merrill, Geology of Palestine by E. Hull, Jerusalem by C. R. Conder, and Jordan by C. Warren. Of the theological articles, Foreknowledge is treated by A. Stewart, Forgiveness by J. F. Bethune-Baker, Gnosticism by A. C. Headlam, God (twenty pages) by W. Sanday, Heaven and Hell by D. F. Salmond, Holy Spirit by H. B. Swete, Idolatry by W. P. Paterson, the Incarnation by R. L. Ottley, Justification by D. W. Simon, and the Kingdom of God by J. Orr. Of the Books of the Bible, Genesis is treated, with a free hand, by H. E. Ryle; the Gospels, thoroughly and reverently, in an article of sixteen pages, by V. H. Stanton; the Hexateuch, in a freer and less trustworthy manner, by F. H. Woods; Isaiah, with absolute confidence of its plural authorship, by G. A. Smith; James by J. V. Mayor; Jeremiah by A. B. Davidson; Job by W. T. Davison; John, in an article of thirty-four pages, by H. R. Reynolds (an able defense of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel); Judges by E. König; and First and Second Kings by C. F. Burney. The article on Jesus Christ, by W. Sanday, occupies fifty pages, and is a marvel of condensed, profound, and clearly arranged learning. It thus appears that the writers are well selected to represent the different phases of Protestant views respecting recent critical investigations.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS: The First Apology for Christianity. An Exegetical Study. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow; author of "The Kingdom of God," etc. Demy 8vo. Pp. xii, 451. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$2.50.

This charming specimen of expository writing is recommended by the length of time during which it has been upon the distinguished author's mind. The substance of it was delivered thirty years ago as Parish lectures. Twenty years later the matter was revised and expanded into a series of articles for the *Expositor*, and it now appears, after a careful re-revision and re-rewriting, as the last product of the lamented author's earthly labors. Naturally, from the origin of the work, the subjects are treated topically, to which the Epistle readily lends itself. But the profound scholar and the sympathetic disciple are manifest in every chapter and paragraph. The author maintains that the Epistle was addressed to a Jewish church in Jerusalem, and that it was written, not by Paul, but by some unknown, able, and original defender of the Christian faith, who was imbued with the Pauline spirit and surcharged with Alexandri-

an culture. He would assign to it a date just preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. The volume cannot but be acceptable and valuable to all classes of readers.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. With a Critical Introduction. By GEORGE MILLIGAN, B.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Demy 8vo. Pp. xx, 233. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. \$2.25.

The expository part of this volume is mainly confined to Chapters V.-X., in which there is developed the doctrine concerning the nature of Christ, his high-priestly office and work, and the character of the new covenant. In the introductory chapters there is a very full and satisfactory discussion of the history and authorship of the Epistle; of the internal evidence as to authorship; of the destination, date, and place of writing; and of the readers, aims, characteristics, and a full analysis. The conclusions reached are, that the author is unknown, and that the people addressed were a small community of Jews in Rome. The last chapter is a very suggestive and able discussion of the present-day significance of the Epistle, with warnings against "untheological" Christianity. The book is beautifully printed, and the arrangement of matter is such as to facilitate reference, and everywhere shows the marks of the high scholarship and painstaking care of the author. Altogether it is one of the most satisfactory contributions that have been made to the study of this important Epistle.

THE REDEMPTION OF AFRICA: A Story of Civilization. By FREDERIC PERRY NOBLE, Secretary of the Chicago Congress on Africa, Columbian Exposition, 1893. With Bibliography, Illustrations, Maps, and Statistical Tables. In two Volumes. 8vo. Pp. xxv, 474; vii, 382. Chicago, New York, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1899. \$4.00.

These two volumes amply justify in every respect the promise of the title-page. The author has treated the subject with great fullness from every point of view, making a work that is indispensable to the formation of correct opinions concerning the present condition and future prospects of the Dark Continent. The subject is treated historically, as well as topically, beginning with Abraham's visit to Egypt and leading down through all the vicissitudes of history to the present time. A full account is given of the missions of all religious sects; while the statistical tables cover all the facts concerning which the reader may desire specific information; and thirty-one excellent photogravures bring before us in lifelike form the chief actors in the recent expansion of missions on the continent. The outlook for the future was never before so hopeful as now.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, Philadelphia.

CHRISTIANITY AS A WORLD-POWER. By GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D., LL.D., Minister of Tremont Temple. Annual Sermon preached before the Baptist Missionary and Publication Societies at San Francisco, May 28, 1899. Pp. 44.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN; or, God revealed in Life, Light, and Love. By ROBERT CAMERON, author of "The Doctrine of the Ages," and editor of *Watchword and Truth*. 12mo. Pp. xiv, 274. \$1.25.

EATON & MAINS, New York.

FROM THE HIMALAYAS TO THE EQUATOR. Letters, Sketches, and Addresses, giving some account of a Tour in India and Malaysia. By CYRUS D. FOSS, D.D., LL.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Pp. 262. \$1.00.

SIN. (Studies in Theology.—VI.) By RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D., a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Pp. 308. \$3.00.

HENRY FROWDE, London.

THE OXYRHYNCHUS LOGIA AND THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS. By the Rev. CHARLES TAYLOR, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Pp. vi, 105.

E. R. HERRICK & COMPANY, New York.

SUGGESTIVE ILLUSTRATIONS ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. By Rev. F. N. PELOUBET, D.D., author of "Select Notes" on the International Lessons, Suggestive Illustrations on Matthew, Acts, etc. Pp. v, 543.

LIBRAIRIE FISCHBACHER, Paris.

SPENCER ET LE PRINCIPE DE LA MORALE. Par JULES DUBOIS, Licencie en Théologie (Lausanne). Pp. xiii, 329.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY, New York, Chicago, Toronto.

THE BIBLE AMONG THE NATIONS: A Study of the Great Translations. By JOHN WALTER BEARDSLEE, Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature in the Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Mich. Pp. 226. \$1.00.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, New York.

A HISTORY OF EGYPT. Vol. IV. UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. By J. P. MAHAFFY, author of "Social Life in Greece," "Greek Life and Thought," "The Empire of the Ptolemies," etc. Pp. xiii, 261. Vol. V. UNDER ROMAN RULE. By J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A., some time Scholar of C. C. C., Oxford. Pp. xiii, 262. \$2.25 each.

THE MESSAGES OF THE EARLIER PROPHETS. (The Messages of the Bible.) Arranged in the Order of Time, analyzed, and freely rendered in Paraphrase. By FRANK KNIGHT SANDERS, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University, and CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical History and Literature in Brown University. Second Edition. Pp. xv, 304. \$1.25.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. With a Critical Introduction. By GEORGE MILLIGAN, B.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Pp. xx, 233. \$2.25.

THE GREAT APPEAL. By JAMES G. K. MCCLURE, President of Lake Forest University. Pp. 131. 75 cents.

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